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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
PORTRAITS OF ALL THE KINGS AND RULERS OF FRANCE
FROM PHARAMOND TO LOUIS NAPOLEON.

VOLUME FIRST.



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AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

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PREFACE.

"It is not without reason," says Rollin, "that History has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the source of prudence and good counsel, and the rule of conduct and manners. Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and shut up within the narrow circle of such branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of our own private reflections, we continue in a kind of infancy which leaves us strangers to the rest of the world, and profoundly ignorant of all that has preceded or even now surrounds us. What is the small number of years that make up the longest life, or what the extent of country which we are able to progress or travel over, but an imperceptible point in comparison of the vast regions of the universe, and the long series of ages, which have succeeded one another since the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing must be limited to this imperceptible point, unless we call in the study of History to our assistance, which opens to us every age and every country—keeps up a correspondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity—sets all their actions, all their achievements, virtues, and faults before our eyes—and by the prudent reflections it either presents, or gives us an opportunity of making, soon teaches us to be wise before our time, and in a manner far superior to all the lessons of the greatest masters. * * * * It is History which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices which no after age can ever obliterate. It is by History that mistaken merit and oppressed virtue appeal to the incorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and, without respect of persons, and the fear of a

power which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour. * * * * Thus History, when it is well taught, becomes a school of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the mask from false virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, dispels the delusive charm of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and shows, by a thousand examples, that are more availing than all reasonings whatever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity." The foregoing exordium is as just as it is eloquent—as apposite as it is complete.

The history of no country is more fraught with lessons of deep import than that of France; and in submitting it to the public, in conclusion of our historical series, we trust that it will generally be found, that the materials we have made use of have been derived from the most accurate sources of information; that while a great mass of matter has been brought together in a condensed form, it may, at the same time, appear that judgment and circumspection have been used in proportion to the importance and difficulty of the task; and, moreover, that truth and impartiality have been regarded beyond all other considerations. Upon events which have recently occurred, or are in progress at the present moment, we know that different opinions will prevail; and, therefore, in relating such transactions, an honest and fearless regard for truth and the good of society is the bounden duty of every one who presumes to narrate them. By this golden rule we have endeavoured to abide, and humbly hope we have succeeded.

KINGS OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 420 TO A.D. 521.



Pharamond, 420-428.



Clodion, 428-448.



Mérovée, 448-458.



Childeric I., 458-481.



Clovis I., 481-511.



Thierry I., 511-534.



Theodebert I., 534-548.



Theodebald, 548-551.



Clodomir, 511-524.

KINGS OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 511, to A.D. 613.



Childbert I., 511-558.



Clothaire I., 511-561.



Caribert, 561-567.



Sigebert I., 561-575.



Chilperic I., 561-584.



Gonthram, 561-593.



Childbert II., 575-593.



Theodebert II., 596-612.



Thierry II., 596-613.]

KINGS OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 613, TO A.D. 679.



Clothaire II., 613-628.



Dagobert I., 628-638.



Caribert II., 628-631. !



Sigebert II., 633-656.



Clovis II., 638-656.



Clothaire III., 656-670.



Childeric II., 656-673.



Thierry III., 673-691.



Dagobert II., 674-679.}

KINGS OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 691 TO A.D. 752.



Clovis III., 691-695.



Childebert III., 695-711



Dagobert III., 711-75.



Chilperic II., 715-720.



Clothaire IV., 717-720.



Thierry IV., 720-737.



Childeric III., 742-752

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH NATION.

FRANCE, which in the times of the Romans was called Gaul, or Gallia, extended from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, and on the side of Italy, beyond the Alps to the Adriatic: that which was situated on the Italian side of the Alps being named Cisalpine Gaul, and that beyond the Alps, Transalpine Gaul. The part of Transalpine Gaul nearest Upper Italy, and stretching along the Mediterranean towards the Pyrenees, was conquered by Fabius. As this was the first part that was converted into a Roman province, it was called, by way of eminence, the *Provincia* (afterwards changed into Provence). It was bounded by the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Rhone. Cæsar, who conquered Transalpine Gaul at a later period, found it divided into three parts: 1. Aquitaine, extending from the Pyrenees to the Garonne, chiefly occupied by Iberian tribes; 2. Gallia Celtica, from the Garonne to the Seine and Marne; 3. Gallia Belgica, in the north, extending to the Rhine. But subsequently, by the command of Augustus, a very different and much more minute division of the country took place, which, however, it is not here necessary to describe.

The Gauls were the chief branch of the great original stock of Celts, and as they called themselves *Gaul*, the name Gaul probably thus took its rise. A great resemblance appears to have existed among all the Celts; and although they were divided into numerous tribes, there were but few branches that were perceptibly different from each other. The period of their earliest migrations is, however, too remote for history, and, moreover, its consideration would carry us beyond our limits.

Gaul was reduced by Cæsar under subjection to the Romans about fifty years previous to the birth of Christ. The country remained for the space of five centuries under their sway, troubled, nevertheless, during the latter half of the period by the incursions, conflicts, and finally by the settlement, of barbarian invaders. Under its first conquerors, Gaul made rapid progress in improvement. It received the advantages of political union, of an enlightened system of justice, and of a long interval of peace; and wealth, industry, agriculture, and commerce soon followed as necessary consequences. The very climate was wonderfully ameliorated, and the soil rendered capable of producing and maturing the choice fruits which the Romans introduced. The vine, the olive, even the useful plant of flax, were brought thither from the south. The Christian religion, too, was amongst the boons which Rome gave to her subject lands in return for their political independence; nor can the conquests of that ambitious city

be said to have been, on the whole, destructive of liberty; since by her were sown the precious seeds of municipal union and rights which were never altogether stifled, and which sprang up after the long winter of the dark ages, to offer the earliest buddings of civilisation, and to bear the first fruits of modern freedom.

Of the natural and well-known boundaries of the Roman province of Gaul, the Rhine was the most important. It was the great barrier which defended the empire from the errant tribes and nations that swarmed beyond. Wealth and civilisation were on one side of the stream; want and barbarism upon the other. Betwixt such neighbours the natural state is war. The disciplined legions of Rome, however, quelled the turbulence of the German tribes, and penetrated far, and at different intervals, into their country, fully avenged one or two defeats, and long held their rude enemies in salutary awe.

The Germans, though little versed in policy, began after some time to perceive that their frequent defeats were in a great measure owing to their disunion, to their dispersion in different tribes, and to the want of any solid or lasting bond of connexion, whilst they were opposed by the united mind and forces of a large empire. The mutual leagues hitherto formed amongst the barbarians were not sufficiently knit and woven together. The consciousness of this defect produced in the third century those confederacies, in which many tribes united, not occasionally but lastingly, under one common name, and often under one monarch or chief. Some assumed the appellation of *Allemanni*, or *All-Men*; others, the simple distinction of *Franks*, that is, *Brave* or *Free men*.

The chief seat of the confederacy of the Franks was that marshy territory, overflowed and divided into islets by the Rhine, from the spot where the river commences to turn westward to its junction with the sea. The first mention of them by the historians of the empire takes place A.D. 241. In nearly forty years after, Probus quelled one of their incursions, and drove them back into their morasses. The civil war betwixt Magnentius and Constantius, which occupied and wasted the Roman forces in mutual slaughter, allowed both Franks and *Allemanni* to establish their desolate rule on the left bank of the Rhine. The emperor Julian defeated and subdued them, drove the *Allemanni* within their ancient bounds, but allowed the Franks to settle permanently on the Roman side of the Rhine, in the province of *Toxandria*, supposed to be the modern *Brabant*.

The commencement of the fifth century is marked by the great and victorious irruption of all the barbarian hosts into Gaul. They poured, like a long pent up and gathering tide, in a thousand destructive torrents throughout the land, sweeping away and overwhelming in a mass, life, property, and institutions. Were it not for the Christian church, which held itself aloft and alive above the general inundation, the very memory and precious traditions of the past would have perished amidst the universal ruin. Years elapsed ere the agitation subsided and the inebriety of conquest was over. When calm was restored, the Visigoths were in possession of Aquitaine and the lands southward of the Loire, with Toulouse for their capital. The Burgundians held the provinces bordering on the Rhone, from the Lake of Geneva to the Mediterranean. Brittany had established a kind of independence. The Franks, who had looked

upon themselves as the allies more than as the enemies of Roman power, and who had at first bravely stood forth in its defence, had advanced their establishments over the present Netherlands to the limits of modern France; whilst the central provinces, preserved to the empire by the victories of Ætius, were, like Britain, gradually abandoned to themselves, and came to obey, under Roman forms and titles, the wealthiest and most powerful of the native provincials. It was thus that Count Ægidius, and after him his son Syagrius, governed, and were even said to have *reigned* at Soissons.

It is singular to observe that, of all the nations which overran Gaul, that which eventually subdued the rest, and gave its name both to the land and to the general race, was the least united, and the least advanced in the arts of life and policy. Both the Goths and the Burgundians were more civilised than the Franks. Each of the former was a nation forming one race, and obeying one monarch and family of monarchs. The Franks, on the contrary, were but a looser kind of confederacy, which held together still less as they advanced from the Rhine. Each town or territory had its petty and independent sovereign; and previous to Clovis, we meet with no sign of supreme chief or capital town amongst them. This, no doubt, was advantageous to them. They were thus more free to emigrate and to invade. It left the throne of chieftaincy open to the first leader of pre-eminent talents; whilst the vagueness and comprehensiveness of their name was calculated to congregate and admit beneath their banner any roving bands, or even whole nations, of barbarians that might be in search of plunder or establishments.

Such is the secret of the rise of Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy. He was the young chief or king of a small colony of the Franks established at Tournay. In conjunction with the Frank chief of Cambray, he attacked Syagrius, the provincial governor of the Soissonnois, defeated him, and took possession of his territory and capital (A.D. 485). It was on this occasion the circumstance took place, so often narrated and alluded to as a proof of the piety of the king, and the independent habits of the barbarians. A silver vase, reserved for sacred uses, had been taken, amidst other plunder, from the church of Rheims. It was at Soissons that the distribution of booty was to take place. Thither came Saint Remy, bishop of Rheims, supplicating for the restoration of the silver vase. Clovis was favourable to the bishop's request, and sought to gratify it. He addressed his assembled soldiers, and begged of them, in addition to his share, to grant him the vase in question. Ere the assembly could answer, a choleric soldier, jealous of his rights, struck the vase with his axe, exclaiming that the king had no right to more than fell to his allotment. Despite the rudeness of the act, it was still consonant to the habits and laws of the free barbarians. Clovis was obliged to dissemble his resentment, and defer his vengeance. It was not until several months after, that, at a review, he took an opportunity to find fault with the breaker of the vase for the bad condition of his arms. Clovis flung the soldier's axe to the ground, and whilst the latter stooped to pick up the weapon, the monarch slew him with a blow of his own, exclaiming, "Thus didst thou use the vase of Soissons!"

Clovis, like all the heroes and eminent men of these ages, paid great respect to the church, and received considerable advantage from its aid.

The Franks had been hitherto heathens; but Clovis, having married Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, became instructed in the rites and religion of the Christians. In the heat of a battle against the Germans in the neighbourhood of Cologne, Clovis recalled the example of Constantine, who in a doubtful moment of action invoked the God of the Christians, and was heard. The king of the Franks imitated the example of the Roman, prayed for victory to the God of Clotilda and of Constantine, won it soon after, and was baptized, with the greater number of his followers, in grateful acknowledgement of the divine aid. Clovis had the good fortune to imbibe christianity at its pure source. The Visigoth and Burgundian monarchs, though Christian, were Arians at this time, Clovis received the orthodox faith, which brought to him the zealous support of the Gaulish clergy, and gave to him the title of *Most Christian King*, worn by his successors to the present day.

The comparison between Clovis and Constantine might be followed further. Their embracing of christianity had a similar effect upon both. Instead of tempering their passions, and inspiring them with the virtues of mildness and mercy, it seems to have rather given rein to their ferocity and blood-thirstiness. The domestic murders committed by Constantine, that of his wife and of his son, are known. To assassination Clovis united perfidy. All the rival monarchs or chieftains whom he could conquer or entrap were sacrificed to his jealousy and ambition. The whole race of a rival family was extirpated, in some instances by the hand of Clovis himself. How could christianity be made conducive to such crimes? By being coupled with the corrupt doctrine of personal confession and absolution, which, by superseding the voice of conscience, took away all natural obstacles to crime, and held forth, in a barbarous age, the certain prospect of impunity.

Although Clovis won a great battle over the Visigoths in Aquitaine, and obtained a nominal dominion over a portion of that province, nevertheless, his kingdom cannot be said to have really extended beyond the Loire. His system, though favourable to conquest, was by no means so to extended sway. Whilst the Gothic and Burgundian chiefs dispersed and settled on the soil, a considerable portion of which they forced from the native proprietors, the Franks remained in a warlike body, a kind of standing army, about the king. Even if they did scatter and divide, for the greater convenience of pasturage and provision, into winter quarters, in spring they never failed to re-assemble in their *Champ de Mars*; a kind of half parliament, half review, at first used for discussing and arranging plans of conquest. But in time, as the inferior order of warriors ceased to attend, and the prelates appeared there in greater numbers and influence, the national assembly came to exercise judicial and legislative functions, to elect sovereigns and officers, and to sanction laws.

Clovis reigned until the year 511. He had first fixed his residence at Soissons, and was crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. About the middle of his reign he transferred the seat of sovereignty to Paris. Its central situation and security, owing to its being surrounded by the Seine, proved the wisdom of the choice. Clovis ended his days in his new capital, and was buried in the church of St. G  n  vi  ve, its future patron, so honoured for having defended it successfully by her prayers against the menaces of Attila.

II. THE MEROVINGIANS.

SECTION I.—GOVERNMENT OF KINGS.

The Sons of Clovis.—After the death of Clovis (511) the possessions of the Franks, which already comprised two-thirds of Gaul, were divided among his four sons, according to the usages of the barbarians. The eldest, Theodoric, resided at Metz, Clodomir at Orleans, Childebert at Paris, and Clothaire at Soissons. Each of them, besides, allotted to himself his own share in the southern provinces. In like manner, the custom of his tribe in requiring military service, instead of rents or taxes, was extended to the succession to the throne; and thus the Salic law of these barbarians prevents to this day a female from reigning in France.

Clodomir died in Burgundy, and left three young children, who were put to death by their uncles. Childebert had only had daughters. The issue of Theodoric had become extinct after disastrous campaigns in Italy. Clothaire became, therefore, like Clovis, the sole king of France (558.) But like him, he left four sons, and the same horrors recommenced. One of these, Caribert, died, and there were now only three kings in France: Gonthram the king of Burgundy, Chilperic the king of Neustria, and Sigebert the king of Austrasia.

* *Frédégonde and Brunhault.*—Peace under such conditions was impossible. Whilst Sigebert was defending Austrasia against an invasion of barbarians, Chilperic seized upon some contested towns. This led to a first war; a reconciliation, however, speedily took place, and the two brothers married two sisters, daughters of the king of the Visigoths, Brunhault and Galsevinthe. But Fredegund, a peasant girl, the favourite handmaid of Galsevinthe, had obtained such mastery over the weak mind of Chilperic, that she caused the queen to be strangled, and took her place. The queen of Austrasia, Brunhault, was resolved to avenge her sister, and thus was laid the foundation of the animosities which caused torrents of blood to be shed, and rent asunder the empire of the Franks for upwards of half a century.

Sigebert summoned the Germans to his aid, marched against Chilperic, defeated the Neustrians everywhere, burnt their towns, and at length held Chilperic a prisoner in Tournay, believing himself already master of Neustria, when two of Fredegund's emissaries stabbed him with poisoned knives (575). The Neustrians then took their revenge: Chilperic marched on Paris, and Brunhault became the captive of Fredegund. She, however, had had time to preserve her son, five years old, from the vengeance of her enemies. The Austrasian grandes carried the young Childebert with them, and raised him to the throne: the moment to repair their fortunes had arrived, and they profited by it.

Meanwhile Brunhault, having, by the force of her beauty, seduced

Mérovée, the son of Chilperic, found means to escape. But the unfortunate man could not suffer her to depart alone, and married her. Pursued, betrayed, he caused himself to be killed by a friend rather than fall into the hands of Fredegund, whose fury was not yet abated. In order to secure power in her own hands, she ridded herself likewise of the brothers of Mérovée, and, it is recorded, instigated one of her lovers also to assassinate Chilperic her husband (584). At length she remained alone, with a son scarcely four months old. Her position was a difficult one. The widow of Chilperic implored the protection of the king of Burgundy, the good Gonthram, who had already mediated between his brothers. Gonthram, good easy man, imagined that he was about peaceably to govern the states of his nephews, and thus to hold undivided sway over the empire of the Franks, as his father had done. But a natural son of Clothaire I., Gondevald, had hastened from Constantinople to the south of Gaul, and had taken Toulouse, Bordeaux, Périgueux, and Angoulême. Gonthram finding himself abandoned by the clergy, on whose support he had reckoned, fell back altogether on Austrasia, adopted his nephew Childebert, made him his heir, and with the united forces of Austrasia and Burgundy, overwhelmed Gondevald and crushed him. Then was concluded the treaty of Andelot, which, besides opening Burgundy to the king of Austrasia, had the important result of insuring to the chiefs of the Franks and their vassals the undisturbed possession of their lands and revenues (587).

The treaty of Andelot did not, however, terminate the war between the two queens. The Austrasians invaded Neustria. Fredegund repulsed them. But her death, after that of Gonthram, leaving the young son of Chilperic, Clothaire II., without support against his enemies, he was compelled to yield them a portion of his kingdom. But, in truth, the dissensions among the conquerors soon gave him back more than he had lost. The aged Brunhault, expelled by her grandson Theudebert, whom she had debased in order to maintain power in her own hands, took refuge in Burgundy, where she was destined to exercise greater ascendancy. She armed the heir of Gonthram against his brother Theudebert. Theudebert had already been twice defeated, when his adversary died. Brunhault, who was detested by the Austrasian grandees for having in some respects restored the imperial administration, and by the people and the priests for having persecuted saints, was delivered up without defence to the king of Neustria. After a short struggle she was condemned to be bound alive to the tail of a wild horse, and so torn to pieces.

Then the king of Neustria, Clothaire II., believed himself all-powerful. But his victory had been that of the great vassals and the priests. The bishops commenced to sit in the assemblies of the grandees. This was the commencement of the dominion of the church in the kingdom of the Franks.

Dagobert.—It was not without a struggle that the Austrasians would submit to the authority of the king of Neustria, and it was necessary to render them the provinces which had belonged to them, and to give them a king of their own. After the death of Clothaire a new partition of the country took place. His son Dagobert, already at the head of the Austrasians, had Neustria and Burgundy; the ancient kingdom founded by the Visigoths between the Loire, the Pyrenees, and the Rhone, being

allotted to his brother. But the latter died, and Dagobert having put his nephew to death, thus obtained entire possession of the kingdom. After this, surrounded by Roman ministers, by the goldsmith, St. Eloi, and by the refendary St. Ouen, he founded convents, caused church ornaments to be manufactured, drew up laws, and ultimately gave himself up to cruelty and debauchery. During this period the Saxons emancipated themselves from the tribute which they paid to the Franks; the Franks were defeated by the Venedes, the Avarians established themselves in Bavaria. The Gascons and Britons made their voluntary submission to the priests by whom the king was surrounded. This was the last conquest, the last symptom of power of the Merovingian kings (636).

SECTION II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE.

The Austrasian chiefs, to whom Brunhault had confided her son, had, in raising on the shield a child which would for a long time be incapable of bearing arms, elected one of their number as *major-domus*, or mayor of the palace, who was entrusted with the education of the youthful king and the government of the country. About this period, the whole empire of the Franks was divided between children. Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, each had their mayor. This was no new dignity; but hitherto these officers had been the creatures of the king, whilst now they entirely ruled him, and in the name of the chiefs became his master. Thus a rival power grew up by the side of the crown—a dynasty of mayors. Pepin was mayor of Austrasia, after him his son Grunwald, who, on the death of Sigebert, one of Dagobert's sons, endeavoured to usurp the sceptre to his own family, by imprisoning Dagobert II. in an Irish monastery.

The monarchy of the Franks was becoming extinct, the mayors of the palace in vain endeavouring to maintain it. One of them, Erchinwald, was for a short period sole master of Austrasia, of Neustria, and Burgundy. whilst Clovis II. was giving himself up to debauchery, and after the death of that king, who left three sons, he still maintained undivided sway (654). But when he died in his turn, the Austrasians would not recognise the famous Ebrouin, whom the Neustrians had raised to the mayoralty. Power was once more divided. Austrasia had its king, Childeric II., and its mayor. The war then naturally recommenced between Neustria and Austrasia, eternally rivals. Ebrouin, abandoned by the great chiefs whom he had endeavoured to deprive of their privileges, was vanquished and incarcerated in a convent with a young king, fifteen years old, Thierry III., whom he had imposed upon Neustria. Childeric II. then reigned alone, but knew not how to profit by his victory. He estranged the nobles from him, who assassinated him in the forest of Chelles, with his wife and his son (674).

In Austrasia, the freemen had taken Dagobert II. from his monastery in Ireland. But on his side, Ebrouin, having also left his monastery, depended on the phantom of a king to resume authority anew; he returned to Neustria and put to death the bishop of Autun, Saint Léger, whom he accused of the murder of Childeric II. By way of reprisal, the mayor Pepin and his brother, nephews of Grunwald, caused the unfortu-

nate Dagobert to be condemned to death by a council of bishops. He was guilty of the crime of being the king of the freemen, that is to say, of the party allied to Ebrouin. A struggle then took place, which was marked on both sides by a series of crimes, which only terminated with the death of Ebrouin.

The successor of Ebrouin could not struggle against the growing ascendancy of the Austrasian chiefs, who continually threatened to invade western Gaul. Pepin led them on against the Neustrians. The weakened character of the Roman Franks was vanquished at Testry by the barbarian genius of the Franks of Austrasia. This victory insured the sway of the nobles over the people, and of the Austrasians over the remainder of Gaul. At the same time, the dignity of mayor, which had become hereditary, was confirmed in the race of Pepin. A great revolution had been accomplished. The degenerate race of Merovingians might still bring forth some effeminate and imbecile princes; but the advent of a new dynasty was at hand, and Roman Gaul was regenerated by the barbarous blood which flowed more freely through its veins.

III. THE CARLOVINGIANS.

SECTION I.—THE EMPIRE OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

Pepin and Charles Martel.—Pepin D'Heristal, who had attained the end to which his race had devoted itself for five generations, undertook to complete the unity of Gaul, interrupted by so many wars. He did not, however, live to achieve it: the Neustrians even succeeded in emancipating themselves under his grandson, Theodebald, who had been his successor in the mayoralty. But the Austrasians called from the cloisters a natural son of Pepin, Charles, surnamed Martel, (the *Hammer*) from the force with which he *hammered* down the Saracens, who belonged to a race odious to the church, having stained itself with the blood of a martyr. The bastard commenced by defeating the Neustrians near Cambrai: after this he marched to the aid of the inhabitants of Aquitaine, from whom the Saracens, masters of Spain, had just taken Languedoc. He exterminated the Saracens in the plains of Poitiers (732), entered Nîmes, and drove away the enemy from all the strongholds which they occupied in Provence. The constant inroads of the people of Germany were not less to be dreaded. Charles Martel carried his arms to the north and to the east of Gaul, defeated the Allemandi, Bavarians, and Frisons from 718 to 739, and penetrated six times among the Saxons, without, however, being able to reduce them. As a recompense to his companions in arms, he distributed to them the spoils of the clergy, but he placed his influence at the service of pope Gregory III. when menaced by the Lombards, who had entered Ravenna. This sufficed to reconcile him with the church.

On his death (741) he bequeathed his authority to his three sons. The two eldest, Pepin, surnamed the Short, and Carloman, dispossessed their brother Grippo, and imprisoned him in a convent in the forest of Ardennes. Carloman, after having aided his brother Pepin to repress the disorders of the clergy, by convoking the councils of Leptines and Soissons (743), and in defeating the Aquitanians, the Bavarians, and the Allemands, on the banks of the Rhine and the Loire (742-46), retired to a monastery, leaving Pepin entire possession of the paternal inheritance. Pepin having now no rivals to the throne but his nephews, despoiled them, caused their heads to be shaved, and thus remained in undisputed possession of the sovereignty. He governed France as a king, and was weary of reigning without a sceptre. He was beloved by the church, because he rendered it important service; the pope, ever threatened by the Lombards, stood in need of him and favoured his designs. The assembly of the nation held at Soissons, in 752, dethroned Childeric III., who was shut up in a cloister, and proclaimed Pepin as his successor.

Pepin commenced by marching against the Aquitanians, whom his

brother Grippa had urged to revolt, defeated them, and added Septimania to the crown (753). Pope Stephen II., threatened in Rome by the Lombards, came to meet him covered with ashes and sackcloth, to implore his aid. They were able to serve each other. The pope crowned Pepin a second time, and threatened with the fulmination of the church the Franks refractory to his race. In return Pepin induced, though not without difficulty, the Frank chiefs to take arms against the Lombards. He passed into Italy, forced the passage of Suza, which was valiantly defended, and went to besiege Astolphus in his own capital. After having reduced Astolphus to submission, he recrossed the Alps, when suddenly he learnt that the king of the Lombards, in violation of the treaties he had just sworn to, held the pope a prisoner in Rome, hoping to crush him before the tidings of it should reach the Franks. Again he darted upon the Lombards, whom the rapidity of his march struck with terror and drove away.

Meanwhile the frontiers of North Gaul had continued to be incessantly ravaged by the inroads of the Saxons. Pepin turned his arms against them, inflicted another defeat upon them, and then attacked Aquitaine. The Saracens had held Narbonne for nearly forty years; after a siege of seven years he again drove them beyond the Pyrenees. There still remained the duke of Aquitaine, Waïfer, who obstinately refused to recognise the sovereignty of Pepin, and who made incursions into Burgundy. A war was kindled which exposed Aquitaine to the most fearful ravages. Pepin demanded of Waïfer the restoration of the properties which he had taken from the church. Upon his refusal, Pepin crossed the Loire, burnt the provinces of Berry, Auvergne, and a portion of Aquitaine; but it was only after nine consecutive campaigns and after the death of the duke Waïfer, who fell by assassination, that he was finally enabled to take possession of the vast provinces which stretch from the south of the Loire to the Ocean and the Pyrenees (768).

Charlemagne.—War of the Lombards.—Pepin the Short died after having made a partition of his dominions between his two sons. These sons, between whom there had been strife since the death of their father, for a while combined their forces to suppress an insurrection broken out in Aquitaine. Shortly after Carloman died, and Charles had only to exclude his youthful nephews to hold undivided sway over the empire. This was the cause of a new war against the Lombards. Their king, Didier—already exasperated against Charles, who, after having been married to his daughter twelve months, repudiated her and sent her back to him—sided with the sons of Carloman. Charles hastened to cross the Alps, and besieged in Pavia Didier, who had not dared to hazard a battle. He was obliged to capitulate. Charles then took the king prisoner, and put an end to the Lombard domination in Italy, which had lasted more than two centuries. He gave up a portion of it to pope Adrian, who had refused to assist the enemies of the Franks, and kept the other for himself, with the title of king of the Lombards, which he added to that which he already possessed. The sons of Carloman disappeared (774).

War against the Saxons.—Previous to the expedition into Italy, Charles had commenced against the Saxons that war which occupied him during the greater portion of his reign. He had taken their fortress of Ehresburg, overthrown their idols, obtained twelve hostages, and for the

purpose of watching and finally subjugating them, removed his residence between the Meuse and the Rhine, at Aix-la-Chapelle. But whilst he was in Italy the Saxons had recommenced hostilities, destroyed his fortifications, and exterminated a portion of his garrisons. He had returned against them, and had crossed the Weser (775). The assembly of Franks at Worms had sworn to pursue the war until the Saxons had been converted to christianity. Charles defeated them; he established a new fortress on the Lippe; he had already compelled them to be baptised by thousands, and thought he had finally quelled them, when one of their chiefs, Witikind, arrived from the north with the terrible worshippers of Odin, who now for the first time entered the battle field.

Whilst an army of Franks, which had pursued the Saracens in Spain, were routed at Roncesvalles, in the Pyrenees (778), Charles, at the head of his soldiers of the north, defeated the redoubtable Saxons at Buckholz, and having advanced as far as the Elbe, occupied himself in establishing order in the country which he imagined he had conquered. He had founded eight abbeys and bishoprics and organised a whole army of priests—a complete system of religious conquest, when Witikind once more arrived from the north, surprised the generals of Charlemagne, defeated them, and disappeared. Charlemagne pursued them, burning, ravaging, and destroying all that remained of them, nearly 5,000 Saxon prisoners being beheaded in one day on the banks of the Allier (782). At Dethmold and at Osnabruck he massacred the remainder. It was only ten years afterwards that they aroused themselves, when they once more surprised the garrisons, burned the churches, slaughtered the priests, and returned in crowds to their idolatry. Charlemagne seeing that he could not subjugate the Saxons, waged against them a war of extermination, established himself upon the Weser, put Saxony to fire and sword, and carried off numbers of the inhabitants to distant provinces. He at the same time divided their country into benefices, which he distributed to his prelates, that the remnant of the Saxons might become christian as well as subject. This people was not finally reduced till (804) after thirty-two years of wars, revolts, and massacre.

The Baiern or Bavarians, under their duke Tassillo, who had married a daughter of the king of Lombardy, entered into a league with other enemies against Charlemagne; but Bavaria was added to the empire of the Franks, the duke Tassillo was tried before a diet at Ingelheim, and shut up in a monastery.

From Spain the Saracens retaliated upon the territories of the Franks the invasion they had suffered; they elected William duke of Toulouse (793), and returned into Spain with a great booty.

The officers of the church arrested the attention of the king; the council of Nice (787) had ordered the adoration of images; on the other hand, the council of Frankfort (794) condemned the practice as idolatrous, a decision that was supported by Charlemagne, and defended by him in a treatise in four books submitted to the pope, who avoided the declaration of his opinion.

In the east of Germany and Hungary wandered a people denominated the Avars, who, coming, like the Huns, originally from the distant regions of the north of Asia, devastated the countries around them by the incursions of their countless and hardy horsemen, and deposited the booty in

large fortified enclosures called rings. The memory of these camps still exists in some names of countries, as Thuringia, Lotharingia. After many unsuccessful expeditions against this people, Pepin, son of Charlemagne, at the head of an army of Lombards and Bavarians, penetrated into their domain, and drew from their ring the accumulations of many years of plunder.

Charlemagne Emperor.—Charlemagne, after so many victories and conquests, dreamt of resuscitating the Roman empire. In the year 800 he went to Rome in the alleged interest of the pope, who in the basilica of St. Peter's, at Rome, placed a crown on the head of the king, saluted him as Augustus, and raised him to the lofty station of emperor of the West. He was desirous of marrying Irene, who reigned at Constantinople, and negotiations were set on foot for that purpose; but they led to no result. Charlemagne and the successor of Irene regulated by treaty the limits of the eastern and western empires (804).

The glory of Charlemagne filled the world. The caliph of Bagdad and the emir of the Edrissites of Fez sent him ambassadors laden with presents. Being at length in the enjoyment of peace, the chief of the barbarians, surrounded by the ceremonies of the court of Byzantium, studied grammar, and learnt to write and sing in the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he had caused to be ornamented with the most precious marbles of Ravenna. At the same time he promulgated or revised laws, and was engaged in organising a regular system of government, and in constituting the unity of the empire.

As Charlemagne conquered himself the greater part of his empire, he had to appoint the rulers or lords of provinces and districts; in other words, counts and dukes. He dreaded the aristocracy, which had raised his family on the ruins of the Merovingians; and his object was to prevent the great charges of the empire and the governments of provinces from becoming hereditary. He wanted to form a monarchy on the oriental plan, in which the nobles, enjoying privileges attached to their persons, not to their race, were unable to perpetuate or consolidate their power. This plan, obviously tending to despotism, was fortunately frustrated. Charlemagne's views in this respect led him to lean so much to the church, as to prefer bestowing territorial commands upon prelates rather than upon lay nobles. And the same principle governed both him and Pepin in their unaccountable generosity to the pope of Rome.

Death of Charlemagne.—The last years of Charlemagne's reign were clouded by wars of little importance, but which led him to forebode great misfortunes to his descendants. Slavonian tribes were continually making incursions on the eastern frontiers; the Normans landed in the country of the Frisons with a fleet of two hundred vessels, and showed themselves at the mouths of several rivers. Charlemagne perceived that he had not yet finished with the irruptions of people which it had been the great aim of all his wars to render impossible in future; he established two fleets, one at Boulogne, the other at Ghent, and gave orders to his son to construct two others on the Garonne and the Rhone. But his successors invited the barbarians, instead of fortifying themselves against them. Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, in his seventy-second year, after having lost two of his sons, companions of his victories, leaving the weight of his immense empire upon Louis I., surnamed Le Debon-

naire, (or the beneficent), to whom he had already confided the government of Aquitaine (814).

Charlemagne was a bright meteor in an age of darkness, and when his brilliant career was finished night closed in again. The truest claim that this emperor has upon our respect rests upon his exertions to establish order and civilisation in his extensive dominions. He summoned diets twice in the year, to discuss and arrange projects useful to the state. His decrees or capitularies still bear testimony to the wisdom of their author. He founded schools in a great number of places; ordered the monks to be assiduous in multiplying copies of ancient authors, and encouraged learned men, among whom the Saxon Alcuin, is especially distinguished. Many churches, fortresses, towns, and harbours were constructed—not so much with elegance as with solidity.

Louis I., le Debonnaire.—The successor of Charlemagne was at least endowed with every private virtue. He made a great many reforms, sent to distant monasteries the intriguing monks who had ruled his father during the latter years of his reign, expelled from the imperial palace all persons of immoral character, his sisters and their lovers, and submitted the bishops and monks to discipline. Fully occupied as he was with matters of minor importance, he listened to the complaints of his subjects, superintended several departments of his government, and sent new inspectors into the provinces to examine into abuses and to grant justice. For a short while he appeared to be adequate to the requirements of his vast government. In opposition to the bishops, he restored to the Saxons the right of inheritance of which they had been deprived since the conquest; confirmed by an edict the rights of the Christians of the south, whom the imperial generals were despoiling, made provisions for the defence of his frontier, mediated between Danish chiefs, and caused the territories placed under the protection of the Franks to be respected. But his powers deserted him as soon as the course of events became more grave. He had divided the defence of the frontiers of the empire between his two sons. In the capitulary published at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, he altered this partition. He associated in the empire his son Lothaire, who previously had had Bavaria, gave Aquitaine to Pepin, and Bavaria to Louis. But Charlemagne had made Bernard, the son of his eldest son, king of Italy. Bernard considered himself wronged by this new partition, claiming, as son of the eldest brother, to be associated in the empire instead of Lothaire. Being supported by several bishops, and in particular by the bishop of Orleans, who had been the most intimate counsellor of the emperor on his accession to the crown, he raised the standard of revolt. Louis marched on Italy. Bernard, abandoned by his own troops, and deceived, moreover, by the councils of the empress Hermengarde, hastened to submit. The friends of Bernard were put to death by torture, and the young prince himself condemned to lose his eyes, an operation which proved mortal.

Meanwhile, his wife having died, Louis, left to himself, commenced repenting of so much severity, and resolved to do public penance for his crimes. In a council held at Thonville, he made his appearance in a robe of sackcloth and with his head covered with ashes, and prostrating himself before the bishops, besought them to grant him absolution for

the murder of his grandson. Such an humiliating spectacle had not been witnessed since the great Theodosius (822). The people blushed for the weakness of their emperor. Already the nobles and the bishops were against him; each wanted to reign in his own province, and was eager to destroy the unity of the empire, whilst Louis appeared himself to be providing chiefs to the revolt.

Having had a son by Judith of Bavaria, daughter of count Welf, whom he had married after the death of Hermengarde, he caused the statute of Aix-la-Chapelle to be annulled for the purpose of giving to this child, called Charles, the kingdom of Germany, formed of Suabia, Switzerland, and the country of the Grisons. The sons of Hermengarde, irritated, and afraid of losing their own possessions, made war upon their father. At first they refused to march against the Britons, who had taken arms, and collectively at Valerie they demanded that Judith should be incarcerated in the monastery of St. Radégonde, at Poitiers, and her favourite, the count of Barcelona, sent into exile. They were about to decide the fate of the unfortunate Louis, whom they held prisoner in Compiègne, when Lothaire, who had as yet taken no part in the revolt, learning the resolution of the assembly, arrived. He already believed himself emperor. His brothers now hesitated. Louis then demanded that a new assembly should be held at Nimeguen; he knew that the entire of Germany was favourable to him: he was, in fact, solemnly re-established, recalled Judith, whose innocence had been proclaimed by the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, and pardoned everybody (830).

War nevertheless again broke out in the south. The emperor crossed the Loire, deposed his son Pepin, but, suddenly deserted by his troops near Colmar, in a plain called from that circumstance the Field of Falsehood, he fell in Lothaire's power. The bishops, in an assembly at Compiègne, drew up a list of crimes to which the fallen emperor was to make confession publicly in the cathedral of Soissons, and which he consented to expiate by a new public penance.

After this opprobrious ceremonial an immense reaction set in in favour of Louis le Debonnaire, which entirely changed his fortunes. Everywhere he found partisans, and he again took arms. Lothaire fled into Italy, and the diet of Thonville restored the sovereign power to the emperor (835). Yielded up to the same influences, he was, however, destined to fall into the same errors. He made and re-made partitions, and several times superseded his children in favour of the son of Judith, Charles the Bald. Louis, reduced to his kingdom of Bavaria by the assembly of Worms, which divided the empire between Lothaire and Charles, armed his subjects, and invaded the entire right bank of the Rhine. The old emperor immediately quitted Aquitaine, where a violent insurrection had broken out. The Germanic population had remained faithful to him, and he had but to appear to drive his son back into Bavaria. But he had not time to conclude peace; he died of grief at Ingelheim, an island of the Rhine, carrying with him the unity of the empire (840.)

The empire, composed of an assemblage of populations of so many various races, could only have been maintained and strengthened by the persevering efforts of four generations of great men. Its importance had been great. It had attached men to the soil, constituted nations, opened Germany

to the influences of christianity, founded the political power of the papacy, saved Europe from the Mussulman conquest, and collected together, for the creation of a new civilisation, the wrecks of Roman and barbarian laws. But it appeared that the dynasty of Pepin had exhausted itself in this glorious work. The successors of Charlemagne did not even attempt to stay the dissolution of this fictitious unity of the empire. Whilst new nationalities were forming, and power was being scattered in the hands of the armed nobles, this second race of kings, like the first, was becoming extinct in inaction and sterility.

SECTION II.—DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

Dissensions between the Sons of Louis le Debonnaire.—Lothaire, who for twenty-three years had been associated in the imperial authority, claimed to be recognised as supreme chief of the empire; Charles the Bald was for maintaining the capitulary of Worms, which had given him the entire of western France; Louis complained of having only Bavaria; whilst the son of Pepin demanded to have Aquitaine restored to him. A furious war broke out; a war not less of the people than the princes. Louis, whom all the Germanic nations had just proclaimed as their king, and Charles the Bald, combined their forces against Lothaire, and they were joined by the king of Aquitaine. The battle, which took place at Fontenay, near Auxerre, was bloody, but not decisive (841). Lothaire was vanquished, but the victors were unable to pursue him and to follow up their victory. He returned against them. Charles the Bald and Louis of Germany then united together by means of a new treaty agreed at Strasburg, using no longer the language of the church, but the popular language used in Gaul and Germany, both people collectively guaranteeing the oath, and swearing to compel their kings to keep it towards each other (842).

Lothaire, disconcerted by this alliance, and, moreover, alarmed at the invasions of the Normans and Saracens, who had profited by the civil war, consented to lay down arms, and proposed to ratify by a treaty the separation of the nations; a final partition was agreed upon in the assembly of Verdun. Charles was king of Gaul to the Saône, the Rhône, and the Meuse, and beyond the Pyrenees to the Ebro. Louis had Germany as far as the Rhine. Lothaire united Italy with the countries lying between the dominions of his brothers. The name of New France was given to the kingdom of Charles. Pepin was obliged to renounce all claim to supremacy, and accepted Lotharingia, or Lorraine, with other districts (843).

Not long after the death of Lothaire and his children, Charles the Bald and Louis of Germany were brought in opposition to each other, both aspiring to the imperial dignity. Charles was the abler of the two, and was crowned by the pope (875). The new emperor flying from Italy on the approach of one of his nephews, died in a miserable hut, in the passage of Mount Cenis; his physician, Sedecias, is suspected of poisoning him (877).

Charles had in the outset been the man of the church. He had distri-

buted the offices of royal inspectors between the laymen and the bishops, and had charged no less a personage than archbishop Hincmar to levy troops for him. The priests supported their king: they had prevented Louis of Germany, in 859, establishing himself in Neustria and Aquitaine; but they could not defend the country against its most terrible enemies, those men of the north, whose first apparition had filled Charlemagne with so much sorrow.

The Normans.—The parties who had summoned the Normans to Brittany, could not defend it against their ravages. The same Pepin who was forced to give up Aquitaine, opened the south of France to them, and they were not slow to profit by the dissensions of the successors of Charlemagne, to devastate the lands of the empire. At various periods they pillaged and burnt Toulouse, Saintes, Nimeguen, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Nothing was sacred in their eyes, and monasteries less than anything else. It was therefore found necessary to treat with these barbarians. Their chiefs obtained from the descendants of Louis le Debonnaire permission to establish themselves on several points, particularly in the country called by their name, Normandy.

The Saracens, who during the same period had infested the south, did not found any important establishments, save in Sicily.

Feudalism.—These invasions had put the power of the bishops to a severe test; they were compelled to restore, at least partially, temporal power to hands capable of bearing arms. The nobles thus became invested with great preponderance. Charles the Bald had granted them, by the statute of Kiersi, the right of hereditary succession of their counties or earldoms. From that moment feudalism was established. Every duke, every count, every noble, retired to his own district. Before the end of the century, Burgundy and Provence became, like Lorraine, kingdoms; twenty-nine hereditary fiefs forming as many independent states. Society became parcelled out in a multitude of new small societies.

Formation of Nationality.—In the midst of this disorganisation, the son of Charles the Bald, Louis II. surnamed le Begue (the Stammerer), could not even retain the shadow of the power which his father had wielded. He granted duchies, earldoms, abbies, &c., without succeeding in satisfying the cupidity of his nobles. After having reigned two years, he was scarcely able to transmit the crown to his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman (879). These divided amongst each other the kingdom of their father, shorn, however, of Burgundy and French Lorraine. Louis died in 882, after a reign of three years, and Carloman did not long survive him. They left a young brother, Charles, who was too young to reign; therefore the kingdom came to Charles (surnamed the Fat), son of Louis emperor of Germany.

Five crowns added to his own, constituted an empire nearly as vast as that of Charlemagne. But he was incapable of defending it. The Normans made inroads as far as Paris. The city, which was vigorously attacked, would have been taken, if count Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, had not come to the rescue to defend it. Eudes implored the assistance of Charles the Fat. The emperor approached Montmartre with an army, and made a dastardly treaty with the invaders, giving Burgundy over to them, on condition that they should raise the siege. The nobles of Germany, highly incensed at his weakness, and assembled

at the diet of Trebur, deposed him. The French and Italians followed this example. He died in 888, in indigence, detested by all.

Count Eudes was the representative of the French and feudal party, which inclined to reject the Carolingian race. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, he was chosen king of France. Through the terrible battle which he gave to the Normans, at Montfaucon, he consolidated his power in the southern provinces; after this he reduced a powerful league in the south. In the meanwhile, the Germans had interested themselves in behalf of a posthumous son of Louis II. (the Stammerer), Charles III. surnamed *le Simple* (the Simple), who found himself for the second time excluded from the throne. Eudes, in order not to prolong the war, consented to divide the kingdom with this deplorable pretender, and ceded the southern bank of the Rhine to him.

On the death of Eudes, in 898, Charles the Simple had the entire of France, but only to lose his finest province, and to add to the number of his vassals one more redoubtable than all the others. It was he who ceded to Rollo, a Norman chief, the province of Normandy (912). He thus thought to create himself a powerful support, which, however, failed him when the nobles, incited to revolt by the influence exerted over him by an obscure individual, named Haganum, conferred the crown upon Robert duke of France (brother to Eudes, the late king). He being slain in battle, was never proclaimed among the French kings. His son, Hugh *le Blanc*, count of Paris, nominated to the throne Raoul, or Rodolph, of Burgundy, while the count de Vermandois held Charles a prisoner in the château of Péronne, where he died (929). Until 932, the great vassals of the south and the duke of Normandy had refused their homage to the new king. At this period, however, the count of Toulouse and the prince of the Normans having made their submission, Raoul was enabled to restore peace to France.

On his death (936), Hugh refused to assume the crown, and invited from England a son of Charles the Simple, Louis IV. surnamed *d'Outremer* (the Stranger). Burgundy became the reward of this service. Louis, scarcely seated on the throne, grew weary of the tutelage of Hugh, against whom he formed a league. The alliance which he had formed with the emperor Otho gave the finishing stroke to the discontent of the nobles, who were opposed to the Germanic influence. Hugh count of Paris, to whom the name of Great was given, in consequence of his immense possessions, was the representative of this national opinion; he deprived the foreign faction of the support of the duke of Normandy, and immured in the city of Laon the king, who had just been defeated and taken prisoner, with sixteen of his counts. Otho the Great, emperor of Germany, liberated him. In vain, however, Louis proved himself by his bravery to be a worthy descendant of Charlemagne; he was killed by a fall from his horse at Rheims (954). With him expired the hopes of the Carolingian race rising from the state into which it had fallen.

Louis d'Outremer left two sons, Lothaire and Charles (an infant). For the first time, in a similar case, the custom of dividing the crown among all the sons ceased, and was never revived in France afterwards. Lothaire succeeded his father, in 954. The minority of the young king exposed France to the Germanic influence, his mother being the sister of the king of Germany. The efforts which the

young king made afterwards only resulted in bringing Otho at the head of sixty thousand Germans under the very walls of Paris. The treaty of Rheims in 980 stipulated the renunciation of the crown of France to the suzerainty of the two duchies. Lothaire had estranged France. The power which was passing away from him fell into the hands of the son of count Hugh, who was also called the Great, and surnamed Capet. He had only to take the crown from the hands of a child, Louis V., called the Faineant (the Idle), who died from poison, aged twenty-one years, after a reign of only fourteen months, leaving no memorial of himself, except that he was the last of the race of the illustrious Charlemagne. With him ended the second dynasty, after possessing the throne of France 237 years. Charles duke of Lorraine was the sole survivor of Charlemagne; he was uncle to Louis V.; but for his worthless and contemptible character the nobles excluded him from the crown (987).

KINGS OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D 714 TO 884.



Charles Martel, 714-741.



Pepin le Bref, 741-768.



Charlemagne, 768-814.



Louis I., 814-840.



Charles I., 840-877.



Louis II., 877-879.



Louis III. and Carloman, 879-884,



Charles II., 884-888.

KINGS OF THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 388 TO 987.



Eudes, 888-898.



Charles III., 898-922.



Robert I., 922-923.



Raoul or Rodolphe, 923-936.



Louis IV., 936-954.



Lothaire, 954-985.



Louis V., 986-987.

IV. THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

SECTION I.—THE FEUDAL REIGN.

Hugh Capet and his Sons.—Thus ended the Carlovingian dynasty, and the events that we shall now have to relate belong more properly to France, and do not extend to the empire of the west, nor refer to a warlike and conquering tribe of Franks.

The Capets, although of Germanic origin, had been naturalised for a considerable time in the land, between the Seine and the Loire. For many generations they had devoted themselves to the defence of the country; they had combated the barbarians, and delivered the country from the foreign yoke. They appeared contemporaneously with French nationality and the French language, and came in power at a period when society, definitively established on the soil, and free from the inroads of new races, was at length beginning to consolidate itself. All the elements of this society were dispersed and isolated. But they were taking root in the soil. The dynasty of kings which grew up in the midst of so many feudal dynasties, will soon collect together these scattered materials, and constitute a new world out of them.

Hugh Capet established himself in the centre of his duchy, which was Paris. France already existed, and had its capital. The Germans claimed the inheritance of Louis IV. and several vassals; the count of Vermandois and the count of Flanders supported their pretensions. Hugh Capet besieged them at Laon, and seized the king whom they had made. He had already reduced to submission William count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine, who at first refused to recognise his authority. This authority was as yet very feeble.

As the alliance of the clergy, to whom, indeed, he owed his crown, might serve him against his nobles, he confirmed the communities, gifts, and privileges of the church. The Normans of Blois, the rivals of those of Normandy, refused for some time to recognise him; he appeased them, however, by giving his son Robert in marriage to the celebrated Bertha, widow of Eudes count of Blois. He died after having taken the precaution to have his son consecrated and crowned, in order to induce the church to maintain the crown in his family (996).

The life of the good Robert was only disturbed in his domestic relations. As Bertha was akin to him, the pope insisted that the marriage was null, and commanded him to repudiate her on pain of excommunication. Robert refused, and the kingdom was placed under an interdict, by which the administration of justice was suspended, the courts of justice were shut, religious privileges withheld, and even the dead remained unburied. The king himself was deserted, two domestics alone being permitted to attend him; but at length, being induced by the clamours of the people,

he divorced his wife. He then espoused Constance, a daughter of the count of Toulouse, to whom he abandoned the government, whilst he was occupied in singing and composing psalms, and led the choir at St. Denis, although power was not being weakened in his hands. He gave the province of Burgundy to his son Henry, re-established peace between the count of Blois and the duke of Normandy, and drove back the Normans, whom the latter had summoned once more.

The son of Robert, Henry I., was maintained by the church against his own mother. The widow of Robert was desirous of raising to the throne a younger son, in order to prolong the domination to which she had become accustomed. By the aid of the duke of Normandy, Henry stifled the revolt of this brother, who was supported by the counts of Flanders and Champagne, and overthrew a league formed by nobles who had placed another of his brothers at their head. Henry was victorious, pardoned his brother, and bestowed on him the duchy of Burgundy. He died, after causing a son whom he had had by a daughter of Jaroslaus, czar of Muscovy, a country at that time almost unknown to France, to be crowned (1060).

Philip I. was only eight years old at the death of his father. He remained indifferent to the great events which overturned Europe under his reign, took part in useless and sterile wars, suffered all his good qualities to be tarnished by his love of pleasure, for which, to raise funds, he made a traffic with church benefices. On his deathbed he evinced some feelings of his unworthiness; he desired to be buried in the abbey of St. Benoit, on the Loire, and not in the abbey of St. Denis, the usual burial place of the French kings, being, as he said, too great a sinner to presume to lay his bones by those of the great martyr (1108).

The Conquests of the Normans, and the Crusades.—During this period the Normans, under the rule of Tancred of Hauteville, the father of Robert Guiscard, founded the kingdom of the two Sicilies, after having driven away the Arabs (1053). After this, their duke, William the bastard, led them on to the conquest of England, which had been adjudged to him by the pope, and divided the entire country into sixty thousand baronies, created at the expense of the Saxons (1066).

The church of Rome had hoped much from the victories of the Normans. Those originally of Italy, and afterwards those of England, acknowledged themselves feudatories of the Holy see. But this did not suffice for the ambition of Gregory VII. and his successors, who wished to lower both empires, and to found the unity of Europe under the pope. Since the year 1000 they had contemplated a great holy war.

It had long been a favourite project with the popes to arm the Western world against the infidels, for the deliverance of the Holy Land; but their exhortations would hardly have awakened much enthusiasm during the sway of the enlightened Saracens, who offered no hindrance to the Christian pilgrims who flocked to Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine, from all parts of Europe. Now, however, the case was different. The rude and brutal Turks practised unheard-of tyrannies against their visitors; and what a pope would have failed in, was accomplished by a wandering monk.

Peter the Hermit had seen the excesses committed by the Turks; and on his return from a pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ, he went from

province to province with a crucifix in his hand, exciting both princes and people to arm themselves for a holy war. At this time men's minds were stirred by the love of adventure inspired by chivalry, and by the successes which, in England and Italy, had attended the arms of the knights; so that it was no wonder that, in a council held by pope Urban, and attended by prelates, nobles, and princes, who were addressed with moving eloquence by the pope and the hermit, the prevailing thought broke out, as if by inspiration, from the assembly, "It is the will of God! it is the will of God!" These words were adopted as the motto for the sacred standard; and the warlike pilgrims, who speedily gathered round it from all quarters of Europe, affixed, as a badge upon their right shoulders, the symbol of their faith, from which they were denominated the Champions of the Cross.

The enthusiasm became so general in France, that even women flocked to the Crusade; and at length so vast and useless a multitude collected, that the real warriors, who were busy planning the expedition, were glad to get rid of them. They, on their part, were as glad to go; and putting themselves, to the number of eighty thousand, under the leadership of Peter, and a certain Walter, styled the Penniless, they set forth on foot, men, women, and boys, in the year 1096, for the conquest of the Holy Land. The Hermit walked at their head in his pilgrim's sandals, clothed in a robe of sackcloth, and with a rope round his waist. Having neither money nor forethought, they had made no preparations for their subsistence, but devoured like locusts as they went along; and as for the Jews, they murdered as well as robbed them—to the number, in Bavaria alone, of twelve thousand.

It is wonderful to think how they succeeded in performing so long a journey; but about a fourth part of them actually reached Constantinople, the capital of the Greek emperor, where they were joined by other bands of German and Italian fanatics. The emperor, who had expected allies against the Turks, was dismayed to find his city deluged with thieves, and made haste to help them on their way by transporting them across the Bosphorus; so that they soon found themselves traversing the plains of Asia, and in actual contact with the trained armies of the infidels. They were slaughtered like cattle, almost without resistance, and Peter the Hermit fled back to Constantinople, leaving his friend, Walter the Penniless, dead on the field.

Such was the fate of the forlorn-hope of the crusades; but the real strength of the expedition, which soon followed, although chiefly composed of French, included a great part of the chivalry of the time, and mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus to the number, it is said, of more than half a million. The Turkish empire at that time was constituted just like France or Italy; that is to say, it had a nominal head (the caliph), but was divided among numerous petty princes, distracted with mutual jealousies and enmities, and as likely to turn and rend one another, as to make head against a common enemy. This was precisely the position of the crusaders themselves; and the consequence was, a vast deal of bloodshed to little purpose. At length, however, the Christians, diminished from their hundreds of thousands to forty thousand men, captured Jerusalem, won the Holy Sepulchre, as it was called, and massacred the inhabitants of the city, men, women, and children.

When the capital had fallen, the whole of Palestine yielded, and Godfrey of Boulogne, duke of Brabant, was elected king; though from modesty and devotion he styled himself only Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, and instead of a golden crown, placed on his head a crown of thorns. Thus was established what is called the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted about a hundred years.

This great event of the crusades by which men for a while emerged from local servitude, and which caused them to live and die together without distinction of freemen and serfs, had aroused in them a new sentiment of equality and independence.

SECTION II.—FORMATION OF A FEUDAL ROYALTY.

Louis the Fat: the Communes.—The accession of Louis the Fat (Louis VI.) was the regeneration of royalty. Scattered up to that period amongst the feudal barons, it had just been able to maintain its own: the king of France guarded his dominions whilst his vassals went to the crusades. But a revolution broke out gradually, in which the towns rose against the tyranny of the nobles. Noyon, Beauvais, Saint Quentin, obtained charters like Cambrai. The *communes*, or commons, rested upon the authority of the king, who, in return, relied on their support. The absence of the great barons, moreover, who had departed for Jerusalem, had left the field clear to him. Everywhere he took the people under his protection, pursued those who oppressed it, and became the champion of justice. Royalty then appeared with an unknown power; it became the centre of the feudal system, and the greatest power of society.

During the first eight years of his reign, Louis the Fat was chiefly occupied in putting down rebellions. He took from his brother the town of Mantes, the château of Châtre and Monthlery, destroyed the castle of Hugh de Puiset, who had been the terror of Beauce, and made war against the lords of Courci, Aymon de Bourbon, and others. His most redoubtable vassal was Henry I., king of England, who had usurped the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert Curthose. Louis VI. seized the opportunity, and embraced the cause of William, Robert's son. A war ensued. Henry of England attached himself to the emperor of Germany, Henry V., by giving him his daughter in marriage. On his side, Louis the Fat had the count of Anjou and the count of Flanders, who were opposed to the power of the usurper. The war lasted for several years, without any decisive results. The two kings, each at the head of some five hundred knights, encountered one another in the plain of Brenneville. An engagement ensued, in which Louis was routed, and most of the French made prisoners. Only three were killed: to such perfection had defensive armour been brought—so much had war sunk to the mimicry of a tournament. The war was afterwards terminated, on the condition that Henry's son should do homage for Normandy to the crown of France (1119).

The vassals of the king of France soon implored the assistance of their suzerain. Louis VI. carried the war into the south. Favoured by the quarrels of the count of Auvergne and the bishop of Clermont, he extended his jurisdiction over Auvergne. The threats of the emperor served to show

the power of the king of France. He made every preparation, and on this occasion he performed a ceremony of which no previous mention is made in French history. He went to St. Denis, and, with great pomp, took from the altar and unfurled the invincible Oriflamme. At this signal, all the fiefs of France flocked to the standard, and Louis soon found himself at the head of two hundred thousand troops. The emperor dared not advance (1124).

Louis fell into a languishing state of health, and died at Paris (1137), in the fifty-eighth year of his age. On his death-bed he delivered his ring to his son, with this important lesson:—"May the power with which you will shortly be invested be considered as a sacred trust committed to you by Providence, and for which you must be accountable in a future state."

This monarch was wise, brave, and prudent; honest, sincere, and well-meaning; pious without superstition, and just without tyranny. The death of a king was never more sincerely lamented, particularly by the poorer classes, whose friend and protector he had always been.

Rivalry of the French and English.—Shortly before the death of his father, Louis VII. (the young) had espoused Elinor, heiress of William X., count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine. This marriage added half of France to the crown. The feeble Louis unfortunately was not able to preserve this precious and easy conquest. Nevertheless, he commenced his reign with spirit. He chastised several refractory nobles, and resolved to support the queen's right to the country of Toulouse. Louis besieged that town. He failed in taking it, indeed: but the king of France, at the head of an army, made his name and power known, for the first time, to the inhabitants of the south. During a war carried on about the same time, against Thibaud count of Champagne, an accident occurred, which had a marked effect upon the future conduct and character of Louis the Young. He had taken by storm the castle of Vitry, and set fire to it. The flames chanced to catch the neighbouring church, into which the population had crowded, to preserve themselves from the fury of the soldiery. It appears they had no means of escape. Thirteen hundred men, women, and children perished in the conflagration. Louis was horror-struck on beholding the mass of half-consumed bodies, and the weight of the remorse hung ever after upon him, and weighed down his spirit. It was the chief cause which induced him to assume the cross, and to lead that expedition to Jerusalem, which is known in history as the second crusade (1147).

St. Bernard was preaching a second crusade, but he refused to go to the Holy Land, preferring during the absence of the king to act as his regent over the kingdom. There was not the same enthusiasm as for the first crusade. Nevertheless Louis VII. took the cross, and departed for the Holy Land at the head of upwards of two hundred thousand Frenchmen. The emperor Conrad had preceded him. The Germans were routed and cut to pieces. Louis lost a portion of his army beneath the walls of Antioch; he besieged Damascus, was defeated, and returned to France with the princes who had joined him, and a few soldiers, but his mighty host had perished.

The proud Elinor, disgusted with her husband, was divorced from him (1152). Six weeks after she married Henry Plantaganet, soon

to be king of England. She brought him in marriage the entire of western France. Henry added to it Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, which he took from his brother, and Quercy, lost by the count of Toulouse, who also nearly lost its capital. He reduced to submission Auvergne, Limoussin, Berry, and bought La Marche. On his death he possessed nearly three-fourths of France.

Louis VII. had not lost all this ground without a struggle. He had commenced by supporting the pretensions of Geoffrey Plantaganet against his brother Henry; had thrown himself into Toulouse, and had saved it from the English. When the chancellor of England, the famous Thomas à Becket, who exercised a species of ecclesiastic royalty, departed from England in consequence of the persecutions which he experienced at the hands of the king, Louis received him as a martyr—a martyr, indeed, for Becket having, after lengthened negotiations with Henry, returned to England, was assassinated at the very foot of the altar. Later, the sons of Henry, having rebelled against their father, secretly incited thereto by their mother, incensed at his amours, were sustained against their father by the king of France. But the unhappy Louis was destined to be unfortunate throughout. The murderer of Becket, abandoned by everybody, took into his pay large bodies of the banditti-like soldiery with whom the continent swarmed, and who were always ready to fight zealously, and bravely too, in any cause that afforded regular pay and promised large plunder. Louis was defeated at Verneuil. After this Henry purchased the favour of Rome, declared himself a vassal of the pope, and walked barefooted to the shrine of that now-sainted Thomas à Becket who in life had caused him so much annoyance and danger. Having prostrated himself before the shrine, he next caused the monks of the place to be assembled, and, stripping off his garments, submitted his bare shoulders to the scourge. He thus forwarded the great object he had in view—the conciliation of the zealous goodwill of all his subjects; for amongst all ranks, not excepting the very highest, superstition then had a mysterious and a mighty power. In three weeks he delivered his kingdom from his enemies, who were invading it on all sides. He reduced his rebellious vassals to submission, and re-appeared suddenly on the continent to deliver the capital of Normandy, which was besieged by the French army. Nothing was left to the king of France but to demand peace from his vassal (1174).

Louis was struck by a palsy, under which he lingered for many months. He died (1180) at the age of sixty, greatly regretted by his subjects, and was buried in the monastery of Barbeau on the Seine, a building of his own foundation, and where his widow caused a magnificent tomb to be erected. He possessed many amiable qualities; tender, compassionate, courageous, and devout; brave and prudent, but deficient of all greatness of mind and political ability. His talents were moderate, and but little improved by education. Notwithstanding the deficiencies of his mind and his errors of judgment, he was regretted by his subjects, over whom he had an authority never possessed by his predecessors.

Philip II., surnamed Augustus.—Philip Augustus had to repair the errors of his father, and devoted himself to the task with rare perseverance. One of his earliest acts was to espouse the daughter of the count of Flanders

in opposition to his mother and his uncles. He caused the provinces of Amiens and a portion of Vermandois to be ceded to him : this was a position in front of Normandy which he did not suffer the count of Flanders to re-conquer. His friend Richard, he who was called the "lion-hearted," having rebelled against his father (Henry II., king of England), Philip deemed the occasion opportune to retake the important places of Mans and Tours. By means of the one he disquieted Normandy and Brittany ; by the other he held the Loire.

Third Crusade.—Meanwhile the empire of the Christians in the East was crumbling away. Jerusalem had again fallen in the power of the infidels. The kings of France and England were obliged to take up the cross. They embarked with their soldiers, Philip at Genoa, Richard at Marseilles, and they wintered in Sicily, and there laid the foundation of their future jealousy and hatred. Philip forced Richard to remove his standard, which he had planted on the walls of Messina. At length they arrived before Acre, of which Guy de Lusignan had commenced the siege. It was once more the struggle between Europe and Asia. The victory remained with the Christians, the besieged giving themselves up to the discretion of the victors (1194).

Philip Augustus, unable to endure the superior renown and prowess of Richard Cœur de Lion, on a plea of ill health, abandoned the campaign, but left 10,000 men under the command of the duke of Burgundy. He returned in time to take his share of the inheritance of Philip of Alsatia, and took to himself Artois and St. Omer in right of his wife Isabella.

Richard, in the meantime, continued to fight his way to Jerusalem, and after being the means of gaining the battle of Ascalon, in which forty thousand Saracens fell, he arrived even within sight of the Holy City. But here the other leaders showed so much disinclination to prosecute further the perilous enterprise, that all Richard could do was to conclude a truce with Saladin on equal conditions, the terms of which, according to the strange superstition of the times, were three years, three months, three weeks, and three hours. He then set out in return ; but when travelling through Germany in the habit of a pilgrim, he was seized by the duke of Austria, whom he had insulted at the siege of Acre, and sold by him to the emperor, likewise his personal enemy. When at length ransomed for £300,000, he found, on his return home, his kingdom just about to pass into the hands of his brother John, who had been instigated by Philip to usurp the throne ; and this gave rise to a furious warfare between the two heroes of the crusade. Pope Innocent III. interposed his mediation.

It was well that Philip listened to the voice of the pontiff. His divorce from his second wife, Ingeburge of Denmark, had set the church against him ; his great vassals were jealous of his aggrandisement. Reduced to inaction, he was unable even to profit by the death of Richard. He only possessed himself of Evreux, and waited to be reconciled with the pope to renew the war. The experience which he had had in a former expedition to Palestine deterred him from taking part in the fourth crusade. He suffered a count of Champagne, to place himself at the head of the crusaders, who on their way forgot the Holy Sepulchre, and conquered Constantinople (1204). The moment had arrived to take back a portion of France from the king of England. Philip sup-

ported the claims of Arthur Plantaganet, son of Geoffrey and Constance, who was the undisputed heir of the dukedom of Brittany by right of his mother, but who also claimed through his father the crown of England with its dependencies. He attacked his uncle John's provinces, and was supported by his Breton nobles, but was surprised while besieging queen Elinor in Poitou, and made prisoner with a large portion of his troops (1202). Arthur was no more heard of, and John was accused of having killed him with his own hands. Philip now made his prerogative effective: he summoned king John to answer for the alleged murder before his peers; on default, John was adjudged contumacious, and the territories he held in France were declared forfeit to his liege lord. Philip Augustus hastened to carry this sentence into execution; he seized upon Normandy, Brittany, Maine, of all the country which John then possessed south of the Loire, and the portions of Touraine and Anjou situated on the north of that river. John had raised an army, had overrun Poitou and Anjou, always flying before Philip, who was seeking him to give him battle.

Philip had long meditated the conquest of England, for which he thought the time had now arrived. John had been excommunicated by the pope, and the king of France was charged with carrying the apostolic sentence into effect. Philip assembled a fleet and an immense army. John, to ward off the blow, not only became reconciled to the Roman see, but made himself and his kingdom feudatory to the pope. He won over to his side the count of Flanders, allied himself with his nephew, the emperor Otho, stirred up all the Belgian provinces, crossed the sea, and landed at Rochelle. But Philip gained a great victory at Bouvines, on the Meuse (1214), and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne were brought in fetters to Paris. In the conflict the king had been struck down, trampled under the horses' feet, and wounded in the throat.

War of the Albigenses.—Meanwhile the entire of the south of France seemed ready to detach itself from the church. The first reformed religion was preached in Languedoc, two hundred years before Wickliffe, and three hundred before Luther. The seed had been sown by societies for the amendment of manners, and had received encouragement from the popes, who considered the purpose beneficial; but from attacking the practice, it was an easy step to question the doctrines of the Romish church, and many in the south of France had adopted the principles afterwards promulgated by Luther, or had carried their opinions into heretical extremes. These reformers denied transubstantiation, rejected confession, refused to acknowledge marriage and confirmation to be sacraments, and forbade the worship of images; but some also had followed the errors of the Manicheans, who mix up Oriental ideas about the spiritual world with the unsullied teaching of the Scriptures. In 1167 the Manichean bishops had held a council near Toulouse. The heresy had spread, notwithstanding the preaching of St. Bernard and the thunders of Rome, and threatened to extend to Flanders, Germany, and England. The Benedictine monks preached a crusade against them. Crowds of adventurers flocked to the standard, and a formidable army was assembled at Lyons in the spring of 1209, under the command of the legate commander, Amalric, abbot of Citeaux. The fury of the crusaders first fell upon the town of Beziers: they had scarcely set down before the unfortunate town, when a sally of the garrison was repulsed.

with such vigour that the besiegers entered the town together with the routed host of the citizens. Word of this unexpected success was instantly brought to the abbot of Citeaux, and his orders were demanded as to how the innocent were to be distinguished from the guilty. "Slay them all," exclaimed the legate of the vicar of Christ; "the Lord will know his own." The entire population was in consequence put to the sword; no woman nor infant was spared. Upwards of twenty thousand human beings perished in the massacre—the sanguinary first-fruits of modern persecution. Carcassonne, in which viscount Beziers had shut himself up, was next invested; the crusaders stormed the town, singing *Veni Creator*, and burnt nearly five hundred heretics. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, was the most prominent warrior of the crusaders, who, in a general assembly, gave him the lordships of Beziers and Carcassonne in reward of his zeal and valour; and to make the gift sure, it was accompanied by the person of his rival. The unfortunate viscount soon after perished in prison. The crusaders, having served beyond the term allotted to them by the pope to merit indulgences, disbanded. In order to give themselves time to organise another army, they dallied with Raymond count of Toulouse; they even suffered him to go to Rome to plead his cause. The king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the king of Arragon sympathised with him, and recommended him to the clemency of the pope; but the abbot of Citeaux and Simon de Montfort remained inflexible. The count of Toulouse resisted odious and impossible conditions. All the nobles of the Pyrenees declared for him. The war recommenced, or rather continued. Simon de Montfort had already taken and ravaged all the territories of viscount Beziers. He undertook the siege of Toulouse. Repulsed by the allies of Raymond, he defeated the count of Foix at Castelnaudry and at Muret. The king of Arragon perished with upwards of fifteen thousand men. The counts of Foix, of Comminges, of Roussillon, and the count of Toulouse himself, gave in their submission to the legate. The council of Latran divided their spoils (1215).

The cruel de Montfort did not enjoy his share long. In 1217 the Toulousians again revolted, and war once more broke out betwixt count Raymond and Simon de Montfort. The latter formed the siege of the capital, and was engaged in repelling a sally, when a stone from one of the walls struck him, and put an end to his existence. His son experienced reverses and a sanguinary reaction, and when he was bereft of nearly all his power he ceded to Philip Augustus his rights in Languedoc. Thus the crown of France gathered the fruits of this impious war (1222).

Philip Augustus finding his health decline, arranged his worldly affairs, and feeling some remorse at the manner in which he had gained his wealth, he appropriated a part for repaying the persons whose money he had unjustly taken in his lifetime. He died of a fever (1223) at Mantes, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and was buried at St. Denis.

Results of the Reign of Philip Augustus.—Philip Augustus added grandeur and material power to the moral strength which royalty already possessed under Louis the Fat. Out of the seventy-eight departments into which he divided the kingdom, fifty-seven were the results of his own conquests. Authority consolidated itself in his hands in proportion as he extended the domains of the crown; he established a royal jurisdiction, and

established legal relations between himself and his vassals. According to the romantic traditions of the court of Charlemagne, he had twelve peers who gave to his ordinances the force of law throughout the whole territory of the kingdom. He put the police on an efficient footing; he walled and paved Paris and the principal towns under his sway; he built markets, aqueducts, and other useful monuments; continued the works of the church of Notre Dame, the first stone of which had been laid in 1163, and which was only finished two centuries later. He encouraged literature by the foundation of professorships, and granted privileges to that university which was destined to become so powerful a lever in the hands of kings. He likewise improved the discipline of the army; and, with all his enterprises and expenses, so ordered his finances as to leave a considerable treasure at his death. His power was growing, whilst that of the feudal houses was crumbling away around him. It might already be seen that the territorial unity would ere long meet no further obstacles.

KINGS OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 987 TO A.D. 1270.



Hugh Capet, 987-995.



Robert II., 996-1031.



Henry I., 1031-1060.



Philip I., 1060-1108.



Louis VI., 1108-1137.



Louis VII., 1137-1180.



Philip II., 1180-1223.



Louis VIII., 1223-1226.



Louis IX., 1226-1270.

KINGS OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

A.D. 1270 TO A.D. 1328.



Philip III., 1270-1285.



Philip IV., 1285-1314.



Louis X., 1314-1316.



Philip V., 1316-1322.



Charles IV., 1322-1328.

V. LOUIS IX. AND PHILIP IV., LE BEL.

Louis VIII.—The son of Philip Augustus, Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion, was greeted on his entry into Paris by the acclamations of the people (1223). For the first time the accession of a king does not pass unheeded by the annalists, who record the most trivial circumstances connected with it. Louis VIII. followed, during the short period of his reign, the example of his father. He was defeated in England, but he took Poitou from the English, terminated the crusade against the Albigenses, dismantled Avignon, took possession of Nîmes, of Albi, of Carcassonne, and of the entire country which extends from the Rhône to within four leagues from Toulouse. The pestilence which decimated his army forced him to return to the north. He was himself affected by the disease, and died in Auvergne, after a reign of three years (1226).

His brief reign affords us but little information by which we may form an estimate of his character. He appears to have passed through his career like the early "sluggard kings"—an instrument in the hands of different factions for party purposes. He gave several proofs of valour and courage, and appears to have been charitable and humane. He was, during the lifetime of his father, acknowledged king of England.

Louis IX.—*Regency of Blanche of Castille.*—The minority of Louis IX., surnamed the Saint, appeared to the nobles a favourable opportunity of elevating themselves again. According to the feudal laws, the regency and guardianship of the young king would have belonged to his uncle, the count of Boulogne. The queen-mother, Blanche of Castille, assumed them, however, with the aid of the legate and Thiebault count of Champagne. A league was formed against her. Philip Hurepel count of Boulogne, Peter duke of Brittany, surnamed Mauclerc, and Hugh of Lusignan, count de la Marche, determined to lower royalty, summoned the king of England to their aid. Blanche treated with them, after having carried defection into their ranks. She escaped the snares of Philip Hurepel, prevented the count of Champagne, who had hitherto supported her, from marrying the daughter of Mauclerc, directed two expeditions into Brittany, and ended by bringing the count of Brittany, in the garb of a suppliant, to the feet of his suzerain, the king of France (1234). She had been enabled at the same time to terminate the affairs of the south. The count of Toulouse had been forced to confirm France in the possession of Lower Languedoc, and to promise Toulouse as the dowry of his daughter, whom one of the king's brothers was about to marry.

Louis, after having attained his majority, remained still long under the ascendancy of his mother. There was no change in the government of the kingdom, in which everything had been ruled by Blanche of Castille, not in her own name, but in that of her son. He brought, nevertheless, great application to the transaction of business. The virtue and

the wisdom of the king of France had already become celebrated throughout Europe. The emperor and the pope selected him as arbitrator. The pious Louis refused the proposals of the pontiff, who offered him the spoils of Frederick II. after having excommunicated him.

In the meantime, after some years of tranquillity, the nobles had formed a new league. The ambitious Isabella, the wife of count de la Marche, united together in a vast conspiracy the count of Toulouse, and the kings of England, Arragon, Castille, and Navarre. But there was misunderstanding among the confederates. Previous to the landing of Henry III. on the continent, a great number of count de la Marche's strongholds were taken. Louis advanced to chastise the refractory vassal. The two kings met on the banks of the Charente, at a castle called Taillebourg, which commanded a bridge over the river. Some negotiations went forward, and it appears that the English, afraid of being surprised or betrayed, abandoned the post in a panic and fled. They were pursued by Louis, on the following day, to Saintes. A battle ensued, in which Henry III. and the count de la Marche were defeated. The latter, as well as his proud wife, were compelled to submit to the conqueror. The count of Toulouse, who had also been engaged in the rebellion, made his submission however in time; as did all the great vassals on learning the victory of Saintes (1246).

New Crusade.—Louis IX., undismayed by the ill success of former crusades, resolved in a fit of sickness, at the news of the invasion of Palestine by the Moguls, to assume the cross himself. The barbarians had even seized upon Jerusalem, where they massacred all the Christians. All Asia was struck with terror: the Mohammedan princes themselves sent supplicating embassies to the king of France. Louis IX. had to resist the entreaties of his mother and his queen, Margaret, and the remonstrance of his most intimate advisers, who beheld with terror the preparations for a new crusade. After struggling for four years, he at length departed, leaving the government of the country once more in the hands of Blanche of Castille.

The time for crusades had gone by. Europe did not participate in the enthusiasm of the king of France. It was convulsed with the quarrel betwixt pope Innocent and the emperor Frederick. The latter was most eager to fly to the relief of the Holy Land; but the pontiff, bent on his own selfish schemes, his own views, and the church's aggrandisement, was deaf to all offers and treaties of accommodation. Louis IX., on embarking at Aigues-Mortes, a port in the Mediterranean, now dry, was only accompanied by the greater number of his turbulent barons and an army of fifty thousand men (1248). The crusaders remained some time at Nicosia in Cyprus, where they wintered, and received the ambassadors from the princes of Asia, who came to greet the king of France. They then considered it advisable to attack Egypt first, deeming the conquest of that kingdom the safest means of insuring that of Palestine. Damietta was carried. The army of crusaders, having occupied the town, were decimated by disease and weakened by indiscipline. Their great object was the seizure of Cairo, the soldan's capital, styled Babylon by the monkish writers of the day. The rise of the Nile detained them. It was not until November that they began to march. The lassitude endured under that burning climate caused them to linger, and another

month elapsed ere they reached Mansourah, not many leagues up the Nile. Here was a canal or river to cross, called the Thanis. The Saracens defended the passage; wooden fortifications were raised on both sides; but the crusaders suffered infinitely more than their enemies, from the Greek fire with which the latter assailed them. To the great joy of the French, a ford was discovered. King Louis's brother, Robert count of Artois, passed it the next day. He took the Saracens by surprise, routed them, and in the heat of victory pursued them rashly into the town of Mansourah. Their chief was killed; but in the narrow streets and embarrassed passages the Egyptians rallied. The count of Artois, lord Salisbury, and Robert de Vere, who carried the banner of England, were here slain; the grand master of the Temple lost an eye; a thousand knights perished in the rout, amongst whom were almost all the English. After this defeat the project of advancing on Cairo was abandoned. To retreat was equally difficult. A pestilence seized on the army and paralysed it. Louis was made prisoner with twenty thousand French; the queen Margaret besieged in Damietta. The pious king, bound in irons, astounded the infidels by his pious resignation; he obtained his liberty by restoring Damietta as the price of his own ransom, and promised 400,000 livres as that of his followers'. The count of Poitiers remained hostage for the fulfilment. A truce was agreed on for ten years (1250).

But he did not consider his vows accomplished as long as he had done nothing for the delivery of the Holy Land. He sailed for Palestine with the wreck of his army. Abandoned by a portion of his barons, and bound moreover by the treaty which he had concluded in Egypt, he could not hope to re-establish the empire of the Christians in the East, and contented himself by fortifying Acre, Sidon, Jaffa, and other principal towns held by the Latins. He spent four years more in Palestine, and laboured to reconcile the differences betwixt the chiefs of Syria. At length, on learning the death of his mother, queen Blanche, who had been regent in his absence, he sailed from Palestine, arriving in France during the autumn of the year 1254, six years after his departure for an expedition which had at once been so deplorable and so glorious.

The Pastoureaux.—The second regency of queen Blanche had only been marked by the revolt of the *pastoureaux* (shepherds). These were peasants, who having heard of the virtues of the sainted king, and knowing him to be a prisoner, wished to go and deliver him from captivity. A fanatical monk of the order of Citeaux had preached a popular crusade. Thirty thousand country people followed him on his entrance into Paris. Before arriving at Orleans they amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand. Queen Blanche was obliged to pursue these banditti, who spread themselves over the provinces, carrying everywhere terror and devastation. It was not difficult to disperse them.

Return of the King.—Louis IX., on his return to Paris, devoted himself to the government of his country and to the practices of ardent piety. Henry III., who was aware of the scruples which the timorous conscientiousness of the king of France suggested to him relative to a portion of the inheritance of his ancestors, reclaimed Normandy, which half a century ago had been conquered from king John. Louis IX. listened to the advice of his counsellors, and kept the noblest conquest of

Philip Augustus. Nevertheless Henry III. obtained restitutions. By the treaty which was signed in 1259, he replaced Henry III. in the possession of some districts in the south, while he in return received a ratification of his claims on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou, and Henry acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of France.

The disinterestedness of which Louis had given, at the cost of France it must be said, so rare an example, made him be called in by both parties to arbitrate between Henry III. and his barons. The king held his court at Amiens for the purpose, and patiently heard the pleas on both sides. Louis decided against the English barons, ordering that all his castles and powers should be restored to Henry (1265).

Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples.—The ancient house of Suabia had fallen into decay, and the pope was offering its spoils to whoever would accept them. Louis gave a new proof of his disinterestedness in refusing the crown of Sicily. But he had a brother, Charles of Anjou, who was too ambitious not to accept the good offices of Rome. Beatrice of Provence, his wife, likewise could not brook to be only a countess, three of her sisters being queens. She stirred up the violence and the cupidity of her husband. The pope undertook to remove the king's scruples. Louis did not interfere, and permitted the crusade to be preached in France—in truth, the conquest of Sicily was nothing less than a new crusade. The entire support of the bastard Manfred, the successor of Frederick II., consisted of an army of Saracens. Charles of Anjou was going to Rome to receive the crown from the hands of the pontiff; after this he entered his new kingdom, at the head of thirty thousand troops which Beatrice had led into Italy. Manfred was defeated at Beneventum (1266). Ere long the tyranny of Charles began to weigh heavily upon Italy. The entire of the Ghibeline party implored the aid of the young Conradin, the last prince of the house of Suabia. Charles of Anjou advanced to defend his newly-acquired kingdom, and defeated his rival in battle. Conradin was taken, and instantly sent by his ruthless conqueror to perish on the scaffold (1268).

Crusade in Africa.—Louis, since his expedition to Palestine, had not ceased to retain on his habit the symbol of a crusader, thus marking that he considered his vow as unaccomplished. When he learnt that the sultan of the Mamelukes of Egypt had turned his armies against the Christians, that he had taken nearly all their strongholds in Syria, and that in Antioch alone seventeen thousand Christians had been massacred, he resolved to enter upon a new crusade. Charles of Anjou wished to invade Africa; he persuaded his brother that it was necessary to commence the conquest of Egypt by that of Tunis, and that the sultan only awaited the arrival of the Christians to embrace their religion. Louis decided upon sailing towards the coast of Africa. The crusaders, after having attacked and taken what is called the castle of Carthage, were going to besiege Tunis. But the plague soon began to make dreadful ravages in the camp, and the king himself, at the end of a month, was attacked by the disease. He became its victim on the 25th August, 1270, after twenty-two days' suffering, which he bore with heroic resignation.

Charles of Anjou did not the less pursue the crusade. He attacked the king of Tunis, defeated his troops in three actions, and forced him to

restore to liberty all the Christians whom he had imprisoned, to authorise in his states the free preaching of the gospel, to open the ports to the merchants of the west, to pay the cost of the war, and to acknowledge himself tributary to the king of Sicily.

The Government of St. Louis.—Louis had reigned forty-four years. At no period has history presented a purer or nobler aspect. He made of his religious belief the first rule of his conduct. He possessed all the virtues of his age untarnished by its vices: he was brave without cruelty or violence, pious without bigotry or weakness; plain and simple in his dress and manners; impartial in the administration of justice; fond of peace, and solicitous to maintain it, yet on necessary occasions manifesting high spirit and courage. About thirty years after his death he was canonized by pope Boniface III.

Saint Louis had accepted society such as he found it; but he relentlessly attacked these two feudal principles—private wars, and the custom of deciding legal questions by combat. He substituted the rules of right and equity for those of barbarous usage: proofs, witnesses, and pleas took the place of duels. He established trial by jury, and consecrated it by the noble principle that justice should lean to the side of mercy. He granted the right of final appeal to himself; and in a case in which it was used, a private person who had been imprisoned by one of the king's brothers was acquitted, and the prince condemned. He founded his laws upon the Roman code, selected learned jurists for their application, and erected courts, which he called parliaments. These legists became almost a fourth order in the state. Raised from the lower or middling classes, they were jealous of the aristocracy, and more so of the priesthood; and they laboured with inveterate diligence to raise royalty, to which they owed their own elevation and honours, on the ruins of these two estates. The ensuing hundred years of French history might be called the age of lawyers, so universally did they dominate and bend every power and institution to their will. It was their teachings and maxims that gave to kings that divine right which the church at that time claimed for itself. That devotion to royalty which in romance is considered to have been the characteristic of the high-born, was in reality first held and forced upon them by the plebeian lawyer. This profession, which in later times has given to the cause of liberty its ablest advocates, laid, in the thirteenth century, the firmest foundations of absolute power. Louis also fixed the value of coin, which was then struck at twenty-four legalised mints, founded a library, an hospital, and the college of the Sorbonne, and introduced valuable improvements in nearly every branch of his administration.

SECTION II.—END OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

Philip III., surnamed the Hardy, called so, apparently, from no other cause than that of having survived the war and pestilence of Tunis, was still sick when St. Louis expired. The conduct of the army devolved on Charles of Anjou, who, by a treaty, put an end to the war. Philip journeyed through Italy, accompanied by five coffins,—those of his father, brother, brother-in-law, wife, and son. The province of Valois

came to him by the death of his brother, and he soon after lost his uncle, Alfonso count of Toulouse, who, having no issue, left Philip the inheritance of Toulouse, Poitou, and Foix; this was, notwithstanding its losses in the wars of the Albigenses, still the greatest of the fiefs of France.

On the other hand, the king of England claimed and obtained the restitution of Guienne, and the province of Vaucluse was abandoned at the instance of pope Gregory, and became an appendage of the holy siege.

The new king commenced his reign by going to Toulouse, in order to have his authority in that province recognised. The count of Foix having attempted to encroach upon his rights, he invaded his territories, in opposition to the king of Arragon, made the count prisoner, and forced him to acknowledge himself vassal of the crown of France. When the king of Navarre died, leaving a daughter three years old, Philip sent an army from the other side of the Pyrenees to support the interests of the young queen, whom he betrothed to his second son. This young prince, after the death of his eldest brother, was thus enabled to add to his paternal succession the rich inheritance of Jane of Navarre.

The fates were less propitious to Philip in Castile, where he sided with the children of Lacerda, who were princes of French origin, against the conqueror of the Moors, Sancho the Brave. He was likewise defeated in his war against the king of Arragon, the same Peter III. who had allied himself with the Castilians, in order to free Spain from foreign dominion. Peter III. having entered into the league of the Ghibelines of Italy, the pope had declared his throne forfeited, and had invested the young Charles de Valois, one of Philip's sons, with the kingdom. Philip did not succeed in enforcing the pope's bull. Whilst the Sicilian Vespers, in which eight thousand French were massacred by the Palermitans, took place, commenced the re-action against the tyranny of Charles of Anjou; whilst the combined fleets of Catalonia and Sicily were destroying the vessels of the king of Naples, under his eyes, Philip made immense preparations, resolving to overwhelm his enemy, and entered Spain with a numerous army. He advanced, however, no further than Gerona, which he took, and thence was compelled to retreat. A malignant fever, the consequence of disappointment and fatigue, seized upon Philip, and he expired at Perpignon, in October 1285. The rival princes, Charles of Anjou and Peter of Arragon, died the same year.

Philip III. was pious in an eminent degree, and possessed many of his father's good qualities; but, unlike him, he reigned a slave to superstition, under the influence of his valets, but was at the same time simple and credulous, which continually exposed him to deception.

Philip IV.—Philip, surnamed le Bel (the Fair) was sixteen years of age when he succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy. He was not fond of war, and therefore was glad to terminate by a treaty that which had been commenced by his father against the king of Arragon; resolved, moreover, to violate the treaty as soon as he could find it to his advantage. The young queen of Navarre had brought him in marriage that kingdom and the province of Champagne; he added to it, not by means of conquest, but by purchase and confiscations, new provinces. First, he bought Quercy from Edward I., and afterwards, instead of paying him, broke with him, and

seizing the pretext of a quarrel between an English and a Norman sailor, he embroiled the two nations, mixing up a considerable part of Europe in the quarrel. Edward was summoned, as duke of Guienne and vassal of France, to appear in his liege lord's court at Paris, and answer for the offences his subjects had committed. The king had no alternative but to consent to the sequestration of the duchy of Aquitaine (1293). After this, seeing his possessions invaded by French commissaries, he protested against the perfidy of his rival, summoned to his aid the duke of Brabant, the counts of Flanders and Guelders, and the war at first broke out in the south. But the difficulties with which he had to contend against in Scotland, prevented the king from directing the campaign in person: the English were beaten in Guienne, the Flemings in their own territory. When Edward entered the Scheldt with his fleet, it was only for the purpose of asking for a truce, which was shortly followed by a treaty of peace between France and England. This treaty was the source of incalculable misfortunes; for in consequence of it the daughter of Philip was betrothed to the son of Edward, and thus led, on the part of the kings of England, to those pretensions to the crown of France which resulted in such long and deplorable wars (1299). Philip and Edward naturally abandoned their allies respectively to each other. The count of Flanders, left to his own resources, abandoned the prolongation of an unequal struggle, submitted to the king of France, who made him a prisoner, and annexed the country of Flanders, for the time, to the crown (1300). The Flemings were then treated as a conquered people, the fortifications of their towns were destroyed, their privileges violated, and thirty chiefs of corporations of artisans thrown into fetters for having dared to protest. The artisans of Bruges then took to arms, attacked the French, and were joined by the neighbouring towns, the whole of Flanders rising. Count Robert d'Artois himself, with an army of fifty thousand men, and many of the first nobles of France, were massacred at Courtray, where the Flemings had posted themselves behind a canal. The victors collected on the field of battle four thousand gilt spurs, and hung them up in the church of Courtray as a trophy (1302).

Philip was not discouraged, but he stood in need of treasure, and from the Jews and Lombards, whom he had drained so often, he had nothing more to hope. The king ordered the bailiffs and other responsible officers of the crown to carry all their silver plate to the mint; he renewed the prohibition of exporting out of the kingdom provisions of whatever description, which might serve the enemy; and, finally, he established the first general impost, which the people rudely called extortion. When he had thus prepared for the success of his expeditions, he marched against the Flemings; but the campaign, without being decisive, was not fortunate. Philip and the two sons of the count of Flanders concluded a truce, which left to each the hope of soon resuming hostilities with greater advantage.

In the meantime, pope Boniface VIII. was creating for Philip embarrassments of another description; the question related to the very principle of the two powers which divided the world. For several years the pope and the king had not been on good terms. Pontiff and monarch were equally haughty, irritable, and possessed with high ideas of their sovereign power. A tenth that Philip raised on his clergy, without the

pope's consent, and the refusal of the French king to abide by the arbitration of Boniface betwixt him and England, were the first causes of rupture. The pope sent a French bishop as legate to expostulate; the bishop took the opportunity to insult his sovereign. The pope, in the jubilee of 1300, caused to be carried before him the sword and the sceptre. Philip opposed to these pretensions that "kings had exercised their power in France and given laws before priests were known there." The pope's legate was arrested and imprisoned, the pope's bull was burnt, and the news was announced by sound of trumpet. Boniface summoned to Rome all the French bishops, to which Philip replied by a great assembly in which the burgesses of the towns sat by the side of the barons and the bishops; these were the first states-general (1302).

The king of France was resolved to maintain the prerogatives of the crown in their full integrity. He treated as rebellious subjects the bishops who obeyed the summons of Boniface, and seized their temporalities. Boniface launched bull after bull, in which he formally declared that the two powers belonged to the church, and he excommunicated the king, without, however, daring to designate him by name. On this the king called a council, in which one of his lawyer favourites, after denouncing the bulls as interfering with the prerogatives of the crown, openly attacked the pope himself as an usurper whom the council should depose. The university assented, the towns, and even the churches, sided with that opinion. And whilst the pope was excommunicating Philip anew, and absolving his subjects from their oath of fidelity, the king employed one of his agents, also a man of the law, to excite a conspiracy against the pope. He united with the Colonnas, levied an armed troop, and surprised Boniface at his country residence, in Anagni. Making themselves masters of his person, they bound, insulted, and menaced him. The pontiff bared his neck to their swords, but they feared to strike; and even found that to bring him away captive was impracticable. At length a body of the faithful subjects of Boniface rose and delivered him from the conspirators. The vengeance of Philip was complete, however, despite of this rescue. Boniface died soon after, of a fever caused by the indignities, the hunger, and privation he had suffered (1303).

Delivered from all apprehension by this bold stroke, Philip was enabled to resume hostilities against the Flemings; he purchased a fleet from the Genoese, and defeated the Flemish fleet. He himself marched against them, entered Flanders at the head of a numerous army, encountered them at Mons-en-Puelle, and won a great victory (1304). On hearing, however, that a new army of sixty thousand was advancing against him, he consented to a peace; by it he acquired French Flanders, with the towns of Lille and Douay, and setting their count at liberty, he recognised the independence of the Flemish.

In the meantime, the king of France was on the point of terminating his differences with the pope. The influence of the French party had caused the choice of the conclave to fall upon the archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Goth, a mere tool in the hands of Philip. He was immediately sent for by Philip, who showed him that he was master of the election, and could insure the elevation of the archbishop, provided the latter would become his partisan. Bertrand de Goth grasped at the high offer, and refused no terms: he promised to fulfil five demands that

the king made of him, amongst which was one to condemn the memory of Boniface, and exculpate his assaulters; and another to grant a sixth, which Philip reserved the liberty of thereafter specifying. This was the condemnation of the order of templars. Bertrand de Goth became pope Clement V. in consequence of this intrigue.

In 1305 the pope himself summoned the grand master of the templars, James de Molay, to Paris, where he was received with distinction by the king. Two years after, on Friday, the 13th of October, 1307, the templars were seized in all parts of France—the grand master and sixty knights in Paris—they were thrown into prison, and all the possessions of the order confiscated. The most abominable charges were brought against them:—those of committing the most indecent of crimes, of worshipping a head, spitting on the cross, and avowing infidelity. Torturing the accused, and promising him pardon if he confessed, were the chief and only modes of proof. Many, in order to escape torment, confessed what their torturers put into their mouths; and these avowals were conclusive of their guilt. Fifty-nine templars were burnt at Paris; a proportional number in the provinces. Clement V., in obedience to Philip, abolished the order. When the venerable James de Molay, graduate of the Temple, was brought to execution, he was said to have uttered, amidst protestations of his innocence, a solemn summons to his chief accusers, king Philip and pope Clement, to appear before the throne of the Almighty, one in fifty days, the other in the space of a year and a day. They died within these periods respectively. Philip expired at Fontainebleau, in November, 1314, from the fall of his horse as he was hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau. On his death-bed he was touched with repentance, and taking pity on his oppressed people, he besought his son Louis to moderate the taxes, maintain justice and order, and coin no base money. He was harsh, irascible, and covetous; he put no restraint upon his wishes, and enforced his meanness with despotic power. No prince had recourse to more iniquitous and violent measures to supply his treasures; he was brave, persevering, jealous of his rights, but proud.

Philip the Fair transmitted to his successors a power strengthened by an able government, and armed with the irresistible weapon of right. He had instituted the states-general, called the burgesses of the towns around royalty, and completed the work of St. Louis, by constituting a new monarchy, and by founding civil order in modern France. But so great a revolution could not be accomplished without considerable sacrifices. This immense administration exercised a tyranny hitherto unknown, and introduced into the government the fiscal spirit. Philip the Fair, in order to provide for so great an expenditure in a state of society in which industry did not as yet create wealth, had been the first to have recourse to taxation, to confiscation, and to exactions of every kind, even to the falsifying of coin, which became in his hands, and in those of his successors, so deplorable a source of revenue.

The Sons of Philip the Fair.—The feudal aristocracy had not waited for the death of Philip the Fair to protest against the encroachments of royalty. Under the first of his three sons, who reigned one after another, a strong reaction broke out, in which the barons had at first the advantage. The young Louis, surnamed Hutin from his disorderly

youth, suffered a portion of the new prerogatives of the crown to be wrested from him. He himself aided his enemies against his father's former advisers. Judicial combat was again revived, together with great disorders in the finances, and continued outrages against the public morals marked the course of his short and worthless reign. Charles count of Valois, brother of Philip, held the chief influence over his nephew. He employed it to destroy Enguerrand de Marigny, minister of Philip the Fair, whom he accused of malversation and sorcery, and whom he caused to be hanged upon the common gallows. Louis led an army against the Flemings, but was obliged to disband it, without a single action or conquest.

But the reaction was not destined to be of long duration. Royalty had entered on a path in which its very embarrassments prevented it from retrograding. Louis X. wanted money: after having sold to the Jews, whom Philip the Fair had driven from the country in order to appropriate their wealth to the uses of the state, the right to collect new treasure, he issued a proclamation to enfranchise all the serfs in the royal domains, on paying a certain sum; and those who were not desirous of freedom he actually compelled to purchase it against their will. Thus was the work of Philip IV. continued. Louis X. died, it is supposed, by poison, in 1316, after reigning one year, eight months, and six days. His two other sons, Philip V. (the Tall) and Charles IV. (the Fair), followed in the same track. Philip V. died in 1322, after reigning six years, and Charles IV. in 1328, after reigning seven years. In him ended the Capetian dynasty. In the midst of atrocious crimes and hideous executions, which stained France under their reign, order was everywhere dawning through the barbarism of the middle ages.

VI. WAR WITH ENGLAND.

SECTION I.—DECLINE OF FEUDAL FRANCE.

Philip VI., 1328-1350.—The thirteenth century was in Europe a period of comparative repose. Each nation was for the most part occupied at home, reconciling discordant interests, struggling to form some kind of system, and developing the natural resources of commerce and industry. In France the royal power obtained ascendancy over its rivals, repressing the great feudatories, putting the yoke of its legal authority over the necks of all, balancing the power of the nobility in the mass, by calling the commons into political existence, and securing the co-operation of the clergy in resisting the encroaching power of Rome. In the interior the king of France had no longer a rival, the king of England even did him homage for his French provinces. His cousins reigned at Naples, in Hungary, and Navarre. He protected the king of Scotland. He was surrounded by kings who regarded the court of France as the most chivalrous abode in the world. As for the pope, he had not raised himself from the humiliation inflicted on Boniface VIII., and feared to be pursued as a heretic by the university of Paris. Philip of Valois contemplated at the same time to drive away Edward III. out of his French provinces, and to place the imperial diadem on his own brow.

War against Flanders.—But he knew not how to confide in the people, who had constituted the strength of his predecessors. Ambitious and warlike, loving splendour and perilous adventure, he had rallied the nobility around him. The count of Flanders felt that he could with impunity harass and annoy the citizens of Ghent and Bruges, whose municipal privileges he despised. He calculated upon the support of the new king of France, who did not disguise his contempt for popular freedom, and the nobles were burning for a second revenge of the battle of Courtray. The Flemings, driven to extremities, drove their count away. The latter had not deceived himself. Philip VI. marched against the Flemings with a brilliant army, joined by nearly the entire of the Flemish nobility, and took up his position near Cassel. The town was impregnable, and the people of Bruges and Ypres shut themselves up in it. But being desirous of returning to their vocations, they grew impatient at the inactivity of their opponents, ventured upon giving battle, and attacked the French in their camp. After the first surprise, the French rallied, surrounded and slaughtered the enemy: 13,000 are said to have fallen in the field, and 10,000 on the scaffold. The country was re-established under the yoke of the tyrant whom the people had expelled (1328).

Commencement of the War with England.—In the meanwhile, the mother of Edward III. had protested against the homage which her

son had done to Philip. Hostilities were renewed on the borders of Aquitaine. The count of Alençon, brother of the king of France, having learnt that the English were making preparations for war, had surprised them at Saintes, and razed the walls of the town. War had become imminent. It was, however, ten years before it broke out. Edward wished to create himself allies. Philip, on the other hand, secured himself the support of his neighbours, of the kings of Navarre and Bohemia, and of the dukes of Brittany, Austria, and Lorraine. Half Europe was engaged in this great feud, which the two kings were destined to transmit to their successors. The pope offered his mediation in vain. It was a war between two nations, equally popular in England as in France, and which no intervention could prevent. The English commenced hostilities by taking a Flemish town (1337). In the following spring Edward landed at Antwerp, in the hope of obtaining the aid of the Low Countries. He formed an alliance with the Flemish citizens, whose count was attached to France; more especially with Arteveld, a brewer of Ghent, one of the leaders. The Flemings, who carried on a thriving trade with England, preferred joining that country; but scruples of allying with a foreign prince against their feudal lord, the king of France, checked even the licentious citizens. To obviate this difficulty, Arteveld advised Edward to assume the title of king of France, which he claimed as a right. Edward was not backward in adopting the brewer's suggestion, an act by which war was virtually declared. Philip, who had purchased the aid of the Genoese, and collected a fleet, burnt and pillaged Southampton. Edward gathered a few ships, crowded them with knights and archers, and sailed in pursuit. He found the French fleet drawn close to the Dutch shore near Sluys. He instantly bore down upon it, hooked vessel to vessel, and by forming the decks into a platform, converted the engagement into one partaking of the character of a land-fight. After an obstinate struggle, the French were defeated with immense loss, and their fleet was destroyed. A truce immediately followed, which was subsequently prolonged. Philip had meanwhile assembled near Amiens a large army, in which there were four kings, six dukes, thirty-six counts, and four thousand knights. For six years he constantly refused to give battle. Richer than his enemy, he wished to wear him out and ruin him. The treasury of the king of England was in fact becoming exhausted, and his soldiers, ill paid, were disbanding. The northern part of his kingdom was, moreover, invaded by the Scotch. He then yielded to the entreaties of the pope, and consented to cease for a year this humiliating war for France.

War in Brittany.—Brittany was the theatre of a less direct but more serious struggle. John duke of Brittany died in April, 1341, after the campaign of Flanders, without children. His succession was disputed between count Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France, and the count de Montfort, a prince of Brittany. The contest was carried before the court of peers, who decided in favour of the king's nephew, Charles. It was necessary to vindicate this right by arms. Philip supported Charles of Blois; de Montfort had recourse to England, and did homage to Edward as king of France for his duchy of Brittany. The war was terrible. Philip VI. pronounced sentence of death against all who fought in favour of Montfort. Charles of Blois, having made himself master of

Quimper, caused fifteen hundred inhabitants to be massacred. The two rivals were imprisoned by turns, their wives assumed the sword and the cuirass, sustained sieges, and commanded armies. Several gentlemen of Brittany, who were suspected of keeping up secret communications with the king of England, were decoyed to Paris and decapitated. Edward vowed vengeance. It was at the moment that his arms were triumphing in the south; the victorious English had advanced upon Angoulême. Philip became frightened, and asked new subsidies from the nation. Then he was compelled to turn to that people whom he had hitherto disdained. The states of the north assembled at Paris, and those of the south at Toulouse, obtained the reform of some abuses, in compensation for the subsidies which they granted to carry on the war. This was, during the time in which the destinies of France were being decided, the first symptom of national life (1346).

Crecy.—The king of England had collected new forces. Not having sufficient reliance in the dispositions of his allies of the north since the murder of Arteveld and William of Hainault, he resolved to attack France in a frontier which he knew to be unprovided with strongholds and soldiers. He landed in Normandy with an army of thirty-two thousand men. The most populous and wealthiest towns of that province—Harfleur, Valogne, Cherbourg, Saint-Lô, Caen, and Louviers—were taken and pillaged by the English, who carried their ravages as far as the Isle of France, under the very walls of Paris. Philip could no longer refuse to fight. He had an army of upwards of sixty thousand men, including six thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, and he received reinforcements daily. The English, believing themselves in danger, passed the Seine at Passy, and marched on Picardy, in order to approach the Flemings. Everywhere they found the bridges intercepted or guarded. Edward, however, crossed a ford below Abbeville, notwithstanding the resistance of one of Philip's lieutenants, and the following day established his camp at Crecy, where he resolved to await the enemy. The king of France marched against him, and ordered the attack. The Genoese cross-bowmen received this order with a loud clamour; the strings of their bows were saturated with the rain, and consequently unfit for use. "Kill the lazy rebels!" said the count d'Alençon, and the Genoese were compelled to attack; their clamour was increased by a storm of rain and thunder, and by an immense flock of crows which hovered over the armies, and was regarded as an evil presage. The cavalry of Philip rushed upon the foot soldiers of the king of England; it was not the battle of England against France, but of the English people against the French nobility. The English archers decided the victory. Eleven princes fell on the field; also nearly an hundred nobles bearing banners, twelve hundred chevaliers, and thirty thousand soldiers. Amongst them were the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the counts of Flanders and Alençon. Such was the battle of Crecy, remarkable for the noble blood shed in it, and for the brief space in which it was decided. Though the defeat was owing in a great measure to the want of discipline and ill assortment of Philip's army, the chief cause in this, as in other instances, was the contempt of the French princes and nobles for the peasant levies and infantry, to which they evidently preferred the rabble of foreign mercenaries. The

day after the action large bodies of the militia of neighbouring municipalities arrived, and were slaughtered by the English. Edward, on the contrary, relied upon his country's yeomen, and compelled his knights to dismount and fight on foot with them (1347).

Edward left the king of France, who had in vain endeavoured to rally the remains of his army, sorrowfully to retreat to Amiens. He went to lay siege to Calais, of which he wished to possess himself in order to have certain communication with England, and thus to prepare himself a landing point on the continent. The English drew their lines around it for upwards of a year, till at length the blockade became so close that the supply of provisions was entirely cut off, and the citizens were compelled to eat dogs, cats, and rats to keep themselves alive. They at length surrendered, but only when they saw that the besiegers had entrenched themselves so strongly that even king Philip, with an army of a hundred thousand men at his back, was unable to approach to their relief. The English monarch, however, incensed at their long defence, would only grant them mercy on condition of six of their principal burgesses bringing him the keys of the town and castle, with nothing on but their shirts, and with halters round their necks, and so submitting themselves to any doom he might pronounce. To send six men to what seemed certain destruction could not fail to be a terrifying proposition. The whole garrison was in dismay; but Eustace St. Pierre nobly volunteered; his example was followed by five other patriots; and the six brave men appeared in the prescribed form before Edward, who only spared their lives—even after this touching proof of their excellence—at the entreaties made to him upon her knees by his queen Philippa. He contented himself by clearing this important key to France of all its inhabitants, and made it a complete English colony (1347).

The king of England, master of so important a point, listened at length to the proposals of peace of Philip; a truce was concluded between the two kings through the mediation of the pope. The misfortunes of France were unbounded, the provinces devastated, the people ground down by taxation. The king established by an *ordonnance*, without having recourse to an assembly of the states-general, the *gabelle*, that most odious regulation, which reserved to the king the sole right of making and selling salt throughout the realm, forcing each family to take a certain quantity at an exorbitant price. A still worse scourge next devastated the kingdom. This was the time of the Black Pestilence, when the destroying angel stalked over the length and breadth of the land. Even the ties of nature were dissolved by his fiery breath. Mothers deserted the cradle of their sick children, and children fled in affright from their dying parents; and, to add horror to horror, superstition fixed upon the Jews as the authors of the calamity, and they were destroyed with fire and sword in great numbers.

Philip died, after having compensated for the losses he had incurred by the acquisition of Montpellier and Malta, which the king of Majorca sold to him for 120,000 crowns, and of Dauphiny, which cost him 200,000 florins. France now reached the Alps.

John II., 1350-1364.—John II., surnamed the Good, the eldest son of the preceding monarch, prided himself on being the model of chivalry. He copied the king of Bohemia, that adventurous monarch who had at

least had the merit of dying for France at the battle of Crecy. Like his father, he gave himself up to the nobility, and like him was defeated. He was a mixture of integrity, weakness, and passion. Swayed by a favourite, Charles de la Cerda, a Spaniard, this king, who was endeavouring to revive chivalry, caused the count d'Eu, who had been invested with the dignity of constable of France by his father, to be put to death on suspicion without trial. This favourite was appointed to the vacant office, and obtained Angoulême, which belonged to the young king of Navarre, Charles the Bad. This prince, whom Charles had already despoiled of Champagne, assassinated the constable, and associated his cause with that of Edward III. He was obliged to abandon his pretensions on the provinces of Champagne and Brie, but he remained the most dangerous enemy of the king of France. John II., learning that the dauphin had invited the king of Navarre and others to a banquet in the castle of Rouen, set out from Orleans with a numerous escort, arrived at Rouen on the appointed day, and arrested the whole company. Four gentlemen present were executed in front of the castle, and Charles himself confined in the Louvre. The family of Harcourt, that of the king of Navarre, and many nobles, renounced their allegiance on learning this act of violence. They did homage to the king of England as to their suzerain, and declared a war of extermination against "John of Valois, calling himself king of France" (1354).

States-General.—The truce with England, frequently interrupted, was finally broken in 1355. Edward invaded the province of Artois, the prince of Wales that of Languedoc. John assembled the states-general of the north. He had already convoked to Paris the deputies of the entire kingdom, who had voted money on condition of obtaining some concessions, such as reforms of abuses or confirmations of privileges. The states, without whom the king could no longer raise imposts, held royalty at their mercy. They again imposed conditions, demanded to be assembled every year, and required that the money which they voted should remain in the hands of receivers-general appointed by them, so that it might not be lavishly squandered away. Four hundred burgesses sat in these states, which were only composed of eight hundred members. It was from such economical hands that the proud barons, now lowered to the rank of mercenary soldiers, came to receive pay. John wished by these means to secure himself a regular army. A knight-banneret received forty sous per day. But to pay all this nobility, the confiscations, the persecutions of the Lombards, and the falsification of coin no longer sufficed. Associations had been formed in the provinces to oppose the imposition of arbitrary taxation. They required a regular impost to be paid by all orders, by nobles and prelates as well as the commons. The deputies of the states voted five millions of Parisian livres for a year, which were to be levied by a *gabelle* on salt, and by a tax on everything sold. But the people would have neither *gabelle* nor tax. The states-general were obliged to abolish them the following year, and to replace them by a personal taxation—a species of poll-tax proportioned to the income of each individual, to which the king himself was obliged to submit. With the proceeds of this tax fifty thousand men were to be raised to terminate the war.

The Battle of Poitiers.—The storm was brewing in the south.

The prince of Wales, who had already given proofs of his prowess at Crecy, had penetrated into the very heart of France, and committed incredible havoc. Having only an army of twelve thousand men, most of whom were foreign mercenaries, he was anxious to march into Normandy, and form a junction with the king of Navarre and the English force that was assisting that monarch under the command of the earl of Lancaster; but every bridge being broken down, and every pass guarded, he next directed his march towards Guienne. John overtook the black prince at Maupertuis, near Poitiers, with an army sixty thousand strong; and the prince having done all that could be done to prevent himself from being compelled to fight at a disadvantage, now exerted himself no less to avoid defeat even while so fighting. Talleyrand, cardinal of Perigord, endeavoured to bring about an accommodation. The black prince was not reluctant to escape from an enemy so greatly exceeding his own force. He offered to restore all his conquests, and bind himself not to serve against France for seven years. John insisted that Edward should surrender himself his prisoner; and the proposal was rejected by the prince as disgraceful. He gained a day's delay by the negotiations, which he failed not to employ in casting up entrenchments and fortifying the sides of his position.

On the 19th of September, 1356, a corps of French knights was ordered to clear the road leading to Edward's camp. They were commanded by D'Andrehen and De Clermont, the two marshals of France. They spurred on, not more than four being able to go abreast. The English archers, who lined the inside of the hedge, soon stopped the career of the cavalry by their arrows; and the footmen, creeping through, stabbed knights and horses with their knives in the confusion. The troop was routed, and fell back upon the dauphin's corps; a body of English cavalry and archers, which Edward had placed in ambuscade, then charged upon the French flank: those commanded by the dauphin were seized with a panic, and fled. The English knights, who were hitherto on foot to receive the enemy, now mounted their horses, and, abandoning their position, charged down the narrow road upon the enemy, whom they put to the rout and drove before them; the young princes and many of the French nobles taking flight. The reserve or hindmost line, however, commanded by king John in person, still remained unbroken. Its numbers doubled those of the English army. John, imitating his enemy's mode of fighting, and desirous to cut off from himself and followers all possibility of flight, gave orders to dismount and combat on foot. The fresh division of the French charged the English under their marshals, lords Suffolk and Warwick, the French monarch striking down enemies with his mace, while his youngest son, Philip, afterwards duke of Burgundy, piously kept eye and arm busied to defend his sire. Here the battle raged with the greatest fury and slaughter, the English striving to make the king of France prisoner. At length, when most of his nobles were either slain around him or taken, John called out, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" Edward was not near, and the king was obliged to give his right glove, in token of surrender, to Morbec, a knight of Arras. Others crowded to claim and dispute so rich a prize, not without danger to the person of the monarch, until lords Warwick and Cobham arrived to defend him. The

battle of Poitiers, according to Froissart, was better fought than that of Crecy, though not so bloody. The duke of Bourbon was the only prince slain, though many nobles perished. The number of prisoners was immense, more than doubling that of the English army; amongst them, thirteen counts and seventy barons, besides the king and his son. The conflict lasted from morn till noon. The black prince earned more honour by his treatment of the captive king than even by his victory. John was treated in every way as a sovereign; he was cheered, praised, and even waited on at table, by Edward. The entry of the royal captive into London was marked by the same deference. Nor was this mere empty politeness. The king of England and his son did not take the utmost advantage of their victory. The right to the crown of France, which they denied to John at the head of his armies, they no longer disputed with John a captive. A truce was concluded for two years. The English were content with their booty, their rich prize, and their ample renown.

Stephen Marcel.—Charles, the dauphin, during the captivity of his father, convoked the states-general. The popular party, who constituted half of the assembly, and who were under the influence of Stephen Marcel, provost or chief of the municipality of Paris, seized upon the government; after the defeat of the nobility, power naturally reverted to the burgesses. Stephen Marcel had already fortified Paris and armed the people. The states demanded that the ministers should be tried, and that the council of the prince should in future be composed of four prelates, twelve lords, and twelve deputies from the communes, to be named by themselves. The king evaded these demands, deprived of subsidies, and tried the old experiment of issuing new and debased money—in spite of the solemn engagements he had made to the contrary. The states met again the following year; the dauphin had made no reforms, and presented himself to the deputies surrounded by the same ministers. The country was in a deplorable state, mutual hatred between the nobles and peasants being general. Stephen Marcel and the bishop of Laon, Robert le Cocq, drew up a statement of grievances. They demanded the removal of the obnoxious ministers; the right of the deputies to meet twice a year, in order to superintend the execution of the laws: that a committee of their own body should be permanent, to aid the dauphin with its counsel; and finally, that the legal gold and silver coinage should be re-established, which should thenceforth undergo no change, save with the assent of the states-general. The dauphin was compelled to yield to these demands, but, ere long, thwarted by the committee of surveillance of the states-general, he informed them that he no longer required their counsel, and forbade their assembling. He had left Paris, where the presence of the popular chiefs stood in the way of his designs; but in consequence of an insurrection, and the exhausted state of his finances, he was under the necessity of once more summoning the states-general. Marcel, surrounded by an armed multitude, made his way to the presence of the dauphin, and, by his order, the marshals Clermont and Conflans were massacred in Charles's presence. Marcel made the young prince put on the *chaperon*, or cap, which was the symbol of insurrection,—a circumstance repeated in after times of similar turbulence and misfortune. The other towns and provinces, however, dreading the substitution of one

tyranny for another, did not approve of the bold notions of the Parisians. Champagne, especially, declared against them, and the dauphin was enabled to collect an assembly of states at Compiègne which condemned the acts of those of Paris. The provost Marcel released the king of Navarre from prison, in order to procure an eminent leader for the party. Despite of this, the dauphin's influence prevailed; Marcel was slain in a tumult, and the king of Navarre driven from the capital. Thus ended this popular attempt. The dauphin returned to his capital, and, after executing a number of the leaders, signed a treaty which terminated the civil war. Meanwhile the lords took advantage of the turmoil to endeavour to force the peasants back into the feudal yoke, and the peasants, arming themselves with clubs and pitchforks, rose in a mass and murdered the nobles wherever they were able, and pillaged their castles. This popular insurrection was called the *Jacquerie*; a name which some say it derived from Jacques (James), the common designation for the peasantry; though others, with as much probability, trace it to the jacks or jackets they wore. The most fearful deeds of horror were perpetrated in the struggle, the advantage at first remaining with the Jacques. Three hundred ladies of rank, with the duchess of Orleans, were obliged to take refuge in Méaux, from the exasperated peasantry. Captal de Buch, a Gascon knight in Edward's service, flew to their rescue, slaughtered seven thousand of the assailants, and, to crown his revenge, burnt the town of Méaux.

Treaty of Bretigny.—Edward had fixed so high a ransom for the delivery of the king of France, that the states had refused to ratify the proposed peace. He prepared for fresh hostilities. He landed at Calais in October, 1358, with a powerful army, resolved to ravage those parts of France that had not yet seen his banners. He was, however, not able to enter Rheims, in whose cathedral he wished to crown himself king of France. The dauphin had placed all the great towns in a state of defence. Negotiations were opened at Bretigny (1360); Edward gave up his pretensions to the crown of France, as well as to Normandy. All Aquitaine and the provinces south-west of the Loire were ceded in full sovereignty to England, as was the country on the sea-coast from Calais to the Somme—three millions of crowns were to be given as the ransom of king John, who was, within a short time, liberated. Though the peace concluded at Bretigny was not broken, still many of its stipulations remained unfulfilled. The most flagrant instance of bad faith was the escape from England of one of the hostages, the duke of Anjou; either from this cause, or from a wish to negotiate with Edward, John returned to London, and died at the Savoy palace in the Strand, in April 1364. John was valiant, though weak; generous and honourable in many instances, but at times cruel and revengeful. As a warrior he was unskilful, and too much addicted to a luxurious style of living; but the quality for which he is entitled to the highest praise, and in which he gloried, was keeping his promise inviolate. He was otherwise totally ignorant of the duties of a sovereign.

SECTION II.—FRENCH REACTION.

Charles V., 1364-1380 (surnamed the Wise).—The son of king John

had many disasters to retrieve; being timid, sickly, and, moreover, exceedingly prudent and crafty, he did not like to make war personally; and he also knew that France was exhausted and stood in need of repose. He everywhere substituted order for anarchy, directed his government with firmness, and without signalising his reign by any great victory, he succeeded in recovering all the provinces which the treaty of Bretigny had alienated from the crown.

War in Spain.—The war of Brittany was at length terminated by the triumph of Montfort, at the battle of Auray (1365). The worst consequences of war continued to afflict and weigh upon France notwithstanding. The bands of mercenary soldiers, in great companies, which lent their support, on hire, to the respective monarchs, were now left, without pay or service, to prey upon the land. Charles employed Du Guesclin to treat with these bands, and bribe them to accompany him across the Pyrenees, to support Henry of Trastamare against his natural brother Peter the Cruel, who was the ally of the English. The struggle commenced in Spain. Peter the Cruel was driven from Castile, but the black prince and his warriors, impatient of repose, espoused the part of Peter, and, attacking Du Guesclin, vanquished and took him prisoner. All these events turned to the advantage of France. Peter the Cruel refused to pay the expenses of the expedition as he had promised. The victorious army, destitute of everything, and weakened by the burning climate of Spain, to compensate themselves came back to pillage Aquitaine, whilst Peter the Cruel was again driven away by his natural brother Henry of Trastamare. The Aquitanians appealed to the king of France, who summoned the black prince before the court of peers. The reply was a resolve to obey the summons at the head of sixty thousand men. The threat was vain. War was declared. The prince caused himself to be carried in a litter at the head of his army, and in this state took Limoges. But his malady gained upon him, and he was obliged to return and embark for England, where he soon after expired. Charles the Wise was not a monarch to let pass such advantage. Du Guesclin was made constable, and commanded against the English. Still he had strict orders to avoid giving battle. Instead of confining their efforts to a defence of their provinces, the English marched from Calais across the whole extent of France to Bordeaux, ravaging the country, and exciting the hatred of the population, without gaining their object of exciting the prudent Charles to a general engagement. The strength of the English armies was thus wasted in marching and bravado. Du Guesclin watched every opportunity of gaining a partial advantage. The presumption of the English garrison at Chizey, which attacked very superior forces under the command of the constable, afforded a triumph to the latter. The capital of Poitiers revolted, and opened its gates to the French. Rochelle followed its example; and this province, the prize of the victories of the black prince, were again lost to the English.

The king of England had seen Scotland, notwithstanding several bloody battles, re-established in its independence under the house of Stuart. He had lost the greater part of the continental possessions of his ancestors. He was, therefore, compelled to yield to the exhortations of the pope. By favour of a truce, concluded at Bruges, he was enabled to close in peace a long reign, the termination of which had been signalised

by defeats and weaknesses. He died on the 1st June, 1377, in the fifty-first year of his reign, less than twelve months after his heroic son; and the sceptres of England and Aquitaine were thus left in the feeble hands of a minor.

The advent of a prince, a minor, the unfortunate Richard II., appeared to Charles V. a favourable circumstance to resume hostilities. Five French armies took the field. The admiral, Jean de Vienne, effected a landing in the county of Kent. The duke d'Anjou and the constable made themselves masters, in the south, of one hundred and thirty-four strongholds, towns or castles. Du Guesclin then repaired to Normandy, and took from Charles the Bad the places which he still possessed. He was about to achieve the conquest of Guienne and Gascony, when he died at the siege of Randan. Thus terminated a life which had been so glorious and useful to France. The English now only possessed some maritime towns on the continent, such as Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne (1380). Charles V. did not live to complete the deliverance of his kingdom. He had been declining for some years before his death, and his physicians declared that his life could only be preserved by keeping open an issue, and that if it dried up he must assuredly die. In 1380, he received the fatal warning: the issue dried up, and could by no means be kept open.

The distinguishing feature in his character was prudence. He possessed an extraordinary command of temper, and was kind and affable to all. Frugal and economical in his personal expenses, he yet knew how to be magnificent and liberal upon proper occasions. He loved and encouraged men of learning, and had himself received a more extended education than was at that time customary among princes. He died the same year as the constable, afflicted by three great revolts, which broke out simultaneously in Languedoc, Flanders, and Brittany, and which betokened the fatigue and exhaustion of the people.

Government of Charles V.—His reign had, nevertheless, been a period of comparative repose for France, and, at the same time, of glorious reaction against the foreign yoke. He had seen the evils of France, and had endeavoured to cure them. But they were so deeply rooted that all his wisdom could not prevail against them. Only relying upon himself, he had not favoured the progress of popular liberty. He seldom called the states together, or, when he did, it was upon a few chosen deputies that he bestowed the name. He usurped to himself the power of levying taxes, by proceeding in state to the parliament, there holding what was called a bed of justice, and ordering his laws or levies to be registered. Distrusting the nobility, he destroyed a great number of their castles under the pretext that they might serve as places of refuge to the armies of Edward. He strictly caused the ordonnances which forbade private wars to be observed. He favoured commerce, and instituted a marine to protect it. Literature had not yet had in the kings of France a more zealous and generous protector. Theatrical entertainments were first introduced into France under his reign. He received and welcomed at his court learned men from all countries, founded universities, had the Bible and the Commentaries of Cæsar translated into French, and collected 900 volumes of manuscripts in the Louvre, which were the origin of the Royal Library.

SECTION III.—CIVIL WAR.—RETURN OF THE ENGLISH.

Charles VI., surnamed the Well-beloved, 1380-1422.—France had hardly commenced to revive, when it fell into the hands of a child, a maniac. The ambition of the princes, his uncles, divided and exhausted it, yielding it up famished and bleeding to the enemy. It was a fearful period, full of treason, of spoliation by the great, and of fearful acts of retribution by the people. But at length nationality became aroused by the hatred of foreign dominion. France, betrayed by its masters, who knew not how to defend it, was destined to be saved by the people.

Minority and Insanity of Charles VI.—On the death of his father, Charles VI. was only thirteen years old. His three uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, were like so many kings who desolated France in his name. The majority of the young prince did not terminate their quarrels. Whilst Charles V. was expiring, the duke of Anjou commenced by pillaging the royal treasure. It was necessary to proclaim new taxes. Revolts broke out in Paris, in Rouen, in Compiègne, and throughout the whole of Picardy. It was impossible to obtain a farthing from the people. At Paris a man, mounted on horseback, assembled the multitude, and announced that the king's treasury had been robbed, and that on the following day a tax would be levied on provisions, after which he galloped away amid a shower of stones. The people rose, and invaded the arsenal for the purpose of seizing arms, but only finding leaden mallets, they armed themselves with them, and murdered the tax collectors. The government, intimidated, was obliged to treat with the mob, but caused their ringleaders afterwards to be sown into sacks during the night, and thrown into the Seine.

There were bloody revolutions on every side. The cruelties and exactions of the duke of Berry, governor of Languedoc, drove the people into the forests, where they formed bands of robbers, called *Tuchins*, long the terror of the nobles and the rich. The Flemish burgesses, who were foremost in supporting their privileges and independence, were continually at war with the nobles. The conquerors had no pity for the vanquished. More than once the entire population of a town was put to the sword. Rheims, Chalons, Orleans, Blois, and Beauvais awaited the success of the Flemings, to massacre their nobility. Charles VI. resolved to advance upon Flanders. The men of Ghent alone numbered thirty thousand, well armed, and under the command of Philip Arteveld, son of the famous brewer, the ally of Edward, and even more popular than him. The Flemish army was exterminated at Rosebecque, between Ypres and Courtray. The body of Arteveld, found on the battle-field, was hung upon a tree, to teach the rebels that even death could not exempt him from punishment (1382). The war with Flanders had, however, not yet terminated. Charles VI. was obliged to return and to treat with the English, who again threatened France. During this time, his uncle, the duke of Anjou, madly marched to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, with an army which was destroyed in the Abruzzi, by disease and famine, without having fought. Paris as well as Ghent had been vanquished at Rosebecque. On their return the king's uncles chastised the capital for the

revolution which had made them tremble the year before. Some of the principal citizens were sent to the scaffold, while others had their goods confiscated. All the ancient and most onerous taxes, the *gabelle*, the duty on sales, as well as that of entry, were declared by royal ordonnance to be established anew, and the principal towns of the kingdom were visited with the same punishment and exactions.

Charles VI. exhausted the last resources of the state in fêtes, in fruitless expeditions, and in interminable preparations for war. Nevertheless, in the midst of his unbridled love of expenditure and pleasure, he frequently manifested good intentions. He had removed his uncles from the government, and abolished some of the taxes of which the people had shown the greatest impatience. He surrounded himself with the wise ministers of his father. The nobles hated these men of the law, sprung from nothing, these apes (*mannouselles*), as they called them. The duke of Brittany had endeavoured to cause one of the king's chief advisers, the constable De Clisson, to be assassinated, and refused to give up the perpetrator of this outrage. Charles VI. marched against him. As he was leading his army from the town of Le Mans, in a burning day of August, a maniac rushed from an adjoining wood, seized his bridle, and told him he was betrayed: soon after, the spear of one of his attendants fell on the helmet of another; the king was alarmed, and thought of the menaced treachery. The fright disturbed his reason, and, drawing his sword, Charles attacked his followers, slew some of them, who made no resistance, till he flew at his brother, the duke of Orleans; they then perceived his loss of reason. He was deprived of his arms, and reconducted to Paris. For the remainder of his life Charles VI. continued a maniac, though his phrenzy had lucid intervals of short duration. After having been long declining in health, he was seized with an ague, of which he died in the palace of St. Pol (1422), having survived his rival, Henry V. of England, scarcely two months. Even in his lucid intervals his mind was weak, and incapable of deliberation, and thus, during his reign, the government was unstable, the court distracted, and the nation reduced to the very brink of ruin. France, for the space of thirty years had no regular government, and was rent by civil and foreign wars. It may be truly said that this reign was the most disastrous period of her history.

Differences between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans.—The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, assumed the reins of government. The regency would appear to have belonged to the brother of the king, Louis of Orleans, who was then in his twenty-first year, or to his queen, Isabella of Bavaria. This usurpation of Philip the Bold, was the beginning of the rivalry which divided the two houses of Orleans and Burgundy.

When Philip died, his son, John the Fearless, succeeded to his pretensions with still more ambition. He was the richest prince in Christendom; he possessed Flanders, and was about to have Brabant, and had wedded the heiress of Hainault and Holland. He thought he could undertake everything, and determined to retake Calais from the king of England.

The young duke of Orleans caused the expedition to fail by pillaging the treasury. John returned to Paris with rage in his heart. He there found his rival, who boasted of having received the favours of the duchess of Burgundy. A hollow truce and forced reconciliation took place. The

princes slept in the same bed, in token of perfect amity. The very evening that succeeded this close renewal of intimacy, a band of assassins, set upon the duke of Orleans, and killed and even mangled him with their hatchets (1407).

The widow of Louis of Orleans, the amiable and virtuous Valentine Visconti, demanded justice from the king, who promised to avenge the murder of his brother. But John, far from hiding his crime, openly avowed and justified the assassination of his nephew, hiring at the same time a university doctor to argue publicly the justice and praiseworthiness of the act. "Tyrants," said the doctor, "place themselves above and beyond the law; to punish them recourse must be had to means beyond the law. It is only the very powerful and noble who can command these means, and, consequently, with them principally it becomes a duty." The poor king was present with the whole of his court at this strange preaching.

Thus the duke of Burgundy dared to hazard everything. He was a popular hero. He had undertaken a crusade against the sultan Bajazet, who had boasted that some day he would cause his horse to eat oats from the altar of St. Peter at Rome. The bloody victory which he obtained over the people of Liege noways diminished his popularity at Paris. On the contrary, the party of the sons of the duke of Orleans, who had sworn to avenge their father's murder, was in general that of the nobility. It recruited itself in the south, under the influence of count Armagnac, a Gascon nobleman of powerful influence, whose daughter the young duke of Orleans, who had attained the age of manhood, had just married. The rivalry of the houses of Orleans and of Burgundy was at the same time nearly the war between the south and the north against the nobility—a fearful war, in which both parties summoned to their aid the enemies of France.

Both sides commenced with devastations and massacre. Never had the foreigners committed such fearful ravages. The Armagnacs overran the country and tortured the peasantry. At Paris the murderer Caboché armed the butchers in favour of the duke of Burgundy. The princes of Orleans offered the king of England half of the kingdom. Charles VI., in the power of John of Burgundy, proclaimed them enemies of the state, and marched against them. The Cabochians laid violent hands on the Armagnacs. All attempts of peace were unavailing. Some of the citizens of Paris took arms against the butchers, and delivered the dauphin from the yoke of the Burgundians. Burgundy was obliged to fly, his party, deprived of the support of the Parisians, was routed, and took refuge in Flanders. Charles VI. marched in person against him at the head of the Armagnacs, besieged and took Soissons, of which the inhabitants of every age and sex were inhumanly massacred. Arras was next invested; but the Armagnacs becoming disgusted at the tediousness of the siege, as the Burgundians had been the previous year at that of Bourges, an accommodation ensued, which only resulted in a bloody and frightful anarchy (1414).

Battle of Agincourt.—Whilst France was thus occupied and torn by civil contests, Henry V. claimed the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to him, landed at the mouth of the Seine, sat down before Harfleur, and took it after a month's siege. Dysentery was decimating

his army; his soldiers were dying in swarms; and it is doubtful whether a single one would have returned to England, if there had been at that moment a man worthy of the name at the helm of affairs in France. But the dissensions amongst the princes even favoured the views of the foreigners. In order to avoid all collision, it was necessary to prohibit them from joining the army which was going to combat the English. But these injunctions were disregarded. The constable d'Albret encountered near the village of Agincourt Henry V., who was hastening to his town of Calais. Henry wished to treat, offered to give up Harfleur, and to abandon all his pretensions upon France. The constable would not listen to him; he became entangled in a field which had been lately sown, and was soaked with rain; the trampling had converted it into deep mud, and it was with difficulty that the horses, bearing men in heavy armour, could extricate themselves or perform aught like a charge. Ten thousand of his men were massacred, and the French were completely routed. Of the nobles of France, some fought bravely, others surrendered and were taken as captives to England (1415).

Massacre of the Armagnacs, and Murder of John the Fearless.—The duke of Burgundy was more eager than the king of England to turn the disaster of Agincourt to account. As soon as he learnt the defeat of the French he marched upon Paris, where the recent death of the dauphin had still further complicated events. The people were incensed against the Armagnacs, who had so ill defended the honour of the country; some of the citizens opened one of the gates of Paris to the Burgundians in the night. The Armagnacs were routed, the count himself and his principal supporters were seized and imprisoned. The butchers and all the Burgundian rabble that had been exiled returned, and vengeance on the Armagnacs became the general cry. Those suspected of favouring the Orleans party were massacred. The prisons, full of unfortunate victims, were forced by the populace, and all found within were slaughtered. When the populace had got possession of the Châtelet, the prisoners were summoned one by one, and as they issued forth their heads were struck off. Four bishops and two parliamentary presidents perished in this sanguinary prelude to scenes that disgraced the same spot at a period nearer to our times. Count d'Armagnac himself did not escape (1418). Even yet the hatred of parties was not satiated. Whilst Henry V. was waging an atrocious and implacable war in Normandy, the two rival factions continued to destroy each other. The next year a similar massacre again took place under the very eyes of the queen, who had given herself up to the Burgundians.

When Henry V., however, had made himself master of Rouen, there was a moment of general stupor and of truce between the two factions. The duke of Burgundy found himself at the mercy of the populace. The counsellors of the dauphin listened to proposals of peace. Henry V. had carried the town of Pontoise by storm; his scouts had arrived before the gates of Paris. The duke of Burgundy and the dauphin had a conference together at Melun, which was followed by an apparent reconciliation. But the Armagnacs, who did not wish to see the influence which they had over the young prince divided, enticed the duke of Burgundy a month after to another interview, on the bridge of Montereau. He had no sooner bent his knee before the dauphin, than he was pushed

down and struck with an axe; the blow was followed up by others, and the duke of Burgundy fell murdered at the feet of the dauphin, who did not deny his participation in the deed. Thus John the Fearless encountered a fate similar to that which he had inflicted on his rival and nephew, the duke of Orleans (1419).

The King of England at Paris.—The son of John the Fearless joined the English to avenge his father. Henry caused the poor idiot king to sign a treaty which gave him, together with the hand of the princess Catherine, the title of regent pending the incapacity of the king, and the crown of France at his death. This fatal treaty was, nevertheless, received without a murmur at Paris, and in many of the provinces. The parliament sanctioned it, and condemned the dauphin to banishment for the murder of the duke of Burgundy. All the princes did homage; those who were prisoners in England offered to recognise Henry V. to obtain their liberty. The Englishman was seated regally in the palace of St. Pol and at Vincennes, administered the law, and raised taxes. On Henry's death, he left two kingdoms to a child only nine months old (1422).

SECTION IV.—JOAN OF ARC.—EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH.

Charles VII., surnamed the Victorious.—The dauphin, betrayed by his own adherents, and abandoned by the towns of the north, had retired to the provinces of the south. Whilst the two brothers of Henry V. reigned at Paris in the name of their nephew, whom they had caused to be proclaimed at St. Denis king of France and England, a small kingdom was being organised at Bourges, where Charles VII. had his parliament, his states-general, and his university. Brave chiefs such as Harcourt, La Hire, Dunois, Barbazan, and Saintrailles. The earl of Buchan and marshal de la Fayette had defeated the English at Beaugé, where the duke of Clarence was slain. "The little king of Bourges," as Charles was called in derision, gave himself up to pleasure far from the theatre of war; the Scotch troops, which the constable Stuart brought to his service, were defeated at Crevant, and the royal army was routed at the battle of Verneuill. Harcourt, Aumale, and Narbonne, as well as the earls of Douglas and Buchan, were slain.

The Siege of Orleans.—The English at length resolved to strike a blow that should finally crush the hopes of Charles. They laid siege to Orleans, the principal town and support of his party, its chief and last stronghold. Charles now felt that the struggle was for his crown. His bravest captains flung themselves into the place, and every exertion was made for a vigorous and successful resistance. The enterprise undertaken by the English was arduous. Orleans, washed by a broad and rapid river, could not, but with great difficulty, be invested. The earl of Salisbury first endeavoured to carry it by assault, but was slain by a stone from an engine. Lord Suffolk, who succeeded him, undertook the hopeless task of a blockade; but as the town was always free to ingress and egress, at least of warriors, the operation was rather a campaign than a siege. The bastard of Orleans, La Hire, and Saintrailles, were the heroes of the French. These three French leaders, with John Stuart,

constable of the Scotch, attacked an English convoy under Sir John Fastolf; they were routed, and the Scotch, with their leader, were slain to a man. It being the time of Lent, the convoy was of *herrings*, and the action is known by this name. The English still retained their superiority, and Orleans was not likely long to hold out, when a personage, entrusted, according to popular belief, with a celestial mission, came to pluck courage from the hitherto stout hearts of the besiegers, or give it, with all the enhancing force of superstition, to the French.

Already the report had spread that Charles VII., despairing of being able to preserve his kingdom, had decided upon withdrawing to some distant retreat in Provence, when Joan of Arc presented herself before the king at Chinon, and declared that she would deliver France from the English. She was a young girl of low condition, the maid of a village inn, a native of Domremy on the Meuse. Animated by a sacred love for France, she believed herself summoned by a divine inspiration to restore the fortunes of the royal house. It is probable that there smouldered in many hearts the same ardent wishes for the rescue of the country as had raised these hopeful visions within her own, and it was not long before the king perceived the advantages that might be drawn from her enthusiasm. The purity of her life, the simplicity of her language, her strange enthusiasm, gained upon all; she convinced and caused herself to be respected even by this corrupt and scoffing court. She was clothed in armour, mounted on horseback, and shown to the people as the heaven-appointed deliverer of France. The very fact of this young girl sitting her steed with the ease and grace of an accomplished warrior, was hailed as a triumphant testimony in her favour; and so the maid of the village inn, with a white standard in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, set out for Orleans at the head of the bravest chivalry of the time.

The English were confounded by this supernatural visitation; and when they actually saw the maid of Orleans, as she was now called, sally forth from the city at the head of the garrison, they were seized with astonishment and dismay, driven from their intrenchments, and, in fine, as the dauntless girl had foretold, compelled to raise the siege. The coronation at Rheims was the next thing to be accomplished. But how? The whole country between was in the hands of the English, whose armies lined the roads, and whose troops garrisoned the towns. Charles hesitated; but when the maid insisted that he should begin the march immediately, he complied, though able to muster only twelve thousand men. The English hosts retired from the presence of Joan of Arc. She led the king in triumph, as she had promised, to Rheims, where he was crowned and anointed with the holy oil.

Burning of Joan of Arc at Rouen.—The maid of Orleans deemed her mission now accomplished, and wished to return to her peaceful village of Domremy. Her entreaties to be released from a position which, when unsupported by religious and patriotic enthusiasm, had become frightful to her feminine tastes, were met by counter-entreaties on the part of the king and his famous leader, Dunois. Poor Joan yielded. She hastened to the siege of Compiègne, and in a sally at the head of the garrison was taken by the English. Her capture was considered tantamount to a victory; it was one, however, replete with dishonour to the English.

They bound and used every cruelty towards the hapless maid of Orleans ; raised accusations of sorcery against her whose only crime was man's first duty, to make a religion of patriotism. With all the meanness and cruelty of inquisitors, they laid snares for her weakness, and employed every effort to shake her own confidence in her own purity and virtue. She yielded a moment under their menaces and false promises, through exhaustion and hunger, but she always rallied back to courage, averred her holy mission, and defied her foes. She was burnt in the old market-place at Rouen, "a blessed martyr" in her country's cause (1431).

Expulsion of the English.—The duke of Burgundy, who had been appointed regent under Henry VI. by Bedford, felt a terrible responsibility weighing upon him. He became reconciled to Charles, who spared no sacrifice to win the support of so powerful a subject. The amplest possible amends were made for the murder of the late duke. The towns beyond the Somme were ceded to Burgundy, and the reigning duke was exempted from all homage towards the king of France. Such was the famous treaty of Arras, which restored to Charles his throne, and deprived the English of all hopes of retaining their conquests in the kingdom. Paris shook off the English yoke, and Charles VII. entered his capital, after twenty years' exclusion from it, in November, 1437. Thenceforward the war lost its serious character. Charles was gradually established on his throne, and the struggle between the two nations was feebly carried on, broken merely by a few sieges and enterprises, mostly to the disadvantage of the English.

Whilst the king, who was resuming his power gradually, exerted it in ordonnances, the nobility, or rather the princes of the blood, began to plot against the monarch. The king took into his pay the remains of the free companies, and converted them from banditti into regular soldiers, so that the unruly barons had less chance than formerly of disturbing the public peace, and the people more chance of enjoying the fruits of their industry. The nobles threw themselves into several places, and commenced that odious disturbance called the *Praguerie*, which might have raised anew the hopes of the English, if division had not thrown itself in their ranks after victory had abandoned them. Charles VII. pursued the rebels into Champagne, seized upon their castles, and caused the bastard of Bourbon, one of the most active fomentors of the treason, to be sewn up in a sack and drowned. The dauphin, who had at first joined them, rendered France the service of leading against the Swiss cantons the turbulent bands of adventurers who pillaged the country and starved the towns ; sixteen hundred gallant Swiss killed upwards of ten thousand of them at the battle of St. Jacques.

Meanwhile hostilities with England were suspended. The English party was disorganised. Suffolk wished to have the support of France against the duke of Gloucester, who desired a continuance of the war. The marriage of Henry VI. with the beautiful Margaret of Anjou, whom he took without dowry, led to hopes of an approaching peace ; nevertheless, the war lasted five years longer. Dunois invaded Normandy, afterwards Guienne ; most of the great towns surrendered, Bordeaux holding out the longest.

The entire kingdom was now delivered from the presence of foreign

armies. The town of Calais remained to the English, the only fruit of so much blood spilt and so many victories achieved. Charles VII. did not even attempt to take it from them. According to the treaty of Arras, he could not have retaken it except to give it to the duke of Burgundy. The latter, uniting under his sway French provinces and the entire of the low countries, was henceforth the real rival of the king of France.

The last years of Charles were embittered by the conduct of his eldest son and successor, Louis XI. The dauphin had married against his father's wishes and command, and was summoned to court to answer for his conduct; but after attempting a rebellion he fled to Philip the Good in Burgundy, where he recompensed the hospitality with which he was received by setting the duke at variance with his son. The mistress of Charles, Agnes Sorel, enjoys the reputation of having animated the indolent king to successful exertions against the English; she died (1450), as rumour went, of poison administered by the dauphin, and the king himself, full of dread, refused to touch food lest it should have been tainted by the same deadly arts: he died of starvation (1461). Possessed of excellent abilities and a good heart, Charles occasionally acted with vigour, but he commonly suffered indolence and love of pleasure to stifle all his better qualities.

VII. DECLINE OF THE GREAT FEUDAL HOUSES.

SECTION I.—LOUIS XI.

State of France on the Accession of Louis XI., surnamed the Nero of France.—The work of Philip the Fair was not yet completed. The feudal system, of which the legists had attacked the principles, still maintained itself through the wealth of the great feudatories. Since the war with the English it seemed to have resumed its former sway. The kingdom was composed of twenty-seven provinces, twelve of which remained in the possession of dukes and counts, mostly related in some degree to the king, and who had not suffered themselves to be deprived of any of the rights belonging to the crown, and scarcely of that of making war. The dukes of Orleans and Alençon, the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Comminges, those of whom the king was at once the sovereign and the suzerain, had themselves profited by the anarchy to recover their independence. They were kings in their own territories, and recognised no law either human or divine. The count of Armagnac styled himself count by the grace of God. Above these proud barons, were the houses of Brittany, Burgundy, and Anjou, which vied with the royal house in splendour and power. The duke of Brittany almost regarded himself as a stranger to France. The duke of Anjou possessed Anjou, Provence, Maine, and Lorraine, thus surrounding on all sides the king's dominions. As for the duke of Burgundy, he was the real chief of feudalism. He possessed a vast kingdom covered with opulent towns and strong castles. The elements of which this great power was composed were, in truth, too jarring not to become disunited ere long.

In the general dismay the hopes of the people were turned towards the king. The king, in fact, repressed the disorders of the troops of banditti which infested the roads and levied contributions upon the peasants, he restrained the feudal courts of judicature, leaned for support upon the towns, and knew on occasion to show that no rank was placed above the law. Louis XI., moreover, did not seem disposed to harass the country by fresh wars, preferring negotiation to combat. He dressed himself meanly, and surrounded himself with persons of low extraction. He made the barber Olivier gentleman of his chamber, and Tristan l'Ermite he called his crony. He thus gained the love of the burgesses, as well as the hatred of the nobles, and was enabled, not without much difficulty, however, to raise to five millions the imposts which under his father's reign did not amount to two millions.

As soon as he found himself on the throne of Charles VII., whose days he had shortened by his intrigues, he no longer hid his impatience to humble the aristocracy. He dismissed his father's ministers; he renewed

the alliance which Charles VII. had contracted with the citizens of Liege, the implacable enemies of the dukes of Burgundy; he deprived the duke of Bourbon of the government of Guienne, the duke of Brittany of his high jurisdiction over the bishops, and endeavoured to deprive him of his regal rights. But it was, above all, against the duke of Burgundy that he directed his encroachments; he endeavoured to establish a salt tax in his states, took from him the towns on the Somme, and deprived of the lieutenancy of Normandy his son, the count de Charolais, afterwards so celebrated under the name of Charles the Bold. Francis Sforza had despoiled the house of Orleans of the duchy of Milan, and aided in driving that of Anjou from the kingdom of Naples. In return, Louis recognised Sforza as duke of Milan, gave him up Savona and Genoa, and entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with him. The inferior order of nobility was not spared; through the repeal of the pragmatic sanction, it had lost the influence and profits of its right of appointing to benefices; they were even deprived of the right of chase, and those who infringed upon this law, Louis XI. caused their ears to be cut off.

League of the Public Good.—Efforts of the King against the Nobles.—At the funeral of Charles VII., Dunois had said to the assembled nobles: Let every one think of looking after himself; and a general understanding to unite against the common enemy was come to. The count of Charolais, the duke of Brittany, the duke John of Calabria, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, five hundred princes, knights, and esquires entered into a vast plot, which they called the "League of the Public Good." Proclamations were scattered, addressed to the people, complaining of the tyranny and faults of the government, and declaring that the nobles had taken up arms "solely for the public good." To this almost universal coalition of the nobility, the king endeavoured to oppose the towns. He abolished nearly all the taxes, organised a council of burgesses, and of members of the parliament and of the university, and to flatter the Parisians, confided the queen to their keeping.

The duke of Bourbon gave the first signal of rebellion (1465): the king crushed him, took from him the Bourbonnais and Auvergne, and signed with him and the duke of Nemours the treaty of Riom, which was not observed. There was no cohesion in the attack of the confederates. The duke of Brittany only joined the principal army after the battle of Monthléry, which remained undecided. On this the king entered upon insidious negotiations, concluded the treaty of Conflans with Charolais, and the treaty of Saint Maur with the princes. He ceded everything they asked for: to his brother Normandy, which of itself yielded a third of the king's revenue; to the count Charolais the towns on the Somme; to all the others strongholds, seigniories, pensions, and ready money. It was a pillage of royalty and the kingdom.

But the king evaded and violated the treaties. He took advantage of a rebellion in Liege and Dinant to take back Normandy, caused this province to be declared inseparable from the crown by the states-general; and, threatening the duke of Brittany in his capital with an army of forty thousand men, compelled him to abandon the alliance of Burgundy and England. The league had been formed anew. Louis XI. went himself to Péronne to see the duke of Burgundy, and to endeavour to win him over. But he had hardly arrived there when tidings arrived that another

rebellion had broken out in Liege; the duke held his enemy in his power, and was averse to sparing him. He, nevertheless, contented himself with keeping him a prisoner, and made him restore to him the full possession of the territories which, by the treaty of Conflans, he had only held by precarious tenure, and finally required that Louis XI. should accompany him to the siege of Liege, to stifle in the blood of the inhabitants a rebellion which he himself had stirred up. Later, the king did not fail to cause the states to annul that to which he had sworn at Péronne (1468).

Nevertheless, he had been defeated a second time. The power of his enemies seemed to have grown with all the efforts he had made to crush it. Such was the grandeur of the duke of Burgundy, that he received ambassadors from all Christendom, and that one of the electors offered him the imperial crown. All that the king had in his favour was, that the people, cruelly disabused about the results of the league, stood in need more than ever of peace. The nobles once more gave up France to the foreigner. They summoned the king of Arragon, Juan II., who demanded back Roussillon, and the king of England, Edward IV., brother-in-law of the duke of Burgundy, who, as usual, claimed back "his kingdom of France." Louis either extricated himself, or was extricated, from all difficulties respecting his brother, by the death of that prince, which took place suddenly and opportunely. A poisoned peach, which was presented to him, and of which he himself and his mistress partook, occasioned the death of both. After the death of the duke of Guienne, Louis harassed, combated, and won over the confederates one after the other, repulsed Juan from Roussillon, and profited by the truce of Senlis to carry on secretly, by means of the poniard and poison, a war of extermination against his enemies. When Edward IV., who had been induced to invade France by the duke of Burgundy, landed, the duke, instead of joining him, kept his troops employed in the conquest of Lorraine. Edward, who loved pleasure even more than glory, was bought off by Louis, who permitted him to keep his kingdom of France, on condition that he returned immediately to England (1475).

This treaty, concluded at Péquigny, decided the duke of Burgundy to sign a truce. The duke of Brittany, on his side, was likewise brought to treat, and the league, re-formed for the fourth time, was definitively dissolved.

War of the Duke of Burgundy against the Swiss.—Louis XI. and Charles the Bold had mutually given up their allies to each other; Charles promised to abandon the king of Arragon, and delivered the constable St. Pol to the king, who caused him to be tried before his parliament, and afterwards beheaded in the Place de Grève. On the other hand, Louis gave up to the ambition of the duke of Normandy, the Alsations, the Swiss, and the young duke of Lorraine. This infamous treaty proved the ruin of Charles the Bold. He had conceived the design of re-establishing the ancient kingdom of Burgundy on a large scale. He had entered Lorraine, made himself master of Nancy, and put the young duke to flight. All the princes of the empire rose and collected an army of one hundred thousand men. The Swiss united in league with the Austrians, their old enemies occupied Vaud, which belonged to one of the allies of Charles, and defeated the duke of Burgundy's troops at Héricourt.

Louis XI. urged on Charles the Bold with all his power in the war against Germany; he knew from experience, since the battle of St. Jacques, the value of the Swiss. He took good care not to aid them, lest he should frighten the duke, and remained at Lyons with a strong army, for the purpose of watching the motions of the duke, and to profit by his reverses.

Charles, without taking time to consolidate himself in Lorraine, marched against the Swiss. He besieged Granson, and caused the garrison, which had surrendered on parole, to be drowned, and then advanced to meet the Swiss army. All at once he beheld them rush down from the mountain tops crying out, "Granson! Granson!" Charles was offering battle in a hilly region, where his numerous cavalry could prove of no advantage. The battle became instantly a rout, the Burgundians and their duke fled, leaving indeed few of their number, as the Swiss had no cavalry to pursue, but leaving behind immense riches, four hundred pieces of ordnance, and three hundred tons of gunpowder, which gave the conquerors the means of continuing the war.

After this battle of Granson, the allies of the duke of Burgundy began to forsake him. The duke of Milan, who three weeks before had treated with Charles, the duchess of Savoy, and the duke of Brittany attached themselves by fresh oaths to the fortunes of the king of France. The duke of Nemours was besieged in Carlat, and made prisoner. The old king René d'Anjou, threatened by the parliament, solemnly renounced his allegiance to the duke of Burgundy, and left to Louis the rich succession of the house of Anjou, then about to become extinct. Nevertheless, fortune had not made Charles the Bold wise. Enraged at having been vanquished by the Swiss, whom he despised, he attacked them again. He remoulded an army of Flemings, of Lombards, and of English, and encamped at Morat, within six leagues of Berne, and instantly invested the place. The Swiss attacked his camp, and forced it after a most obstinate resistance. The massacre was fearful; they killed upwards of ten thousand Burgundians, and when time had decomposed the bodies of the slain, the bones were collected in a chapel, called the Ossuary of Morat, which for ages remained as a trophy to Swiss valour and independence (1476).

Charles at first endeavoured to bear with ill-fortune, and to collect a third army. His towns were exhausted of men and of treasure, his nobility tired of the war and decimated. He saw himself abandoned by all, and fell into a state of the most profound desperation. Money was wanting to his enemies, and Louis XI. supplied them all with it. The young duke of Lorraine, aided by the Swiss, returned to his duchy, took back Nancy, fortified his principal towns, and, with an army of twenty thousand Swiss, still in the pay of Louis XI., he marched against Charles the Bold, who had laid siege to Nancy. Charles, although reduced to three thousand men, would not "fly before a child." Betrayed the day before by the Italian Campo-Basso, with whom Louis XI. had bargained for a long time for the life of his adversary, he, nevertheless, accepted battle, and was killed, with all who had escaped the disasters of Granson and Morat (1477).

War against Maximilian of Austria.—The death of the duke of Burgundy left the field undisputed to the king of France. He alleged

that the duchy was a male fief, and seized upon it, the duke not having left a son. After this, he conquered without difficulty the towns of the Somme and Artois. He hoped to acquire the entire heritage of Charles the Bold, by marrying the dauphin to his daughter Mary of Burgundy. But the states of Flanders bestowed the hand of their sovereign upon Maximilian of Austria. This was one of the causes of the power of this house, and of its three centuries' rivalry with France. Louis XI. took Franche-Comté (or Burgundy), which he had already once taken and lost. And, after the bloody and undecisive battle of Guinegate, he concluded the treaty of Arras, which secured to France the possession of the conquered provinces, Franche-Comté and Artois, as dowry of the daughter of Maximilian, who had been promised in marriage to the dauphin, Charles VIII. (1481).

Policy of Louis XI.—Since Louis XI. was delivered from his most redoubtable enemies, he followed up the humbling of the nobles and the aggrandisement of the domains of the crown with the most undaunted perseverance. He confiscated the duchy of Etampes, purchased the rights of Nicole of Blois from Brittany, caused the duke of Nemours to be beheaded, dictated to the nephew of king René the will he should make, retained the count of Perche in prison, and garrisoned all his towns. Of the three great feudal powers which existed on his accession, none remained but Brittany. Thus his task was about to be consummated. France was approaching to unity. But at the same time the royal power was almost boundless. The nobles in vain endeavoured to recover from the blow which had struck down the heads of the constable St. Pol and of the duke of Nemours. Reduced to miserable backstairs intrigues, they became the accomplices of royalty when they could no longer be its adversaries.

The death of Louis XI. was hastened by three successive strokes of apoplexy, the last of which he survived a week, and presented one of the most awful pictures the imagination can conceive; he exhausted every power of medicine, devotion and artifice, to prolong his existence; relics were brought from all parts, and a celebrated hermit was sent from Calabria, whose prayers he conceived would restore him to health. He died at Plessis les Tours, and was buried at Notre Dame de Clesy, near Orleans, a church which he had caused to be erected (1483).

Louis was insidious, absolute, and tyrannical, and of a most treacherous and deceitful disposition. His maxim was, "He who did not know how to dissemble, knew not how to reign." But with all he was a politic monarch, for the kingdom was greatly advanced and improved by him.

SECTION II.—REGENCY OF ANNE OF BEAUJEU.

States-General of 1484.—During the last two years of his reign Louis XI. had become concerned about the future, and had taken his measures that the power he had founded should not perish with him. He left the throne to a child. His daughter, entrusted with the regency, continued his reign. She endeavoured in the outset to win over the nobles by calling them to the council, but she soon perceived that it was safer to rest for support upon the people. The states-general were convoked. Philip Pot, one of the members, laid down the maxim, that the sovereign

authority thoroughly and territorially resided in the people, and that it was the competency of the people to regulate by their representatives the questions of the succession to the throne and the regency. The states adopted these principles, and exercised the sovereign authority over the government of the state during the minority of Charles VIII. They confided the guardianship of the king to the lady of Beaujeu, and formed a council of regency, in which their delegates were to have the principal influence. Having also claimed the right of determining the amount of taxation, they reduced it to one-half, fixing it for two years, at the end of which they were again to be called together. Upon other questions they only addressed petitions to the king. Their demands were imprinted with profound wisdom. Thus, for instance, the *tiers-état*, or commons, prayed that the people should be sheltered from the exactions of the tax-gatherers and from the violence of the soldiers, and that the latter should be subjected to a strict discipline and to the ordinary tribunals of justice; that only the same number of troops should be maintained as in the time of Charles VII.; that the portions of the domains of the crown still alienated should be taken back again to serve to defray the expenditure of the king; that all useless offices should be abolished, the salaries of public servants reduced, plurality of offices be forbidden, and that all pensions should be either diminished or suppressed. The three orders prayed that no citizen should in future be deprived of his natural judges or deprived of the right of appeal, that the forms of legal proceedings should be strictly observed, and the expenses attendant thereon fixed and diminished; that no magistrate should be removed from office unless he had been convicted of having betrayed his trust; and that the judges should be named by election and presentation of the tribunal where a vacancy should take place. They further prayed for important reforms relative to commerce, such as the prohibiting of any kind of trade or business being carried on by officers of justice and finance, the suppression of smuggling, the abolition of duties levied on merchandise transported from one province to another, and a variety of minor but equally useful reforms. In short, the states seemed most willing to introduce so sweeping a measure of innovation and amelioration, when the lady of Beaujeu, growing alarmed, dissolved the assembly.

Union of Brittany to France.—The duke of Orleans, seeing that the decision of the states was interpreted in a manner to exclude him from the government, endeavoured to carry off the king, to make himself popular in the capital, and to bring its citizens to declare in his favour. In short, he tried every expedient to shake the authority of the king's sister, and endeavoured to form a new league with the enemies of royalty and of France. The lady of Beaujeu kept down the rebels, awed the archduke Maximilian, and crushed the duke of Orleans. This mad war was resumed several times. A portion of Europe entered into the league of the princes against France; but each having difficulties at home, the triumph of the lady of Beaujeu became easy. She carried off the heiress of Brittany from the archduke Maximilian, and made Charles VIII. espouse her. According to the terms of the marriage contract, whatever events might occur, Brittany could not pass into other hands than those of the king of France (1491). Thus at length France had attained that unity which was to make her redoubtable to all Europe.

VIII. THE ITALIAN WARS.

SECTION I.—CHARLES' VIII.

The Kingdom of Naples Conquered and Lost.—All the nations of the west, like formerly those of the north, were about to suffer themselves to be led beyond the Alps. Charles VIII., on reading the lives of Charlemagne and Cæsar, had been seized with an inordinate thirst for conquest. He dreamt of making the rights which he had inherited from the house of Anjou prevail over the kingdom of Naples, and afterwards of driving the Turks out of Europe and raise up again the eastern empire. In his impatience, he purchased peace from the king of England, and did not hesitate to restore Roussillon to Ferdinand the catholic, and Artois and Franche-Comté to Maximilian. After this, having confided the government to the lord and lady of Beaujeu, he collected an army of thirty thousand men, an artillery of one hundred and fifty cannons, the best practised in Europe, and threw himself into Italy. He had hardly sufficient resources for a few days. As soon as he had passed the frontier he was obliged to pawn the diamonds of the duchess of Savoy.

Amidst the disorder which prevailed in Italy all summoned the French to their aid. Ludovico Sforzo had usurped the duchy of Milan over his nephew, then in prison, and needed their aid to maintain himself there. The princes of San-Severino could not avenge single-handed the massacre of the Neapolitan nobility ordered by Ferdinand of Arragon. The cardinal of St. Peter implored the king of France to come and deliver Rome from the tyranny and the scandals of Alexander VI. The monk Savanarola awaited the "scourge of God" sent to punish the sins of Italy.

On the approach of the French the different tyrannies crumbled away of themselves. Pisa emancipated itself from the Florentines, Florence drove away the Medici, the old king Ferdinand died of fright, the pope shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, whilst Charles entered the capital of the Christian world by torchlight; his men all armed, with lance in rest, betokening that he came as a conqueror. Then he treated with this pope, loaded with crimes, whom he might have deposed, who, as soon as the French were gone, conspired against them with the Arragonese. He continued this military progress, which he deemed a series of conquests. Alphonso II. did not consider himself safe at Naples; he abdicated, and took refuge in a convent in Sicily. Although his son Ferdinand showed himself not wanting in either prudence or valour, his troops fled from their posts at the first indication of attack. He escaped to Ischia, and Charles made his triumphant entry into Naples, in the midst of a people who strewed flowers on his passage, and who called him the liberator of Italy.

By his policy he did all he could to lose his conquest as soon as he had achieved it. He raised the nobility against himself by talking of restricting the feudal jurisdictions as in France, and the people by leaving it to the mercy of the soldiers. The partisans of the house of Anjou, which had been despoiled for sixty years, expected restitutions, whilst Charles was only occupying himself about tournaments and fêtes. At the end of three months the Neapolitans were weary of the French yoke, and the French of Naples.

It was time that Charles VIII. should return to his kingdom. All Europe was alarmed with his conquests. For the first time, kings had leagued together to prevent that the excessive aggrandisement of one state might threaten the independence of others. The system of European equilibrium began to be conceived. Charles VIII. hastened to return to France at the head of scarcely ten thousand combatants. He met at Formosa the army of Italian confederates, nearly fifty thousand men strong. The French darted with impetuosity upon the enemy, and in less than an hour put them to flight (1495).

But whilst the conqueror was thus proudly fighting his way out of Italy, Ferdinand was recovering his kingdom of Naples from the French who had been left to guard it, and the pope caused Savanarola to be burnt for his sinister predictions. The hatred of the Italians for the French name was the only trace which remained of the expedition of Charles VIII.

Charles died of apoplexy, occasioned by striking his head against a gallery; this event occurred at Ambrose in the twenty-seventh year of his age. In him ended the direct line of Philip de Valois (1498).

His greatest fault was a love of gaming, and his greatest misfortune an impatience of temper that always led him to new projects. At the age of twenty-two he was the most powerful sovereign in Europe, having shaken off the power of his sister, and given liberty to the duke of Orleans.

SECTION II.—LOUIS XII.

Conquest of the Duchy of Milan.—Italy was destined to continue a prey to foreign invasion. Charles VIII. having died childless, left the throne to the duke of Orleans, who, to the claims of his predecessor upon Naples, added those which he pretended to inherit from his grandmother, Valentine Visconti. Louis XII. won over pope Alexander VI., by the gift to his son, Cæsar Borgia, of the duchy of Valentinois, and gained to his interest the Venetians, by the abandonment of Cremona. He then invaded the Milanese. Its duke, Ludovico, who was detested, was betrayed, and fled. The conquest had been achieved in twenty days, and was soon lost again. The confiscations practised against the Ghibeline party, the exigencies of the soldiers, their dissipation and impiety, stirred up the people. Ludovico had only to appear to resume possession of his duchy. On this, a second army came to join the first, and encountered the duke's troops near Novara. There were Swiss in both camps: those of Ludovico would not fight against the banner of their canton, which they saw in the opposing ranks. They suffered the Lombards and the Albanese, who served with them under

the banners of the duke of Milan, to be massacred, and allowed the duke to mingle in their ranks, clothed as one of their soldiers. Their treachery, however, or the vigilance of the French, discovered the unfortunate Ludovico in the Swiss ranks, as they marched out of Novara. He was taken and conveyed to France, where he was confined in the castle of Chinon until he died. Thus Louis subdued, for the second time, the duchy of Milan (1500).

The Kingdom of Naples Conquered and Lost a Second Time.—Louis XII. had no hopes of conquering Naples, unless he could obtain the assistance of Ferdinand the catholic. He formed an alliance with him, to divide between them the kingdom, to the exclusion of its reigning monarch, who was of the illegitimate race of Arragon. The pope having also stipulated for his share of the spoil, sanctioned the iniquitous contract between his catholic majesty and the most christian king. The unfortunate Frederick, who reigned at that period, called the Spaniards to his aid, and when he had introduced Gonsalvo de Cordova in his strongest places of Calabria, Louis XII. and Ferdinand acquainted him with their convention. The French took Capua, which had been deemed impregnable, by storm, and horribly massacred its inhabitants. The Spaniards, on their side, invaded Apulia. Frederick surrendered at discretion, and was conducted a prisoner to France (1501).

This odious conquest soon engendered war amongst the conquerors. Gonsalvo was first blockaded and reduced to extremity in Barletta. But Ferdinand dallied with Louis XII., by the perfidious treaty of Lyons, and made use of the interval to send potent succours to Gonsalvo. Notwithstanding all the courage of D'Aubigny, and the exploits of Bayard, the French were defeated at Seminara, at Ronco, and at Cerignola. Louis XII., exasperated to the uttermost, made supreme efforts, and raised three armies. Two of them were intended to conquer Roussillon, and to invade Spain from the side of Navarre, the other to reconquer the kingdom of Naples. They all failed. All the allies of France failed him at the same time. The Venetians had already betrayed him. Pope Alexander VI. and his son, having invited a cardinal of whom they wished to rid themselves to sup with them in a vineyard, drank the poison which they had intended for him. The pope expired soon after, and his son's life was saved only by means of antidotes and a strong constitution. Julius II. assumed the tiara, and took from him all his fortresses. The French army was dispersed on the banks of the Carigliano, in consequence of its indiscipline, the inclemency of the season, and the attacks of the Spaniards. Shortly afterwards, the fortress of Gaeta was the only post in the kingdom that held for the French (1504).

The League of Cambray.—Pope Julius II. desired to deliver the entire peninsula from the "barbarians," and to crush in Italy every rival power to the church. He encouraged the revolt of the Genoese against Louis XII. They had for many years been oscillating between freedom and a state of dependence on France. Equally intolerant of either condition, they changed from one to the other, and knew no repose. Louis, however, conquered and reduced them to submission. The pope having failed against the French, wished at least to make use of them to take back from the Venetians some of the towns of Romagna. The government of Venice had profited by the misfortunes of all the other powers; they

each, therefore, had something to claim back from it. They formed a vast league, which was signed at Cambray. The Venetians at first refused to credit the news; they believed their territory to be a necessary barrier to all the states of the peninsula, against the invasions of the empire, of France, and of Spain. But the bullets of the French batteries, which flew even to the Lagunes, soon dispelled all their disbelief. Louis XII. defeated their army in the sanguinary action of Aignadel, where fifteen thousand soldiers of the republic remained on the field of battle. In a few days he reduced the entire country, to which he claimed pretensions, to submission. Venice was forced to yield, for a time, a portion of its territory, but, after the alternatives of a war of which the most important event was the defeat of Maximilian at the siege of Padua, it eventually nearly recovered it entirely.

The Holy League.—The pope having gained his ends, reconciled himself with Venice, and now only thought of driving the French from Italy. All arms, spiritual as well as temporal, he deemed available. He broke the league of Cambray, and had a secret understanding with Ferdinand the Catholic, on whom he bestowed the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Louis XII. had reduced the allowance of the Swiss, and no longer permitted them to victual themselves in Burgundy and the Milanese. The result of these measures proved to him how hazardous it was to confide in mercenary troops. Julius II. gained them over to his side, and threw them on the Milanese. He attacked, at the same time, with his Roman troops, the duke of Ferrara, an ally of Louis XII. and Genoa, with a Venetian fleet. Louis XII., not knowing whether he could, without sinning, defend himself against the pope, shrunk from warring against the sovereign pontiff. The states-general, the commons of France, on the contrary, urged the war, and declared that Julius, who himself wielded the sword, ought to be made to suffer from it. Julius II., on the other hand, excommunicated his enemies. He besieged Mirandola in person, and entered it through the breach. Louis XII. endeavoured to appease this redoubtable pope, but to no purpose. He then summoned a council at Pisa to depose him. Julius convoked another at St. Jean de Lateran, and combined with Venice, Ferdinand, Henry VIII., and the emperor Maximilian, in a "holy league" against France (1511). This league was ostensibly for the purpose of saving the church from a schism, and to obtain a restitution of the fief of Bologna, which belonged to it; but in reality the enemies of France had only united for the purpose of despoiling it. The pope wished to usurp Parma and Piacenza; the Venetians to resume possession of the towns of which the battle of Aignadel had deprived them; Ferdinand to strengthen himself in the kingdom of Naples, and to take Navarre from the constable d'Albert; Henry VIII. hoped to re-obtain possession of Guienne.

Without awaiting the termination of winter, the allies entered upon the campaign. They had taken Brescia, and besieged Bologna. But all at once, a young man, twenty-two years of age, Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, the son of the sister of Louis XII., disconcerted all their plans. He drove back the Swiss to their mountains, rescued Bologna, by throwing himself into it with his army, under favour of the snow and a hurricane, from thence marched upon Brescia, defeated on his way a portion of the Venetian army, and exterminated the remainder in Brescia itself;

then he entered Romagna, attacked Ravenna, compelling the Spaniards and the Romans to come to a decisive battle, killing twelve thousand of their men, and putting the remainder of the Italians to the rout. The Spaniards, however, under Peter of Navarre, held their ground. They consisted chiefly of infantry, being but four hundred horse to four thousand foot. Even now, when deserted by their allies, they retreated step by step, showing a bold front to their enemies. Gaston de Foix, elated with his victory, was enraged to see the Spaniards escape unbroken. Gathering in haste a few cavaliers, the young general himself charged furiously upon the retreating phalanx to break it. The hero met his death, being pierced with fourteen pike wounds (1512). In two months he had subdued ten cities and gained three battles. The French, nevertheless, were victorious.

With Gaston de Foix, however, fell the fortunes of France. His successors lost time in fruitless discussions, and dismissed their troops. Twenty thousand Swiss joined the Venetians. A bull of the pope, excommunicating the king and laying the kingdom under an interdict, incited all Italy to rise. The Swiss re-established the Sforza in the Milanese, the Genoese shook off the French yoke, the Medici returned to Florence. The enemies of France were triumphant on every point. His allies of Scotland and Navarre were conquered or despoiled. For a moment, the tyranny of the Swiss, who reigned in the Milanese under the name of Maximilian Sforza, excited a re-action in favour of the French. But France was attacked in front by the Spaniard and the Swiss, and in the rear by the English. Henry VIII. landed at Calais with thirty thousand men. Strange to relate, though the French whom he encountered were picked troops, consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had fought gallantly and often, they were seized with a sudden panic at the approach of the English, and fled, in spite of the attempts to rally them, which were made by such men as the chevalier Bayard, the duke of Longueville, and other distinguished officers, who were among the number taken prisoners. This battle of Guinegate, from the panic flight of the French, is known as *the Battle of Spurs*. The French had also, in the same year, been defeated at Novara, in efforts exerted by the king to rescue, for the third time, the Milanese, which he had twice lost. An army marched thither under La Tremouille and Trevulzio, and the Milanese, as usual, submitted to the superior force. Sforza shut himself up with six thousand Swiss in Novara, and was soon besieged there. Those mountaineers were actuated by implacable hatred against the French: they sallied forth before day-break from Novara, to surprise the invaders in their camp; it was defended by a formidable park of artillery, which did great execution in their dense ranks, until, with undaunted perseverance, they carried the entrenchments and turned the guns on the French. The cavalry escaped; but all the infantry, the body most odious to the Swiss, perished. The veteran La Tremouille lost a leg. Thus, once more, did the fabric of French conquest in Italy fall in ruins to the ground (1513).

Never did a more fearful storm menace France; happily, however, it blew over. Even in her adversity she showed how great was then her power and prosperity. Maximilian never had had money, Henry VIII. had no more, while Ferdinand hardly derived sufficient from Spain to provide for his ordinary expenses. Discord arose in the camp of the allies.

they neither could nor knew how to profit by their victories. Louis XII. treated with them. He had lost all his conquests, but, surrounded by a formidable league, he had succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the empire.

In January, 1514, Louis lost his queen, Anne of Brittany, the widow of his predecessor, to whom he was tenderly attached. Anne was a pious, chaste, and exemplary queen, who exercised great influence over Louis. This princess first instituted the order of maids of honour to the queen; first had the prerogative of guards and gentlemen of her own; and was the first who gave audience to foreign ambassadors. Louis, from motives of policy, contracted, at the age of fifty-two, a marriage with the sister of Henry VIII., Mary of England, who was but sixteen, and for beauty and lively manners, the admiration of the age. In a few weeks after his marriage he was seized with a fever and dysentery, which carried him off at the palace of the Tournelles, in Paris, on the first day of the year (1515), leaving a daughter only.

Government of Louis XII.—Louis XII. only summoned the states-general once, and then only to strengthen himself with their authority to violate a treaty which might lead to the dismemberment of the empire. But if he would follow no other rule than his own will and pleasure, it must be admitted that he only exerted it for the purpose of doing good, and of enhancing the prosperity of the country. In the study of the *Treatise of Rights* and other philosophical works of Cato, he drew inspirations of good government. Under his reign France retrieved itself. He had a truly parental solicitude in sparing his people from the burthens of taxation. He abolished and diminished several taxes, reduced the *taille*, at first one-fourth and afterwards one-third. The imposts under his reign amounted hardly to one-half of what they were under Louis XI.: they were more equally divided. Even in his distresses he preferred selling the crown lands to any of the usual expedients for exaction. It was only by strict economy, which the higher classes called parsimony, that Louis XII. could carry out these important reforms; he reduced his personal expenses and deprived the courtiers of the pensions they had hitherto received from the court. He reformed justice by various ordinances. He allotted fixed stipends to magistrates, to render them less accessible to corruption; abolished the venality of judicatory offices; established for the inquiry into the manners and probity of the judges a tribunal of censure; repressed the cupidity of the lawyers; and realised several of the wishes put forth by the states of 1484.

The victories of the Swiss over Charles the Bold had taught him that infantry constitutes the real strength of armies. Louis XII. organised such a force, which Bayard and Vandenesse undertook to practise and command. This was to confide to the people the guardianship of the country, which chivalry had proved itself incapable of defending. Charles VII., in instituting the *franc archers*—an important institution, which armed the peasants, and called them forth, not at their lord's bidding, but at the king's—had commenced this revolution. Louis XII. completed it. He regulated the pay of the soldiers, he submitted them to a rigorous discipline, and sheltered the towns and the country from the acts of robbery and plunder which had up to that time been practised by the *companies*. The Italian wars had cost France little treasure. The

contributions levied upon the conquered countries nearly always defrayed the expenses of the expeditions, which were destined to raise the vanquished to the same level of civilisation as the conquerors. Arts and learning took great strides under the reign of Louis XII. The king collected valuable libraries, amongst others those of the duke of Milan and the king of Naples, which he caused to be conveyed to France. He attracted to his court the most distinguished scientific men of Italy, and was a generous protector of literature. Lascaris, Aleander, and William Budeous illustrated his reign by their classic, scholastic, and antiquarian lore. Tissard, a professor of the university, was the first in France to print Greek works. Gaguin cleared up the national antiquities of France. Nicholas Gilles and John Lemaire compiled histories from chronicles, and mixed them, it must be said, with a good many fables. Amelgard, Jean de Troyes, Oliver de la Marche, Jean de Saint-Gelais, Philippe de Comines, Jean Molinet, and Claude de Seissel wrote memoirs, and have bequeathed to us precious documents upon the events which had passed before their eyes.

Louis XII. was altogether one of the worthiest princes that ever swayed the sceptre; his prudence was eminent, but he was most distinguished for a goodness of heart, which perpetually exposed him to the impositions of the crafty. He was endeared to his people by his forbearance in levying taxes, and by his strict administration of justice; so that at his death it was proclaimed in the palace, "*Le bon roi Louis douze, père du peuple, est mort !*" (The good king Louis XII., the father of the people, is dead!) And the title was well deserved.

IX. FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II.

Fresh Conquest of the Milanese.—France, which appeared cast down on the death of Louis XII., displayed astounding resources under his successor, Francis I., surnamed the Patron of Learning. He was descended from the second son of Louis of Orleans, murdered in 1407, and had married Claude of France, daughter of the late king. At his accession he was twenty years of age.

The first thought of the new sovereign was to recommence the war and to recover the Milanese. He secured himself allies, and crossed the Alps by a road never before traversed by an army. The Swiss, who guarded the passes of mount Cenis and mount Genevra, learnt with astonishment that the French army had debouched through the valley of Argentièrè. The Italians did not suspect the possibility of so hardy an enterprise. Prospero Colonna was traversing Piedmont at the head of the papal cavalry to join the Swiss, and was reposing at Villefranche, when the town was surprised, and Colonna himself and his troops taken prisoners by La Palisse and d'Aubigny. The news of this surprise soon reached the Swiss, and they abandoned in a rage their now useless position, retreating to Milan, and pillaging the towns they were obliged to evacuate. Their disappointment produced quarrels between the chiefs. The cardinal of Sion reproached one of the captains of Berne with partiality to the French. The captain and his soldiers, by way of retort, demanded their pay, and the cardinal, the sworn enemy of France, was obliged to fly from their clamours.

This opened the way for negotiation. The king, with the rest of his army, had in the meantime crossed the Alps, and lay encamped at Marignano. The prowess of the Swiss was dreaded, and the terrific day of Novara was held in remembrance. Consequently, when they demanded a large sum of money for themselves, and a pension for Maximilian Sforza, in return for evacuating the Milanese, the terms were granted. Francis raised the money instantly by borrowing of his officers, and envoys were already despatched with the stipulated sum, when tidings were brought to the constable that the Swiss, in lieu of concluding a treaty, were meditating an attack. The cardinal of Sion had in fact hurried back to Milan on the first news of the accommodation. He called his countrymen round him, harangued them, and rekindled that hatred to the French for which history assigns no sufficient cause.

The Swiss determined to surprise the French, to carry the artillery in the first attack and turn it on their enemies, an operation so successful at Novara. A desperate engagement took place, which lasted for two days, and ended in the complete rout of the Swiss (1515). Thus did the young monarch signalise the very commencement of his reign by a splendid victory gained over the most renowned soldiers in Europe, and those whom the French had most to fear. The conqueror now felt the

necessity of disarming those of his enemies whom he might gain over. He treated with the pope, who was obliged to give up Parma and Placentia, of which Julius II. had taken possession after the battle of Ravenna. On other points Francis was not averse to the wishes of Leo: he agreed to protect the influence of the Medicis in Florence, the sovereignty of a family being far more agreeable to the king's ideas than democratic freedom. But it was chiefly in procuring the repeal of the pragmatic sanction, that bulwark of the rights of the Gallican church, that Leo showed his sagacity. This law, which secured the appointment of French prelates by free election, was superseded by an agreement, called the concordat, which conveyed the right of nominating prelates to the king, who in return conceded the annates, or first year's revenue, to the pope. Both sovereigns gained by this transaction at the expense of the nation—the pope a revenue of which he stood much in need; the king the means of gratifying and providing for the younger members of the nobility. With the Swiss he concluded a *perpetual peace*. Some months after, when Charles of Austria succeeded Ferdinand the catholic in Spain, he agreed upon the treaty of Noyon, by which Europe enjoyed a short interval of repose (1516).

First War with Spain to the Treaty of Madrid.—At the death of Maximilian I. the choice of an emperor, influenced by fear of the Turkish advance in Hungary, fell upon Charles V., the youthful heir of the Austrian states. The kings of France and England had both been candidates for that chief place among the princes of Christendom. The territories of the new emperor were vast: heir of the reigning houses of Austria and Spain, his sceptre ruled, besides the Netherlands, the rich dowry of Mary of Burgundy, and the newly-discovered regions of Spanish America. Half of Europe in hand, he conceived the project of ruling the whole of it. It is then that the bloody rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. commenced. The former claimed Naples for himself, and Navarre for Henry d'Albret; the emperor claimed the imperial fief of the Milanese, and the duchy of Burgundy. Their resources might be deemed equal; but one was a consummate politician, whilst the other was only an intrepid soldier.

Henry VIII. of England was formidable to either France or the emperor, and he could, at a moment's warning, throw his weight into the one or the other scale. Aware of this fact, Francis was anxious for an opportunity of personally practising upon the generosity and want of cool judgment which he correctly imputed to Henry. He, therefore, proposed that they should meet in a field within the English pale, near Calais; the proposal was warmly seconded by cardinal Wolsey, who was as eager as a court beauty of the other sex for every occasion of personal splendour and costliness. Each of the monarchs was young, gay, tasteful, and magnificent; and so well did their courtiers enter into their feeling of gorgeous rivalry, that some nobles of both nations expended in the ceremony and show of a few brief days sums which involved their families in straitened circumstances for the rest of their lives.

The emperor Charles no sooner heard of the proposed interview between the kings, than he, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, paid Henry the compliment of landing at Dover, whither Henry at once proceeded to meet him. Charles not only laid himself out in every possible

way to please and flatter Henry, but he also paid assiduous court to Wolsey, and bound that aspiring personage to his interest by promising to aid him in reaching the papacy : a promise which Charles felt the less difficulty about making because the reigning pope Leo X. was junior to Wolsey by some years, and very likely to outlive him.

When the emperor had taken his departure, Henry proceeded to France, where the meeting took place between him and Francis. Wolsey, who had the regulation of the ceremonial, so well indulged his own and his master's love of magnificence, that the place of meeting was, by the common consent of the delighted spectators, hailed by the gorgeous title of "*The field of the cloth of gold.*" Gold and jewels abounded, and both the monarchs and their numerous courts were apparelled in the most gorgeous and picturesque style.

The meetings between the monarchs were for some time regulated with the most jealous and wearisome attention to strict etiquette. At length Francis, attended by only two of his gentlemen and a page, rode into Henry's quarters. Henry was delighted with this proof of his brother monarch's confidence, and threw upon his neck a pearl collar worth five or six thousand pounds, which Francis repaid by the present of an armlet worth twice as much. So profuse and gorgeous were these young kings.

Thus Francis failed in prudence : he eclipsed Henry VIII. in magnificence when he should have counteracted the influence which the artful Charles was gaining over him, and attached him to his own side. Charles V. was more crafty, and flattered the vanity of Henry VIII. by making him foresee the chance of recovering the provinces which his ancestors had possessed in France. Neither had Francis sufficient policy to secure the alliance of the pope, by giving up to him a portion of the kingdom of Naples ; whilst Charles effectually did so by leading him to hope that he would drive the French out of the Milanese, and restore Parma and Placentia to the church.

The king of France, distracted by the intrigues of his mother, his mistresses, and his courtizans, fell from one error to the other. Instead of profiting by the revolts which had broken out in Spain, he sent the brother of his mistress to be defeated in Navarre. He did not send timely aid to the duke of Bouillon, who was attacking Luxemburg, and allowed him to be driven out of his duchy. The territory was open to the enemy, and but for the heroic resistance of Bayard, Mezieres would have been taken. The king, who had forced the imperialists to retreat before him, might have cut off their retreat and destroyed them ; he would not listen to the constable Bourbon, one of the heroes of Marignano.

Court intrigues caused the loss of the Milanese. The queen-mother misapplied the four hundred thousand crowns that were destined for the troops commanded by Lautrec, whom she detested. This was another brother of the duchess de Chateaubriant, the king's mistress, who governed and oppressed the Milanese. Twice he was expelled from Lombardy, and the Milanese became the spoil of the allies. A revolution drove away the French from Genoa. Thus were the French once more driven from Italy.

Francis I. was on the point of setting out at the head of an army to Italy, when an internal enemy placed France in the greatest jeopardy.

Charles, duke of Bourbon, and constable of the kingdom, was now driven by injustice to league with the enemies of his country. The last duke of Bourbon had left a daughter, Suzanne. The title and a certain portion of the heritage went by law to the male heir; but as a considerable part would be inherited by Suzanne, the paternal care of Louis XII. arranged a marriage between Charles, the existing duke, and Suzanne de Bourbon, thus preserving unbroken the heritage and title of that illustrious family. The duke was of a handsome person; and on the death of his duchess Suzanne without issue, the duchess d'Angoulême, the king's mother, made advances to fill her place. This she was more forward in doing, as, being descended in the female line from a previous duke of Bourbon, she considered herself to have claims on that part of the property which might descend to a female. The constable, however, was blind to her advances backed by this tacit menace; and the slighted duchess instantly put forward her claim to the Bourbonnais as appertaining by right to her.

She persecuted the duke with fury. Bourbon was, therefore, driven to look abroad for a refuge or for vengeance. The emperor's emissary was at hand, proffering him that prince's sister in marriage, and many advantages, if he would join the emperor's party, and raise a civil war in France against its monarch. Bourbon hesitated long, but finally acceded to the proposals of Charles. The kingdom of Provence was to be re-established in his favour, and France divided between England and Spain. Francis delayed his departure to Italy, and prevented the rising, but did not act in person. He had entrusted the command of the troops to a favourite, Bonnivet, an incapable, whom he sent to the Milanese. The frontiers were unprotected, and the enemy invaded France. But brave chiefs saved the country. The Spaniards were repulsed before Bayonne; the duke de Guise drove the Germans from Champagne; the duke de Vendôme and La Trémoille, with a handful of soldiers, harassed, famished, and ignominiously expelled an army of English and Flemings which had penetrated to the borders of the Oise, only seven leagues distant from Paris; Bourbon and the imperialists were defeated before Marseilles.

In Italy the French were less fortunate, and had suffered an irretrievable loss. The incapacity of the favourite Bonnivet had caused their defeat at Rebec and Romagnano. They were once more driven beyond the Alps. The brave Bayard, who was always chosen for a forlorn hope, in covering the retreat of the army at the action of Biagrasse, was wounded. The gallant chevalier, feeling his wound mortal, caused himself to be placed in a sitting posture beneath a tree, his face to the enemy, and his sword fixed in guise of a cross before him. The constable Bourbon, who led the imperialists, soon came up to the dying Bayard, and expressed his compassion. "Weep not for me," said the chevalier, "but for thyself. I die in performing my duty; thou art betraying thine."

Francis I. crossed the mountains, and took Milan. He was to arrive at the Adda before the imperialists, cut off their retreat, and overwhelm their discouraged army, exhausted by marches. He consumed his forces before Pavia, and detached ten thousand soldiers to invade Naples. Bourbon had had time to levy fresh troops, but not being able to maintain them,

he was about to disband them. After having waited so long, it was necessary to wait still longer. At length the battle commenced near Pavia. Francis obtained a complete victory, and no sooner beheld his enemies in rout than he was eager to chase them in person, and complete the victory with his good sword. He rushed forth from his entrenchments at the head of his gendarmerie, flinging himself between the enemy and his own artillery, which was thus masked and rendered useless. The old heroes of the Italian wars, La Palisse and La Trémoille, were killed; eight thousand men perished with them. Many were made prisoners. The king did prodigies of valour. His horse had been killed under him; he defended himself on foot; his armour was completely shattered. He at length gave himself up to the viceroy of Naples, to whom kneeling he yielded his sword. In the evening he wrote to his mother, and signified his calamity in these words: "Madam, all is lost save our honour" (1525).

Even honour appeared lost later. Francis was taken as a prisoner in Spain. His health began to suffer, and the emperor, afraid of losing his prisoner by death, required from him a treaty, known as that of Madrid, which the king signed with a secret and dishonourable protest, and never intended to keep. He placed his children in the hands of Charles as hostages, and recovered his liberty (1526).

Second War until the Treaty of Cambray.—Since his victory at Pavia Charles V. had ceased to propitiate his allies; they had, therefore, abandoned him. Francis I. treated at first with Henry VIII., and afterwards with the Italians, who were at the mercy of the imperialist armies; then, when the emperor summoned him to execute the treaty of Madrid, he demanded a rendezvous or *champ-clos* for a single combat, which however, notwithstanding the choler of both parties, never took place. He expected a terrible war, and only thought of preserving France from an invasion. Italy was preyed upon by a ferocious soldiery. The imperialists attacked Rome and carried it by storm. The cruelty of the German soldiers was unequalled. They indulged in the most horrible extravagance of debauch and impiety. For two months they remained masters of the city, and the Pontiff was finally obliged to surrender himself a prisoner (1527). Francis I., who had regarded the Italian war as a diversion, decided upon sending an army when he learnt the sacking of Rome and the captivity of the pope. Lautrec once more took a portion of the Milanese, and might further have been able to drive the imperialists out of Lombardy. The court of France restrained his ardour, and left him in want of money for his troops, when the deputies of the three orders, feeling the country in danger, did not hesitate to make any sacrifice. New armies were sent into Italy. Lautrec besieged Naples, was struck by pestilence, and died (1528). The Genoese Doria, wounded by the court of France in his own interests and those of his country, gave himself up to the emperor at the moment when his engagements with France expired. Naples was lost, the remains of the French army capitulated, and some months after the imperialists retook the Milanese from the count St. Pol, who was made prisoner.

Francis I. demanded peace. He promised his Italian allies not to separate his cause from theirs; but by the treaty which he concluded at

Cambray, he abandoned them to the vengeance of the Spaniards, and only asked to keep Burgundy and to ransom his sons, which cost two millions of golden crowns to France (1529).

Fresh Wars until the Treaty of Crespy.—Francis wished to profit by the peace of Cambray to retrieve his errors. This was the period when the Turks were devastating the east of Europe. Soliman had made a desert of Hungary, carried his arms into Austria, and besieged Vienna. The king of France entered into an alliance with the Mussulmans, whilst his rival prepared a formidable expedition against them. Afterwards, whilst he was burning alive protestants of Paris, he negotiated with those of Germany, and with Henry VIII., who had left the church. His mother had just died, leaving the enormous sum of 150,000 golden crowns; he employed this money in making some reforms and in regaining a national infantry, which he carried to forty thousand men. In order to save France, he decided, after a good deal of hesitation, upon arming the people.

When Charles V. believed that Francis would, ere long, be compelled to implore his pity, the latter all of a sudden displayed new resources; he invaded Savoy and Piedmont, but, on arriving at the frontier of the Milanese, he learnt the death of the duke Francis Sforza, and withdrew his troops. The duchy naturally came back to him; he thought he might reckon upon the good faith of the emperor, and demanded of him to be invested with it. Charles V. put him off with promises, gained time to collect forces, and declared afterwards that he was about to make him the poorest gentleman in Europe, by taking France from him. Three armies in reality were advancing, one through Spain towards Languedoc; the other through the Low Countries on Picardy; the third, led by the emperor himself, entered Provence through Piedmont. Francis I. resolved to avoid the chances of a battle, and to starve the enemy. The entire of Provence was laid waste by the marshal Montmorency. Charles V., after having been repulsed at Marseilles, was obliged to return to Italy, his army, wanting victuals and incessantly assailed by the peasants, left twenty-five thousand men in the desert through which it had passed. The army of the Netherlands was likewise routed before Peronne, and that of Spain had been entirely defeated in Languedoc.

France was saved (1536). After hostilities which lasted all the year, the exhaustion of the rivals, led to the truce of Nice. The monarchs met at Aigues Montes, visited each other, forgot their mutual quarrels, insults, challenges, and hate.

The chivalrous Francis I. was desirous of not being behind hand in this new friendship. He refrained from profiting by the revolt of the imperial troops in the Milanese, by the discontent of the Cortes of Castile, or by the revolt of the Ghent men. He suffered Charles V. peacefully to pass through France to go and chastise his subjects in the low countries. Charles was less scrupulous. When he had done with his refractory subjects, he announced to the king of France that he should not give up the Milanese to him, and caused two of the king's envoys to be assassinated, in order to precipitate a rupture.

Francis had lost a portion of his allies, he had now none left but the Turks, the duke de Clèves, and the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who could not much influence events. He raised five armies, and invaded

nearly simultaneously Roussillon, Piedmont, Luxemburg, Brabant, and Flanders. The chances were balanced. Luxemburg was taken, lost, and re-taken, by the duke of Orleans. But when it was known that the fleet of the most christian king and that of the Turks had united to bombard Nice, there was an universal cry of horror throughout christian Europe. The Germans assisted Charles V. with an army of twenty-eight thousand men. He had crushed the duke of Clèves; Henry VIII., who had become reconciled with him, had defeated the king of Scotland. They decided to penetrate into the heart of France, without losing time in besieging frontier towns, to make themselves masters of Paris by a bold stroke, and to divide the spoils of victory. Whilst the French infantry was gaining in Piedmont the brilliant battle of Cerisoles, the imperialists invaded Champagne and the English attacked Boulogne.

But France was once more saved at the moment when her fortunes seemed most desperate. In Champagne, the army of Charles V. was starved and decimated by the peasantry, as it had been in Provence. The English were losing their time before Boulogne. Court intrigues were, however, again on the point of crowning the fortunes of the enemy. One of the king's mistresses, the duchess d'Etampes, was at strife with a mistress of the dauphin, Diana of Poitiers. To gain over Charles V. on her side, she gave up to him Epernai and Chateau-Thierry, two magazines abundantly stored with provisions. The Spaniards were only two days' march from Paris. But they dreaded a return of famine; the Turks, moreover, compelled the emperor to return to Hungary. He, therefore, consented to sign the treaty of Crespy, by which Francis renounced his pretensions upon Naples, Charles his own upon Burgundy, and the duke of Orleans was invested with the Milanese (1544).

Between the English, who had succeeded in taking Boulogne, and the French, the war still continued. Francis, for the first time, made his greatest efforts on a new element. Ordering his Mediterranean galleys to join those of the western ports at Havre, he collected a fleet of one hundred and thirty-six ships: the king went with his court to behold it put to sea, and gave a banquet on board the largest vessel, one of eight hundred tons, which accidentally took fire, and was burned ere it quitted the harbour. Annebaut, who, as admiral, commanded the fleet, sailed for the Isle of Wight. The English fleet, amounting to about sixty sail, came out from Portsmouth to cannonade, but avoided an action with such a superior force. The French landed and insulted the English, in order to provoke them to come out; but, failing in his purpose, the fleet sailed back to its own shores. By land they endeavoured to re-take Boulogne, but with no better success. Peace was the result of this campaign. Francis agreed to continue to Henry the usual yearly tribute, and an additional sum was to be paid for Boulogne, which was to be restored to the French after the lapse of eight years (1546).

Francis I. died in 1547. His death was occasioned by a slow fever, from which he sought relief by exercise and travelling, till at length he found himself so ill at Rambouillet, that he was unable to continue his journey. He died in the fifty-third year of his age, a few weeks after his rival, Henry VIII. of England.

Francis I. was remarkable for a large and noble person, and the qualities of his mind corresponded. He was brave, generous, and confident,

splendid in his tastes, and gallant in his pleasures. Notwithstanding all these good qualities, he had many faults; he needed judgment and steadiness. Although prodigal and unfortunate, as well as despotic, he was still a popular king, and ruled over the hearts as well as the persons of his subjects.

Wars of Henry II.—Thus, so many errors, so many treasons, so many dangers, and so many reverses even, were not able to destroy the fortunes of France. After having armed itself for the defence of its territory, it combated for the liberty of Europe. Charles V. aspired to the universal monarchy. He had destroyed the league of Smalkalden, the last rampart of Germanic independence. In Italy, already master of Naples and the Milanese, that is to say, of the south and the north, he commenced the conquest of the centre by the introduction of a Spanish garrison at Sienna, by the invasion of Placentia, and the attack of Parma (1551).

Henry II., surnamed the Warlike, who succeeded Francis I., and who had been called to his father's councils during his lifetime, continued his policy. One of the earliest measures of his reign was to secure himself the alliance of Scotland, by the betrothal of Mary Stuart with the dauphin. He expelled the English from the possessions which they still had on the continent, and threw an army into Italy. The territories of the new pope, the ally of Charles V., were ravaged, the imperialists forced to raise the siege of Parma, and the progress of the emperor arrested in central Italy (1551).

At the same time, he stood forward as the defender of the liberty of Germany; allied himself with Maurice, the elector of Saxony; invaded Lorraine, and incorporated with the kingdom the three bishoprics (Verdun, Toul, and Metz). He prepared himself to occupy Alsatia, and to give the Rhine as a limit to France, when Charles V., by the peace of Passau, granted to the German princes the re-establishment of their civil and religious liberties. Henry, abandoned by his allies, withdrew his troops (1552).

Philip II. of Spain sent an army on the frontiers of Picardy, and the emperor Charles himself led one amounting to one hundred thousand men to besiege Metz, and to regain that town. The intrepid defence of the duke of Guise saved it, however. The soldiers of Charles V., dying of hunger, received bread from the besieged. Less generous, they pillaged in Picardy four towns, burnt three hundred villages, and burnt the women in the churches. Henry II. was obliged to divert them, by ravaging the Netherlands. The emperor had an army defeated and two fleets destroyed (1555). The war, nevertheless, remained without result. In Italy, the French fruitlessly endeavoured to stir up Naples, and to establish themselves in Sienna. More fortunate in the north, they took a portion of Piedmont. Charles V., weary of the vicissitudes of fortune, resigned all his princely state, and became a monk of the monastery of St. Justus, in Placentia, in Estramadura, in Spain. He left the empire to his brother, his kingdoms to his son (Philip II.), and signed a truce with Henry II. (1556).

The ambition of Philip II. was as active and more obstinate than that of his father. The king of France had to combat his projects of invasion, as he had had to combat those of Charles V. But the same intrigues

which had so often compromised the fortunes of France, exercised a deplorable influence over this fresh war.

Henry II. sent two armies, one into Flanders, under the constable Montmorency; the other into Italy, under the orders of the duke of Guise. As might have been expected, the pope did not furnish the French with the auxiliary army which he had promised to them. The duke of Guise penetrated into the Abruzzi; but his impetuosity failed against the cool and skilled temporisation of the duke of Alva. He could not succeed in mastering the kingdom of Naples. In the north, Montmorency, overwhelmed by very superior forces, experienced, near St. Quentin, a terrible defeat. He had opposed himself to the projects of Diana of Poitiers and the duke of Guise; the war had been made in spite of him. He committed inexplicable errors, and might have been accused of having feared to favour, by means of a victory, the fortunes of the Guises, who had obtained great fame by the defence of Metz.

Philip II., fortunately, did not know how to profit by his victory, and gave France time to recover itself. The duke of Guise had been recalled from Italy, and invested with absolute power, with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. His departure had obliged the pope to become reconciled to Philip, who testified that reverence for the church which education had instilled into him, by exacting no harsh conditions.

It was now winter, a period when hostilities ceased; but the active spirit of Guise could not rest until he had taken revenge for the defeat of St. Quentin, and he determined to make use of the army of Swiss and Germans, which the money of the Parisians had raised. His design was to surprise Calais; and thus not only punish queen Mary for espousing her husband's quarrel, but achieve a feat for which the French would assuredly be grateful, that of driving the English from their last fortress on the continent. It was customary to weaken the garrison of Calais in the winter months, when the overflowing of the marshes rendered the town approachable only by a single causeway. Despite the warnings of king Philip and of Wentworth the governor, Calais was left with a garrison of merely five hundred men. Guise fell suddenly upon it in January (1558), took the external forts by assault, and then the citadel; the town itself surrendered after a siege, or rather attack, of eight days. It had been in the possession of the English for two hundred and thirteen years.

The English having no longer a landing place in France, were no more to be feared. Guise continued the course of his victories, made himself master of Thionville, of Dunkirk, and carried hostilities to the foreign territories. Notwithstanding the defeat of Gravelines, France was enabled to conclude a glorious peace. The intrigues of Montmorency led to the miserable treaty of Chateau-Cambresis. Henry II. yielded, with one stroke of the pen, all the conquests of France, and her claims in Italy and Savoy. He restored Luxemburg and the Charolais. In return, he kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and, what was more important than all, Calais; the restitution of which, when Philip no longer insisted on it, Elizabeth, the new queen of England, was in no state to make good.

Henry II., at the instance of the cardinal of Lorraine, going down to the chamber of the parliament of Paris, held what is called a "bed of

justice," in which the business was transacted by virtue of the royal authority alone; he professed on this occasion to pass a censure on some of the members suspected of liberal opinions, but meeting with a courageous defence from those implicated, he arrested them, sent them to the Bastille, and swore that within six days he would see the boldest in the flames. His anger lost its accomplishment. Having entered the lists at a tournament with count de Montgomery, captain of the guard, the count's lance broke on Henry's corslet, and a splinter having pierced his eye, inflicted a wound of which he died at Paris ten days after, in the forty-first year of his age (1559).

Henry II. resembled his father in many parts of his character; like him he was brave, gay, generous, and of a lively temper, but lacked that superior talent and firmness which render the mind independent and stable, and all his proceedings were seen and judged through the medium of favourites.

X. THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION.

Francis I. had forbidden the parliament to occupy itself with political affairs; he had suppressed the states-general, and concentrated all the power in his own hands. He might boast with truth, that henceforward he had made kings their own masters. The reign of his son was the zenith of royal power before Louis XIV. But the people had derived some valuable lessons from the Italian wars. The revival of letters was destined to yield fruitful results. The art of printing diffused light to every mind; examination and reflection took the place of faith and habit. The spirit of liberty took refuge against tyranny in the inmost recesses of the conscience of man, and influenced religion until it could make itself felt with a new power in political institutions. In 1521 the Sorbonne had condemned Luther. This sufficed to attract the public attention of France to the opinions of the innovator. Several members of the clergy immediately embraced them, and preached them in the diocese of Meaux amongst the clothiers and woollen carders. From that moment persecution commenced—a persecution implacable, infuriated, and armed with horrible torments. The clergy and the parliament outvied each other in fury. Francis I. at first endeavoured to stem the torrent by opposing to it some spirit of toleration. He listened to the singing of the psalms of Marot, composed to airs of ballads, by the gentlemen and ladies of his court. The men whom he liked the most, the learned men, declared themselves in favour of the new doctrine. He protected the first French protestants, hesitated for a long time, invited Melancthon to Paris in order to devise some reconciliation between the two parties, and even favoured the revolution of Geneva, which became the focus of Calvinism (1535). But the reformers had forgotten from the earliest part of the struggle that that which constituted their right and strength was liberty of conscience. Already had anabaptism terrified France and Germany with its ferocious enthusiasm. The images of the saints were everywhere destroyed, public order was threatened; in 1528 a statue of the virgin, placed at the corner of the rue des Rosiers in Paris, was mutilated and pierced through with the points of daggers. This was the signal of a paroxysm of fury. The adversary of Charles V. stood in need of the assistance of the pope: he enticed him by the blood of the heretics. At Vienne, at Seez, at Toulouse, and at Paris, the executions were multiplied. The Sorbonne, the parliaments, and the assemblies of prelates, fulminated against the reformers. The sister of the king in vain endeavoured to stay the persecutions.

At length, on a certain morning in October, 1534, placards appeared abusive of the mass and of the clergy. The eucharist itself was scouted, a fact which marks the opinions as coming from Switzerland, where Zuinglian tenets prevailed. These placards were affixed to the gates of the castle of Blois, where the king was. In a rage he departed for

Paris. Similar placards immediately appeared on the pillars of the Louvre. The insult awoke all the monarch's zeal: he ordered a solemn procession, in which he appeared in person. He himself declared in public, that he would cut off his own arm, or slay his very son, could he suspect either to be infected with heresy; and he concluded the religious ceremony by burning six heretics after a new and more cruel fashion than ordinary. On an erect pole another was transversely balanced. To one end the unfortunate heretic was tied, and a fire lighted under him, into which and out of which he was alternately dipped and raised, that his torments might be sufficiently acute and prolonged.

The "Christian Institute" of Calvin, written in a perspicuous, close, and searching style, came opportunely to rally those who were opposed to the abuses of catholicism and the fury of the clergy, and who wanted nothing but knowledge to create a new faith (1535). Calvin, who was equally eloquent with tongue and with pen, was the very person needed by a rising sect as a defender and a guide. He had courage, zeal, and learning. Educated at one time for the church, and at a later period for the law, he united the information requisite for both professions. He had travelled, and seen two courts; had been the friend of the queen of Navarre and of the duchess of Ferrara; and was much more fitted than Luther to be the effective preacher of a new doctrine to civilised France. The doctrine soon spread. It freely developed itself in the free city of Geneva, penetrated to Navarre, the commercial town of Rochelle, the learned cities of the interior, Poitiers, Bourges, Orleans, and even to the low countries and to England and Scotland. Persecution aided its progress as much as the preachings and writings of the reformers. On the atrocious massacre of the last of the Vaudois, the descendants of the Albigenses, whom the reader cannot have forgotten, which converted one of the most inhabited and fertile provinces of southern France into a desert, the horror was universal, and the new religion spread openly throughout the kingdom (1545). Two years after the death of Henry II. it counted more than two thousand churches.

Up to that time the enthusiasm of the reformers had remained alien to the political passions which were mingled with the religious zealotry of their enemies. The sanguinary legislation with which they were struck under the successor of Francis I. aroused their instincts of liberty, and counselled them to rebel against the yoke. The republican spirit made progress. The martyrs conspired against their executioners. Then came the chiefs, who skilfully placed themselves behind the reformers, as the king, the clergy, and the magistrates had also placed themselves behind the people of the catholics. Then likewise commenced those monstrous wars of which religion is as often the pretext as the cause.

Literature, Science, and Arts under Francis I. and Henry II.—The Italian wars proved an initiatory school for France, which betook itself to the school of antiquity, upon which it formed itself. The human mind, become more flexible and more powerful, applied itself to everything—to literature, to art, to mechanics, to manufactures, and to commerce. The use of linen extended to the masses; the first pair of silk stockings, worn by Henry II. at his coronation, exercised probably as much influence on this great emancipation of the mind in the sixteenth century as the inspiration of the poets and the artists. It is the glory of Francis I. to have

directed this movement. He founded the college of France and the royal printing-office ; he built or enlarged Fontainebleau, Saint Germain, and Chambord, and commenced the Louvre. He invited to France Primatice and Leonardo da Vinci. He himself cultivated letters, and has left humorous and amorous poems ; his sister, Margaret of Navarre, wrote a collection of prose tales, in which Lafontaine has found more than one inspiration. He surrounded himself with scholars, poets, and artists. The name of celebrated men under his reign is legion. Amongst men of letters and jurists may be enumerated Marot, de Saint-Gelais, Desperriers, Duprat, Marillac, Lizet, Poyet, and Montholon ; in theology, Calvin ; amongst the most distinguished writers of that day, the physician Ambroise Paré, the juriconsults Dumoulin and Cujas ; amongst learned men, Muret, Guillaume Budé, Turnèbe, Henri Estienne, a celebrated printer ; the brothers du Bellay, historians ; Robert Estienne, Dolet, and Meigret, grammarians ; Jean Cousin, sculptor and painter ; Germain Pilon, Philibert de l'Orme, and Jean Goujon, sculptors and architects. After Francis I., Ronsard shone amidst the cluster of poets ; the school of Jodelle attempted a revolution in the drama ; and Rabelais was the first of a chain of free-thinkers which was continued by Montaigne and his friends la Boëtie and Charon.

XI. RELIGIOUS WARS.

France, ruined by its struggles with Spain, stained with blood by religious persecutions, torn by factions, each of which called the foreigner to his aid, fell successively in the hands of two children. The royal power, exalted by Charles VII. and Louis XI., seemed to have become boundless under their successors. The sons of Henry II. suffered it again to become weakened in the religious wars, by which the nobles endeavoured to profit. The middle ages for awhile seemed to have returned, and it might be believed that the national unity itself, but recently achieved by four centuries of persevering efforts, was on the eve of dissolution.

Francis II.—The young king ascended the throne at sixteen; he was just married to Mary queen of Scots, a youthful and fascinating beauty of about his own age. This lady, then lively and gay, afterwards so unfortunate, was connected by her mother with the distinguished and ambitious house of Guise, and inheriting a crown in infancy, she had been sent to France for security and education. The substantial authority was divided between Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, and the two Guises, Francis and the cardinal of Lorraine. These three were all unyielding adherents of the Romish church. Their government from the outset was unpopular, and had raised a host of powerful enemies against them, at the head of whom were Coligny and Condé. La Rochefoucault, Jarnac, and the vidame of Chartres declared for them. An atrocious impertinence on the part of the cardinal of Lorraine opportunely occurring, swelled this band of foes to the Guises. Tormented by demands, some for debts due, and some for places promised, the all-powerful prelate, in a fit of spleen, published a proclamation by sound of trumpet, ordering all petitioners, of whatever rank, to quit Fontainebleau, where the court then was, without delay, and this under pain of being hanged. The court instantly became a desert. The host of noble suitors, proud though mendicant, could not forgive the threat, and many joined the discontented.

Conspiracy of Amboise.—The noblesse was disaffected, the reformers exasperated by the persecutions. The Bourbons (the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé) profited by the general irritation to attempt an effort against the house of Lorraine. They entered into a conspiracy, of which La Renaudie, a protestant gentleman of Perigord, and an agent of Coligny, was employed by him to be the ostensible leader. The conspirators marched upon Amboise to obtain possession of the king's person, but they were denounced to the Guises, and massacred on the way. Those who had not perished with arms in their hands were decapitated without trial. No fewer than twelve hundred thus perished under the hands of the executioner (1560).

All these cruelties had been committed to no purpose. The prince of Condé incited the Huguenots to fresh rebellions. In the midst of these

increasing elements of discord the young Francis pined into the grave, leaving his beautiful and fascinating queen behind him. His public conduct was influenced by her, and she in her turn was guided by her uncles and the queen-mother, so that he has left no act by which his character may be estimated. He was styled the king without vice, which would have been a high character had it proceeded less from a want of capacity than from inclination (1560).

The advent of Charles IX., who was but ten years of age when he succeeded his brother, Francis II., was the signal of fresh troubles and more horrible struggles. The queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, who saw herself neglected by the Guises, came to an understanding with the prince of Condé.

De l'Hôpital.—Catherine deprived the Guises of power, and at first, in obedience to the wise counsels of her chancellor de l'Hôpital, she wished to hold the balance between the two parties. De l'Hôpital, a man of the highest zeal, ability, and integrity, laboured to consolidate the public peace by re-establishing order in the finances, and to grant toleration to the reformers. In the states-general, the noblesse claimed to preserve its privileges intact; the clergy offered its prayers in payment for the debts of the state, threatening the king with damnation if he should dare to touch their goods. De l'Hôpital opposed all the obstinacy of his virtue to the danger. He succeeded in making the states of Saint-Germain vote a portion of the reforms he had conceived. At the same time he gained over the Calvinists by promising them liberty of conscience. They were admitted, in the colloquy of Poissy (1561), to a free and solemn discussion of their principles; in the month of January following they obtained the famous edict granting tolerance to the Huguenots, and allowing them to assemble *outside* the walls of towns (1562).

Civil Wars.—The nobles were eager to arrest the progress of public order. The duke of Guise passing (March, 1562) by Vassy, on the frontiers of Champagne, found some protestants singing hymns in a barn: his attendants insulted them; blows were given and returned, and in the end sixty of the reformers were killed and two hundred wounded. From this time the struggle continued fierce and sanguinary for thirty-one years: the wars of religion saw France arrayed against itself, and human victims sacrificed by thousands in a christian cause. Both parties preparing for war with a ferocious enthusiasm, did not hesitate to call the foreigner to their aid. The Guises planned with the king of Spain the ruin of Geneva and of Navarre; the protestants invoked the aid of their brethren of Germany, and gave up Havre to the English. France soon became a huge battle field, covered with ruins and dead.

After the massacre of Vassy, Guise and Condé began to assemble their partisans, with a view to an appeal to arms. Coligny hesitated, he looked on civil war with horror, but it had been long gathering, and could not now be avoided; his wife urged him no more to be responsible for the deaths of the persecuted, and his resolution was taken: he joined Condé.

Montmorency, the constable of France, showed his zeal, by setting fire, at the head of his troops, to the protestant places of worship in the faubourgs of Paris, amid the joyous shouts of the multitude: thus was war declared. The first operations consisted of seizing and besieging the

most important towns: at the siege of Rouen, Antoine de Bourbon, the titular king of Navarre, was wounded, carried into the town after its surrender, and died of his wound (1562); he is more celebrated as father of king Henry IV., than for any exploits of his own. The opposing armies first met at Dreux (1562). Montmorency charged impetuously, his squadron was broken by Coligny, and he remained a prisoner. Part of the catholic army took to flight, and the protestants dispersed in pursuit. But Francis duke of Guise, who had stood hitherto immovable with his cavalry, cast his eyes over the field, cried, "They are ours!" and poured down in a gallop on the astonished enemy. This charge decided the victory; Condé himself was a prisoner. Guise was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and hastened to the siege of Orleans, then in the hands of the Huguenots. Here his life and career were ended by the pistol of an assassin, Poltrot (1563). He left behind him a son, Henry duke of Guise, whose name will frequently occur.

The death of Guise restored a larger share of influence to Condé: he signed a treaty with Catherine de Medicis, which had the effect of suspending hostilities for a time: it is designated as the Convention of Amboise (1563).

The protestants laid down their arms; they had obtained a certain degree of liberty of conscience, which they were not destined to preserve long. More was taken from them by edicts during peace, than by force during the war. The catholic party produced a renewal of the war. Montmorency, dissatisfied with his want of importance, excited the people afresh. Three hundred death-warrants, it is said, received his signature. The council of Trent was a weapon in the hands of the Romanists, and the pope declared Jane queen of Navarre to be stripped of her estates, as a heretic, and offered them to the first occupant. Navarre, indeed, itself, had been long since subjugated (1512) by Ferdinand the catholic, of Spain, but Jane, (widow of Antoine de Bourbon) owned the principality of Béarn, in right of the house of Albret.

The protestants, informed of the designs of their enemies, rose (September, 1567), and the king himself, almost surprised by Condé, is reported to have ridden fifteen or sixteen hours without food, till he reached Paris in safety. The battle of St. Denis (1567) soon ensued: it had no decisive result, but that the old constable Montmorency lost his life there. The Huguenots, with their jewels and money, procured the assistance of the Reiters, or riders, German cavalry, and the queen-mother seeing them in force, agreed to a new peace (1568), not more effectual than the former.

Catherine, by an attempt to surprise the protestant chiefs, Condé and Coligny, raised a new rebellion, fiercer than before; altars profaned, churches and convents burnt, and a thousand other atrocities, testified the exasperation of men's minds, and the catholic party were not backward in a similar course. The troops of Henry, the king's brother, met those of Condé, at Jarnac (1569), and were victorious. Condé, wounded the day before, had his arm in a sling; at the moment the battle began his leg was crushed by a kick from an unruly horse; he defended himself heroically against the enemy, and his people laid down their lives around him, but he was taken, and as he stood after the fight by a tree, the captain of Henry's guards came behind him and assassinated him with a

pistol shot. Thus died Condé, at the age of thirty-nine. The Huguenot cause was depressed and the court in triumph, when Jane of Navarre restored the drooping spirits of her friends by bringing to them her son Henry (afterwards king Henry IV.) and the son of Condé; there swore the young prince to defend religion and the common cause till death or victory. New troops from Germany put the Huguenots again in a condition to act. Coligny met the enemy at Montcontour, in Poitou (1569), where a new defeat scattered and wasted his troops; but Montgomery, the accidental cause of the death of Henry II., joined him in Languedoc, and Coligny marched on Paris. Both sides needed repose, and by the treaty of Saint Germain, peace again suspended the strife: it granted Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, as cities of refuge to the protestants (1570).

The court now altered its tone: the chiefs of the Huguenots were invited to Paris and caressed, the king embraced Coligny, saying, with a gracious air, "I have you now, and you shall not get away when you please." A marriage also was arranged between Henry, the young prince of Béarn, and Margaret de Valois, the king's sister. Henry, by his mother's death, inherited the title of king of Navarre.

Saint Bartholomew's Eve.—Henry of Navarre was married 18th August, 1572, to the sister of Charles IX. king of France. Festivities of the utmost splendour followed the ceremony. Catholics and Huguenots were mingled together: Coligny near to the duke of Guise at Notre-Dame; La Rochefoucault, Damville, and Rohan, near to the most intimate courtiers of Charles IX. On the 22nd of August, Coligny went to the Louvre as usual; Charles received him with the greatest affability. As the admiral was proceeding home on foot, an arquebuss, discharged at him from a window, wounded him dangerously in two places. He was, nevertheless, able to reach his residence. It was evident who was the immediate instigator of the murder. The assassin was known to be Maucevel, one who before had been employed to shoot Mouy, a Huguenot general. The shot was fired from the house of one attached to the duke of Guise. In a moment the news fled over the capital; the Huguenots held meetings, but knew not what to decide upon. The assassin had escaped all pursuit. When the king and Catherine were informed of the event, they both expressed the utmost resentment at the murderous attempt, and vowed to take vengeance on the perpetrators when they should discover them. Moreover, the entire court went to visit the wounded Coligny, and to soothe him.

On his return to the palace, he learnt that the Huguenots placed greater reliance upon themselves than upon the justice of the king. Catherine, aided by the duke of Anjou, by Tavannes, by Gondi, and by Birague, the keeper of the seals, at length succeeded in drawing from the young king the order for a general massacre of the reformers. As they were desirous not to fail in their stroke, its execution was confided to the duke of Guise, the mortal enemy of the admiral, and who breathed nothing but vengeance for the death of the duke his father, of which he had always felt persuaded that Coligny had been the author.

The duke of Guise never received an order more agreeable to him. He acquainted the president Charon, the provost of the merchants, with the intentions of the king; ordered him to give notice to the city guards,

to arm them, and to make them carry a white scarf on the left arm and a white cross in the hat for better distinction.

They commenced at the house of Coligny, where a band of soldiers, led by Henry of Guise, presented themselves. Bême, a German follower of the duke's, rushed up stairs, and entering an apartment beheld a venerable man engaged in prayer. "Art thou Coligny?" said the leader with his sword drawn. "Yes, I am he," was the reply; "young man, respect my grey hairs." Without further parley Coligny was slain, his body thrown from the window, and Henry Guise spurned it with his foot as it lay, wiping the face with his handkerchief in order to recognise the features. After this they laid hands on all the Huguenots in the house and the neighbourhood, who were either shot, sabred, or poniarded—not one of them escaped. A similar scene of carnage was being enacted at the Louvre, where twelve of the king of Navarre's gentlemen were put to the sword. On every side, on the stairs, and in the galleries, the floor was strewn with corpses; the unfortunate Huguenots were pursued even to the private apartments of the princes and princesses.

Whilst this fearful catastrophe was in progress at the abode of the admiral, there was heard a strange sound, that made some wonder, and some tremble, they knew not why. It was the alarm-bell of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois; it was replied to by another ominous voice, that of the palace-bell in the Cité, which never sounded but to announce the birth or death of members of the royal house.

No sooner was heard the clang of these dismal bells, than the streets were filled with armed men as if by magic, who slaughtered right and left all whom they supposed to be protestants; while in the houses the catholic citizens, catching the bloody signal, murdered without pity their neighbours, their companions, and even their own relations. The king himself is said to have stood at a window firing at the fugitives as they fled, and crying out, "Slay! slay!" Everywhere where there were Huguenots they were massacred, without distinction of age, sex, or condition—citizens, magistrates, gentlemen, and artizans. Women were not spared, nor youth; and the child that could wield a mallet, it is recorded, was directed to dash out the brains of the infants of heretics. The fury spread itself even in the colleges of the university, where, amongst others, Peter Ramus, a man celebrated by his doctrine and his works, was thrown through a window. Numbers profited by the occasion to avenge their private quarrels, and thus numerous catholics lost their lives by being accused of being Huguenots, or that they favoured them.

The next morning the Seine was loaded with floating carcases. Charles, by his missives, ordered the same scenes to be renewed in every town throughout his dominions. And the principal cities but too zealously responded. Fifty thousand protestants are said to have fallen victims of the monarch's order. A few commanders refused. The viscount d'Orthe wrote back to the court "that he commanded soldiers, not assassins." And even the public executioner of a certain town, when a dagger was put into his hands, flung it away, and declared himself above the crime. The family of the Montmorency, though catholics, showed their abhorrence of these acts, and had the courage to take down the

body of the admiral, which had been hung to the common gibbet, and to give it burial at Chantilly. Charles IX. had not failed to visit it while yet suspended. His followers complained of the odour. "The body of a dead enemy cannot smell otherwise than sweet," was his reply. He now avowed that all was committed by his orders, and even held a bed of justice in his parliament for the very purpose. The trembling judges, with de Thou, their president, could not but applaud his zeal. As for de l'Hôpital, who had been long banished from court, and who had abandoned the friendship of Catherine since she had joined the Guises, he expected not to be spared, and ordered his domestics to throw open the gates. They disobeyed, and the murderers were unable to reach him. But de l'Hôpital did not long survive to deplore the miseries of his country. His words were, "After such horrors, I do not wish to live." The joy of the pope, on the other hand, and of Philip of Spain, knew no bounds. The supreme pontiff went in state to his cathedral, and returned thanks to heaven for this signal *mercy*. He caused medals to be struck in honour of this "great event."

Notwithstanding all this blood shed, there still remained two millions of Huguenots. After the first moment of stupor and horror they had time to rally and to prepare for defence. Then commenced the fourth civil war. It was nearly confined to Rochelle, which stood a siege of six months' duration against Henry the king's brother, and in which forty thousand catholics perished. This was a formidable rallying point for the reformers, who had hastened thither in crowds valiantly to sustain their cause under the shelter of its strong walls. Conferences were opened, and a new treaty was entered into, conceding the same privileges as before to the Huguenots (1573).

Charles IX. fell into ill health; he seemed a prey to a furious delirium; the spectres of his victims appeared before his eyes. In the last night of his life his nurse heard him moaning and weeping. She drew the curtain, and the king, with sobs and tears, exclaimed, "Ah, my nurse, my nurse! what blood! what murders! Ah! I have followed evil counsel. Oh, my God, have mercy on me!" From the pores of his skin the blood gushed forth, and covered his bed with the stain; and in this condition he expired, at the age of twenty-four, 30th May (1574), one year and nine months after the fatal night of St. Bartholomew.

The character of Charles IX. is written in the events of his reign. He was a cruel and perfidious prince, and although a great portion of the burden of his crimes must fall on the religion which prompted and halloed them, yet to have been instrumental in perpetrating such atrocities, is sufficient to condemn him.

Henry III.—Charles dying without children, the succession fell to his brother, the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland a short time previous to the death of Charles, and had set out for that country. The crown of Poland, subordinate to a fierce aristocracy, had long been a crown of thorns, and a law was at last passed, putting it out of the power of any occupant of the throne to relieve himself of the weight of royalty by abdication. On receiving the news, therefore, of his accession to the regal dignity in his native country, Henry deceived his attendants, slunk out of the palace by night, and did not rest till he had crossed the

frontiers of his turbulent kingdom. He then slackened his speed, and amusing himself with the fêtes that welcomed him on his road, consumed four months in his journey to France.

The queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, had assumed the regency in her son's absence, and, with the arts of her native land, held the protestant princes in a voluptuous subjection, by surrounding them with sensual pleasures. The Huguenots saw with horror and detestation the accession of a king who had taken an active part in the foul deeds of the night of St. Bartholomew. Its horror had enlisted on their side the *politiques*, or neutral catholics, with whom they entered into an alliance. Three princes of the blood were at the head of the confederates: after many struggles, the court was obliged to yield, and to accept the treaty of Loches, by which the protestants obtained large concessions. The duke of Alençon obtained Anjou and other provinces in appanage, and henceforth was styled duke of Anjou. The Huguenots were allowed ten towns of security in lieu of six, and the appointment of a certain number of judges in the parliament (1576).

The treaty of Loches disgusted the body of the catholics, who, for a long time, had loudly murmured against Henry's weakness, and whose private habits of life contributed still more, if possible, than his public measures, to render him contemptible. He spent his time in the strangest way; though he had shown some vigour when only a prince, having defeated Condé at Jarnac, and reduced Rochelle, yet now he found his amusement in lapdogs, monkeys, and parrots, and dissolute minions; and while he trifled away his hours with them, he at the same time counted his rosary of death's beads, and chaunted the litanies of his church. The unrelenting leaders of the catholic party formed a scheme called the *league*, to set aside the reigning sovereign, and to transfer the crown to Henry of Guise, son of Francis, the recoverer of Calais, and one of the chief actors in St. Bartholomew. To disappoint these designs, the king put himself at the head of the league; then, on the other hand sought to rely on the protestant party against the Guises, and then again sunk into the abyss of folly and debauchery. Time passed in outbreaks and accommodations. Meanwhile the death of the duke of Anjou, the king's brother (1584), gave new life to the civil dissension, for it made Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, a protestant, next heir to the throne. The duke of Guise now deeming himself on the footsteps of the throne, treated with Philip II. and the pope; raised a thousand men in Lorraine, and stirred up Champagne and Piccardy. Henry of Béarn, on the other hand, was likewise preparing to defend his rights. A third of the kingdom was in the power of the leaguers, and a third fell into the power of the reformers. Paris was divided into sixteen wards, and the council of sixteen, in the interest of the league, hatched a hundred different plots against Henry III. Guise was forbidden to approach Paris, but the king could not pay a courier to carry his orders. Guise came, asserting that the prohibition had never reached him, and, backed by the Parisians, he required that all suspected persons should be banished from court, and that war to the death should be waged upon the Huguenots. Henry III. sent for four thousand of his Swiss guards; they entered Paris with lifted pikes and flying banners; in a moment the whole city broke forth in

insurrection, the streets were unpaved, and the windows piled with stones. the chains were stretched, and barricades erected ; the royal troops were invested and attacked. The king, in terror, applied to the duke to stop the effusion of blood. When it was his pleasure, he did so, the Swiss were allowed to retire, and queen Catherine came to make terms with the leaguers. While she negotiated, the king escaped from Paris and fled to Chartres. This insurrection is entitled the *Day of the Barricades* (12th May, 1588).

These events drove Henry III. to a hateful resolution. He reconciled himself with Guise by the edict of Union (1588), disinherited Henry of Navarre, and made Guise generalissimo. He then convoked the states-general at Blois : he had resolved to rid himself of his enemy by death, and, on the other hand, the duke revealed his project of deposing the monarch ; and his sister carried at her girdle golden scissors, intended, she said, to give the tonsure to the new Chilpéric. Notice came to Guise of the king's purpose ; he replied, " He durst not," and December 23rd, 1588, summoned to the royal cabinet, he was struck by twenty daggers, and fell dead in the closet. His brother, a cardinal, was arrested and put to death the next day. Thus perished the original planners of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Those who see the vengeance of heaven declared in the violent deaths of the perpetrators, in the misfortunes and extinction of their race, are not contradicted by these events.

The exasperation of the Parisians, on learning the fate of the Guises, knew no bounds. The pope, the Sorbonne, the clergy, and the council of sixteen breathed vengeance everywhere ; the insurrection spread from Paris to all the great towns of the kingdom. Two brothers of duke Henry were alive, the dukes of Mayenne and of Aumale ; the pope refused to absolve the king, and his only resource was a reconciliation with Henry of Bourbon. The two kings met, and marched on Paris. In his camp at St. Cloud, a Dominican friar, Jacques Clement, obtained admittance under the plea of presenting some letters, and, whilst opening them, the friar stabbed the monarch in the lower part of the stomach. The king exclaimed, " The wicked monk ! he has killed me ! " and, drawing out the knife, struck Clement with it. The attendants rushed in and slew the assassin, so that neither his motives nor his instigators could be discovered. Henry lingered two days and expired. Henry of Bourbon was summoned to the dying monarch, who declared him his successor, and at the same time embracing him, conjured him to renounce the reformed religion (1589). Clement was declared a saint and a martyr, nay, a deity. A statue was erected to him, with this inscription : " St. Jacques Clement, pray for us sinners ! " His mother was addressed with the same scriptural salutation that was applied to the mother of our Lord.

Henry III. was fond of pleasure, fickle and irresolute ; he took little or no share in the administration of affairs, which he abandoned to his mother and favourites ; he early displayed some noble qualities, and auguring from his past life, a brilliant epoch might have been anticipated ; but his reign is perhaps the most contemptible in the annals of France ; instead of looking after the welfare of the kingdom, he used to occupy himself in designing new fashions in dress, and diverting himself with monkeys and lapdogs. He was vain of his personal appearance, and

painted his face red and white, and employed an application at night to improve his complexion; he also slept in gloves, to make his hands delicate; and stained his hair to hide its natural colour.

Henry IV. (surnamed the Great.)—The first king of the house of Bourbon owed his title to his descent from a brother of Saint Louis, and traced his pedigree through three centuries and a-half up to a crowned head. The throne he thus inherited was not his, it was still to be won; and the party of the league, while they eulogised Jacques Clement as a martyr, execrated the heresy of Henry of Bourbon, and chose themselves a new king in an old cardinal of the Bourbon race, whom they proclaimed by the style of Charles X. The cardinal was however a prisoner, and the duke of Mayenne, calling himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom, carried on the war. He gave battle to the little band of Henry IV. at the village of Arques, in Normandy (1589), but was repulsed; and the king, receiving aid from Elizabeth of England, plundered the faubourgs of Paris, and reduced Lower Normandy. He again advanced on Paris, and found Mayenne posted in the way. At Ivry (1590), near Dreux, he animated his troops by words and action. "No retreat," he cried, "but the field of battle." "Soldiers, follow my white plume; you will find it ever on the road to honour." He then ordered the charge, and the army of Mayenne, though very superior in numbers, was almost destroyed. Henry then blockaded Paris; the famine was extreme, but the monks, with arquebuss and crucifix, worked on the religious sentiments of the multitude, and in the end the blockade was raised by the advance of the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (a natural grandson of the emperor Charles V., and one of the commanders in the plan of the invasion of England by the Armada). Philip II., whose long reign of forty-two years was dedicated to his hatred of heretics, still gave the help of his power to the catholic party in France. On the contrary side, Elizabeth, who had supported the revolution in Holland against Philip, and had to avenge the visit of the Armada, supplied troops to Henry, and thus the advantages derived from alliances were nearly balanced. Paris, in the meantime, was a prey to anarchy, and the duke of Parma entering France a second time, met Henry at Aumale (1592), where the king was wounded, and obliged him to raise the siege of Rouen; but the Spanish duke was obliged to retreat, and soon afterwards died. The factions in Paris could agree upon nothing; the old cardinal of Bourbon was dead; Philip II. demanded the crown for his daughter Isabella, whose mother was a French princess; and the duke of Mayenne wanted to grasp it himself. The people became conscious that the objects of their leaders were selfish. Henry IV. proposed a truce, and being convinced that he should never become king of France as long as he professed protestant opinions, he prepared his *abjuration*. This ceremony took place at St. Denis (25th July, 1593); the king, placing his hands between those of the archbishop of Bourges, promised to live and die in the bosom of the Romish church, and to defend it against all men; the *Te Deum* was sung, and the people interrupted the service with cries of "*Vive le Roi!*"

The abjuration of the king, though viewed with suspicion by the catholics, and with disgust by the protestants, and though not instantly effectual to cure all the disorders of the kingdom, yet substantially put a

final close to the wars of religion in France. The king entered Paris (22nd March, 1594), and the Spanish garrison was dismissed, the great nobles were satisfied by receiving a high price for their submission, and the pope (1595) granted absolution to the royal convert. Mayenne, with two thousand Spanish troops, was checked by Henry with three hundred, at Fontaine Frangaise (1595), near Dyon, and after the pope's absolution gave in his allegiance (1596), on the condition that all members of his family should be acquitted of participation in the crime of Jacques Clement. Philip II. himself, six months before his death, signed the peace of Vervins, and delivered up all the places occupied by his troops except Cambray (1598).

A depraved pupil of the Jesuits, Jean Châtel, believed he should atone for his crimes by assassinating the king; he failed in the attempt, having wounded Henry in the mouth (1594). He was executed, and the Jesuits banished.

Previous to the conclusion of peace with foreign countries, Henry had applied himself to remove all discontent at home by satisfying the just desires of the Huguenots. On his return from Brittany he received the deputies of the protestants at Nantes, and consulted them as to their wants and the guaranty which they desired. Acting on their advice, tempered by his own prudence, and guided by the wisdom of de Thou and other counsellors, Henry drew up and issued the famous edict of Nantes. By this the reformers were to enjoy freedom of worship in all the towns where their creed then prevailed. They were allowed to have meetings of their representatives, as well as to raise sums for their clergy, paying at the same time the tithe due to the established church. In suits at law their judges were to be half catholic, half protestant; and several towns of surety were left to them for a certain time (1598). The parliament made considerable opposition to the registering of this edict, and the king was obliged to use menaces as well as persuasion to overcome their obstinacy.

XI. HENRY IV. AND SULLY.

Policy of Henry IV.—The reign of Henry IV., the only French king whose name has remained popular, was truly a great and a national one. He found France ruined, torn by faction, and a prey to every disorder. In a few years he was enabled to establish, together with peace, a new reign of prosperity. It was one of his claims to the gratitude of his subjects to have bestowed all his confidence upon the austere Sully, who showed himself as severe for the errors of the prince as he was solicitous for the interests of the people. Sully was born at the castle of Rosny, in 1559, and educated in the protestant faith. At an early age he was placed about the person of the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., to whom he ever continued to be firmly attached. While at Paris with the prince, he narrowly escaped being one of the victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, having been preserved by the president of the college of Burgundy, who concealed him for three days. In the service of the young king of Navarre, the baron de Rosny, as he was then styled, distinguished himself on several occasions by a bravery approaching to rashness. But his abilities as a diplomatist and financier were no less remarkable. In 1586 he concluded a treaty with the Swiss for a supply of twenty thousand troops for his master's service; in 1597 he was placed at the head of the department of finance, and two years after he was declared superintendant. About the same time he also negotiated the marriage of Henry with Mary de Medici. In his embassy to England, after the death of queen Elizabeth, he displayed great penetration and address, and concluded a treaty with James I. advantageous to the interests of both countries. In addition to his other offices, he was appointed grand surveyor of France, grand master of the artillery, governor of the Bastile, and superintendant of fortifications throughout the kingdom. His labours as minister of finance were attended with the happiest success, and the revenues of the government, which had been reduced to a state of complete dilapidation by the combined effect of civil anarchy and open warfare, were by his care restored to order, regularity, and affluence. With a revenue of thirty-five millions, he paid off in ten years a debt of two hundred millions, besides laying up thirty-five millions. Though frequently thwarted in his purposes by the rapacity of the courtiers and mistresses of the monarch, he nobly pursued his career, ever distinguishing himself as the zealous friend of his country, and not the temporising minister of his master. His industry was unwearied. He rose every morning at four o'clock, and, after dedicating some time to business, he gave audience to all who solicited admission to him without distinction of persons. Sully thus watched over the internal prosperity of France, whilst Henry IV. by a skilful and persevering policy established his preponderance abroad.

Conspiracy of Biron.—After forty years of civil wars, France breathed

at last. If some private ambitions were still agitating they found the royal power above the reach of their enterprises.

He had had no issue by Margaret of Valois. He had at first intended to replace her by the celebrated Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he loved passionately, and whom he intended to raise to the throne, as his lawful consort, for which purpose he procured a divorce from Margaret of Valois. The design was strongly opposed by Sully, who often represented to the monarch the bad consequences of such a measure, and succeeded in rendering it abortive. Her death took place under very suspicious circumstances, in 1599. Having eaten an orange one day after dinner, she was suddenly seized with convulsions, and died during the same week in excruciating torments. She is described as possessing qualities of rare occurrence in one so situated, namely, gentleness, amiability, and a modest demeanour. After her death, he espoused Mary of Medicis, niece of the grand duke of Tuscany (1600).

The duke of Savoy had not given up the marquisate of Saluces, which he held by usurpation. He came to France, ostensibly to treat directly with the king, but in reality to enter into perfidious plots against him. He worked upon the interests which had been thwarted by the royal reforms. Many of the disaffected became traitors; an old companion in arms of Henry IV., the ambitious marshal de Biron, became engaged in treasonable designs. The king, on one occasion, had summoned him, charged him seriously, but not severely, with the crime, and showed him that he was well informed of his intrigues. Biron fell on his knees, confessed his weakness, but vowed that he would never more forsake the path of loyalty. Henry pardoned and embraced him. But Biron, vain and fickle, jealous even of his monarch's fame, was weak enough once more to listen to the insinuations of Spain. He was fascinated by the mighty promises of the duke of Savoy: he was to have Burgundy as an independent state. Henry, soon after, wearied with the bad faith and subtle subterfuges of the duke of Savoy, made war on that prince. Biron was entrusted with the command, and in conducting it his treachery became manifest. One day, when Sully rode with him to view the siege of a fortress belonging to the duke, the former could perceive that the fire from the ramparts slackened, and was directed from them. Sully took the same ride alone, on the following day, and was received with a heavy and well directed cannonade. It afterwards appeared that the marshal had intended to entice the king into an ambuscade, where the fire of the enemy would have certainly proved fatal.

The duke of Savoy, devastated by the arms of Henry, made his submission and obtained peace (1601). Biron continued his intrigues with Spain, in concert with the duke of Bouillon, with the count d'Auvergne, bastard of Charles IX., and probably with Epemon, and the whole body of the malcontent noblesse. These repeated intrigues at length brought on him merited punishment. Biron was tried before the parliament, condemned and executed (1602). His death served as a warning to the remains of the old feudal party that it could not rise again.

Those of the accomplices of Biron, whom the royal clemency had spared, entered into fresh plots. The Huguenot leaders would gladly have accomplished the project of constituting, in the heart of France, a sort of protestant republic. Sully tranquillized the minds of the deputies of the

reformers, in the assembly which they held at Châtellerault. Henry, on his side, acted with rigour against several traitors (1606). He was, however, not enabled to purchase repose and security at any cost. Accused of ingratitude by the protestants, harassed by the exigencies of the catholics, tormented in his private life by still more poignant anxieties, and exposed to continual attempts of assassination, he was compelled to suspect everybody, and to see none but enemies in the greater part of the nobles by whom he was surrounded.

Great Project of Henry IV.—It was in the midst of this gloomy position of affairs, and its perplexing difficulties, that this profound politician was incessantly occupied with Sully in devising means of insuring the tranquillity and general independence of the states of Christendom. His object was to attack the house of Austria in Germany and in Spain, to take from it a great portion of its provinces, to parcel Europe out into divers states equal in extent and balanced in strength, and to establish upon that basis, an universal and durable peace, guaranteed by the federation of all these states. The first portion of this vast project rested on solid foundations, and was in conformity with the dictates of sound policy. The two branches of the house of Austria had combined together, and formed projects fraught with danger to the political and religious liberties of the other states. Their united forces were redoubtable. Henry proposed to combat and humiliate this proud house, to avenge the old grievances of France, to prevent fresh attacks, and to fix the equilibrium of Europe. England, Holland, the republic of Venice, and the protestant princes of Germany had promised to aid him in the accomplishment of his great designs. When he should have conquered Spain and Austria, he intended, in unison with his allies, to establish a kind of European constitution, calculated to inaugurate a perpetual peace. If Philip II. had also projected the unity of Europe, it was by the slavery of all the nations, and the extermination of all religious and political dissent: there was a world between the Europe of Philip II. and that of Henry IV. Everything had been wisely concerted to insure the execution of this gigantic project. The religious interests of the protestant states would impel them to give it every support; the pope would be tempted by the title of supreme chief of the Italian republic; the duke of Savoy would see his states aggrandised, and erected into the kingdom of Lombardy, by the addition of the Milanese; Holland, freed from the Spanish yoke, would consolidate its independence; all, in fact, would be emancipated from the fears with which the cupidity of Austria inspired them. A universal war was inevitable. Henry had understood the necessity of sowing, by long and peaceful works at home, the seeds of his future triumph, and of securing numerous allies abroad. Already, on signing the peace of Vervins, it was for war that he had prepared. He mediated between the pope and the Venetians, which Spain had succeeded in embroiling, and reconciled them; every year he furnished subsidies and armaments to the Dutch; and in 1608 entered into a defensive league with them, forcing the Spaniards to treat with the united provinces as with a free country. There had long been a good understanding between him and queen Elizabeth of England, and when, in April 1603, he heard of her death, he was deeply afflicted. It was indeed an irretrievable loss to him. Henry did not, however, lose courage. Numerous

states successively entered into his alliance. He was soon enabled to calculate on the prince of Orange, on Sweden and Denmark, on nearly all the protestant princes of Germany, on the numerous reformers of Bohemia, of Hungary, and the arch-duchy of Austria, on the duke of Savoy, on the pope, and, finally, on the new king of England.

Internal Administration.—France had attained a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown. The great results of Sully's financial policy we have already glanced at. This minister was eminently aristocratic; so much so that he vehemently opposed the introduction of those manufactures which enriched the civic class at the expense of the landholders. Henry, however, overruled his minister in this, and founded the silk manufacture of the kingdom, as well as that of tapestry. Small mirrors, in the Venetian style, commenced to be manufactured. Industry began to contribute to the revenues of France. Literature and art added to its grandeur. The king housed in the gallery of the Louvre artists of every description; de Thou and Jeannin, d'Ossat and Duperron formed part of his council; Pithou wrote the "Treatise on the liberties of the Gallican Church;" Jérômeignon commenced his great works on jurisprudence; Arnaud and Etienne Pasquier were the glory of the bar; Regnier wrote his satires, which still retain a place in the standard literature of his country. Henry IV., who loved the luxury of palaces and gardens, executed great works at Fontainebleau, the Louvre, the Tuileries, and Monceaux; he constructed the château of Saint Germain, now destroyed, the place Royale, and the place Dauphine; he finished the Pont Neuf, the hotel de Ville; and, notwithstanding all the expenditure entailed thereby, his preparations for the great war he contemplated were on the most extensive scale. Everything was ready: a numerous and disciplined army, paid with a regularity up to that time altogether unknown, stores of every description, a formidable artillery, and thirty-five millions of savings in the cellars of the Bastille.

Squabbles with his queen, Mary of Medicis, distrust of Sully, excited by the envious courtiers; these, with national improvements, negotiations, festivals, and hunting parties, bring the reign of Henry IV. nearly to its close. In 1609 its happy and glorious monotony was varied by the enthusiastic admiration which the aged monarch conceived for Mademoiselle de Montmorency, the young and lovely daughter of the constable, who had just appeared at court, and eclipsed all its beauties. The prince of Condé was her successful suitor; and the prince, alarmed for his wife's honour, carried her off from the court by stealth, first to Picardy, whence, on receiving a summons from the king to return, he made a second flight and gained the low countries. The king was greatly affected by this incident: he instructed his ambassador to demand of the archduke to deliver up the prince and princess of Condé; and, as Sully foresaw, the court of Brussels, in refusing, filled Europe with calumnies against Henry; asserting that he wanted to take by force the wife of the first prince of the realm, and of the blood. When Henry immediately afterwards menaced war, the outcry was, that Europe was about to be deluged in blood for another Helen.

It was, indeed, unfortunate, that Henry, who had remained so many years at peace, should now draw the sword for a cause at once criminal and absurd. His dream, which had been a vision of heroism and philanthropy, was now degraded and sullied by the immediate motive

Henry, who was passionately fond of glory, saw the stain that was to rob his achievements of their brightness and purity. The accusation of the Spaniards troubled him: perhaps there was even truth in the reproach, that the love of a sexagenarian king for a princess, and a married princess, of twenty, was the only cause and pretext for convulsing Europe and shedding its best blood. This weighed upon Henry, and fretted him. His gaiety disappeared. Remorse and mortification came to cloud his declining days. A dark presentiment now gathered around Henry: he could not shake it off.

He intended leaving the queen as regent during his absence at the head of his army; and her previous coronation, a ceremony which had not yet taken place, was considered requisite. This detained him in the capital; and Mary of Medicis, fond of state and ceremony, insisted on it, and delighted in it. Henry was annoyed and fretted: he frequently said he should never see Paris alive, and he longed to contradict his presentiment. The coronation of the queen at length took place. On the following day, the 14th May, 1610, he manifested strong feelings of despondency. Despatches brought him word that his enemies were making no preparations for defence, and that they gave out that the delivery of the prince and princess Condé would at once allay his choler, arrest his schemes. This increased his ill humour: he called for Sully; but, learning that his minister was ill at the arsenal, the king's coach was ordered to carry him thither. Seven of the suite occupied with the king his ample carriage. The duke of Epemon was in one corner, and Henry next to him. The vehicle proceeded, but was stopped in the narrow rue de la Ferronnerie by two loaded carts. This was the moment chosen by an assassin, Ravallac, who, mounting on the steps and leaning full into the carriage, struck the king with a poniard, first in the stomach and then in the heart. One of these stabs pierced the heart of the noble Henry.

To paint the rage and despair of the people would be impossible. The once-detested Henry had won every heart, and the general grief for him partook of the character of madness. Tears were the least tokens of sorrow; many died on learning the catastrophe, amongst others the brave de Vic, the comrade of Henry. The lifeless body was borne to the Louvre, whilst Ravallac, who made no attempt to escape, was taken, brandishing his dagger, and only preserved by the guards from being instantly torn in pieces. He had been a monk, strongly imbued with the king-killing principles that the Jesuits had broached. His crime had been long meditated by him, but no proof exists that he had been instigated either by Spain or by any knot of malcontent courtiers. Suspicion, indeed, has scattered its stain on all with an unsparing hand. Epemon, the queen, Concini, and many others, were accused as being privy to the deed; and the record of Ravallac's trial having been destroyed, whilst these personages possessed the chief influence, gives some colour to the charge. Ravallac was torn limb from limb, and was astonished to hear the lamentations of the people for their *father*, and their eagerness to offer their horses for the punishment of the regicide.

The character of Henry, if not altogether the most perfect, is certainly the most interesting that history presents. To enumerate his qualities were to repeat all that we admire in the perfection of the modern

gentleman. Such was he, another Francis I., with more good fortune, more military talent, more humanity, more refinement, and with a career far more calculated than that of Francis to illustrate the heroic virtues. Then the interior and domestic life of Henry, made known to us in the simple and sublime memorials of Sully, makes us intimate with the man as with the monarch, and endears him to us as the warm friend, the devoted lover, the generous master, the frank and witty companion. His contemporaries, who gave him the epithet of Great, must have admired, even more than they loved him. In our days, when the warlike feats of the past have been so much thrown into the shade, we are inclined to reverse these feelings, and to love more than to admire him.

Henry was no tyrant; but his reign had certainly a despotic tendency. He summoned no assembly of the states where the *tiers-état* had a voice; but his position, much more than his nature, influenced him in that line of policy. He had suffered much from popular violence; he had had experience of the fury of the council of sixteen, and the fanaticism of the mob hired by the money of Spain. It is not to be expected that from remote or theoretic views of the public good he should have awakened and given life to this hydra. Besides, even in the plenitude of his power, he was harassed by the insubordination of the protestant towns and the assemblies of the reformers. The wish of all good men was for peace and order. The license of the past had thrown into disgrace the very name of liberty, whose lasting victories can be won only under the banners of moderation. To judge Henry in his age, then, with our ideas, would be absurd; as to condemn him because the circumstances of his reign were unfavourable to the public liberties, is unjust.

Aristocratic as Henry was in feeling, he was still less so than his minister Sully, many of whose prejudices in this respect he over-ruled. But the exclusive maxim of gentility nevertheless prevailed. The civic class, trodden down in this reign, were for nearly two centuries unable to rise. The cause of this depression may be traced to their want of union and firmness. We must also take into account the blindness with which both parties, choosing princes for their leaders, avowed all public and general principle to be forgotten and lost in the private interests and views of those chiefs.

XIII. RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN.

Regency of Mary de Medicis.—The premature death of Henry IV. threw France into the greatest consternation, and as his son Louis XIII. (surnamed the Just) was only nine years old, Mary de Medicis was appointed regent. Henry IV. had been in the right when he said, "They will know my value when I am gone." To prove this it was not necessary that the crown should fall into the hands of a child of nine years old, governed by an Italian woman, who was governed in her turn by two domestics of her country, Galigai, a female attendant, and Concini, the husband of this woman, of whom she had made confidants and counsellors. Sully in vain endeavoured to persist in that national policy which the reign of Henry IV. had inaugurated. The interests of France and of Europe were sacrificed to those of the house of Austria. The ultramontane and Spanish influence were destined to domineer over the feeble government of Louis XIII. until the period that Richelieu should assume the direction of affairs. The duke of Savoy, who had compromised himself for France, was compelled to implore the pardon of Philip III., and the taking of Juliers was the only result of all these preparations for war. Sully, disgusted and disgraced, retired.

League of the Princes and the Great.—The nobles had judged the moment opportune. The queen-mother believed she had attached them to her by dividing amongst them the treasures of the late king. But their cupidity was insatiable. Laden with the spoils of France, they made pretensions to remedy the evils to which it was a prey; working upon the discontent created by their own dilapidations, they rebelled, and compelled the queen to buy them off by the treaty of St. Menesbould (1614).

One of the clauses of that treaty provided for the convocation of the states-general. The queen and her ministers did everything to paralyse the states by dividing them. They succeeded: each order made claims in its own interest; the *tiers-état* was very ill treated by the two others and the court. The states separated without renewing the efforts of their predecessors to obtain the periodicity of their meetings. They were destined not to be summoned again but on the eve of the revolution, to see the privileged orders and the monarchy crumble away. Nevertheless, the parliament had taken the cause of the *tiers-état* in hand. It addressed severe remonstrances to the king respecting the bad administration of the kingdom. Concini was directly pointed out to public indignation. Notwithstanding the court caused the remonstrances of parliament to be suppressed by an order of the council, the discontented were stronger than they were before. They were not sufficiently so, however, to prevent the double marriage—that of the king's sister Elizabeth with the infant of Spain, and that of the king himself with Anne of Austria, a young and not unlovely princess of fifteen, thus cementing the alliance

of France with Spain. Whilst Louis XIII. was setting out to meet his future spouse, the dissatisfied lords withdrew to the provinces and levied troops. They were joined by the protestants. Both sides avoided an action. Conferences were opened. The prince of Condé, the leader of the disaffected nobles, and his followers, were declared good and loyal subjects of the king; and the people paid more than six millions in honour of this fresh peace. The court and royal authority was at the feet of the noblesse. They had obtained from the king the dismissal of his ministers. Condé, at the head of the council, already believed himself on the footsteps of the throne, when Mary de Medicis arrested him in the Louvre, and sent him to the Bastile. The noblesse, his partisans, instantly fled to raise their followers. The Parisian mob collected, and showed its humour by pillaging the hotel of the *maréchal d'Ancre* (Concini); there, however, its fury subsided. The queen was victorious, and the fugitive partisans of Condé were reduced to impotent exclamations of vengeance and rage. Their cause, however, was not lost. The young king had joined his mother in the project for getting rid of Condé; but in delivering himself from one master, Louis was mortified to find that he had given himself another. The *maréchal d'Ancre* now ruled uncontrolled at court and council, and the pride of Louis was even more hurt by the ascendancy of the upstart Concini than by that of Condé. De Luynes, his favourite, and the young nobles who composed his court, flattered the monarch's pride and fanned his resentment. Mary de Medicis deemed this knot of striplings to be occupied in pleasure, whilst they meditated a plot. The arrest of Condé was a precedent and an example. Accordingly, as the *maréchal d'Ancre* was proceeding to the council chamber in the Louvre, Vitri, captain of the guard, stopped him by the king's orders, and demanded his sword. D'Ancre moved his hand to the weapon, whether to draw or surrender it never could be ascertained, for he received at the moment several pistol shots, and instantly expired. Louis immediately came forth, and declared himself to have ordered the deed, whilst the court hastened to abandon the queen-mother, and to throw itself at the feet of the monarch who had thus manifested his authority. The body of the murdered Concini was seized and torn in pieces by the populace. His wife, Galigai, marchioness of Ancre, was torn from her affectionate mistress and sent to prison. She was condemned as a sorceress, and executed by the axe, her body being consumed by fire; and the populace testified its satisfaction at these punishments by the most barbarous traits. The king, who, notwithstanding, was incapable of the government he desired, banished his mother from the court, who took up her residence at Blois (1617).

France hardly perceived that it had changed masters. There was the same disorder within, and the same weakness without. Condé from his prison, and the queen from her exile at Blois, were weaving webs of intrigue. The duke de Luynes, who had now become the sole master of the state, neutralised their influence for some time by opposing them to each other. But the situation became complicated by the escape of Mary by night from the château of Blois, where she was met by Epemon at the head of an armed body of gentlemen; and, retreating south, soon found herself at the head of a party strong enough to defy her enemies. Luynes was in favour of taking arms; the king preferred to capitulate.

The bishop of Luçon, the famous Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, intervened as the queen's negotiator. He had entered the political arena for the first time as an orator of the clergy in the states-general of 1614. After this he appeared to have attached himself to the fortunes of the queen, and had asked to follow her into exile. She obtained through him the government of Anjou, and the towns of Angers, Chinon, and Pont-de-Cé, as fortresses of surety. But she learnt at the same time that Luynes had liberated Condé from Vincennes. Thus France saw itself again divided by two factions. That of the queen was soon in possession of half of the kingdom. Louis XIII. placed himself at the head of an army. Luynes tried means of seduction against the rebels. An encounter at length put an end to this miserable war. Peace was concluded, the queen returned to Paris, and Richelieu received the promise of a cardinal's hat (1620).

War against the Protestants.—This last rebellion proved the incapacity of the nobles for every serious enterprise, and the indifference which the people felt towards them. The protestants were in the interior more redoubtable enemies. The agents of Rome and Madrid did not cease to exasperate the feeble and violent government of Louis XIII. against them. The restoration to the catholic priesthood of the church lands of Béarn, which had been in the hands of the protestants since the days of Jeanne d'Albret, was the occasion of a rupture which had been imminent for a long time. The states of Béarn protested. The assembly of the reformed churches supported their cause. The court made promises; but when the nobles had sheathed their swords, Louis XIII. went himself to compel the Béarnese to submit to his edicts. The general assembly of reform at Rochelle, which had been convoked despite the prohibition of the king, declared itself permanent, and their consistory published a bold decree, dividing the protestant regions of France into circles, after the manner of Germany, uniting again the circles in a general government, and establishing the rules by which this government was to raise troops and taxes, to levy war, and exercise independent jurisdiction. The scheme was a direct imitation of the United Provinces of Holland. The voice of moderation was stifled there by some fanatical or ambitious chiefs, as it had been at court by the Jesuits and the foreign agents. Although the noble Huguenots were displeased with the froward conduct and republican principles of their party, nevertheless the duke of Rohan took the command of their army in the south, whilst his brother, the comte de Soubise, was placed at the head of that in Poitou. The royal army passed the Loire, and soon drove the Huguenots before it. The numerous Huguenot towns in Poitou immediately submitted. St. Jean d'Angely, the principal fortress belonging to Rohan, was besieged, and taken with Soubise in it, after a resistance of twenty-three days. The king left a corps of observation before Rochelle, and entered Guienne, where nearly all the towns opened their gates without striking a blow. An assembly of the French clergy voted *a million of gold* to defray the expenses of the siege of Rochelle. It was necessary to reduce the south before undertaking anything against this metropolis of heresy. The 18th of August, 1621, the royal army entered Montpellier, and besieged Montauban, where the protestants held out. Luynes wanted to besiege the place before occupying the country from whence he might derive succour.

He encountered a terrible resistance. His incapacity rendered the courage of his soldiers unavailing; he was not able to prevent the duke of Rohan from sending reinforcements into the town, and after three months, having lost one-half of his army by the sword, by disease, and desertion, he was reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. He died himself of the epidemic which had been decimating his troops (1621.)

There was now a vacancy in the royal favour, for which the party of the queen-mother and that of Condé contended with the greatest obstinacy. Condé, deeming himself indispensable in the war, excited the king against the heretics. Louis resumed the offensive. The war still continued for some time under the orders of Lesdiguières, but the defection of some of the protestant chiefs led to a treaty of peace, which was concluded at Montpellier (1622). The principal conditions of this treaty, which were not observed with good faith by the court, were, together with the confirmation of the edict of Nantes, the demolition of the fortifications constructed by the Huguenots during the war, the interdiction to the Huguenots of holding lay assemblies, and the suppression of all the places of safety except Rochelle and Montauban. Power had escaped from the hands of Condé; it fell into those of ministers disunited and hostile to each other. Time passed in miserable intrigues, until the ministerial revolution which opened the doors of the council to cardinal Richelieu, in which he entered in spite of the princes, in spite of the ministers, in spite of the king.

XIV. RICHELIEU.

Richelieu's Policy.—Louis XIII. had said to his mother, "I know the bishop of Lugon better than you; he is a deep and dangerous man, whom it is necessary to distrust." This distrust, however, was succeeded by an absolute submission. The foreign policy of France underwent a complete revolution. Intimate relations were established with all the powers hostile to the house of Austria; the old treaties with the United Provinces were renewed; a sister of Louis XIII. was married to the prince of Wales. The plan of a powerful coalition was actively discussed; Richelieu resumed a portion of the projects of Henry IV. All the elements of that vast league which had been severed by the poniard of Ravallac were endeavouring again to unite. Bohemia had given the signal of that thirty years' war which was to overthrow Germany, by conferring the crown upon a protestant prince, the elector palatine Frederick, son-in-law of the king of England and nephew of the stathouder of Holland. The protestants of Germany would themselves have overthrown the Austrian Colossus, had he not been supported by the heir of Henry IV., or rather by Luynes.

Meanwhile the enterprises of the Spaniards in Italy, coinciding with these great events, had commenced to rouse the court of France. It had felt the necessity of disputing to them the possession of the Valteline, a valley of the Alps which opened an easy communication between Italy and Germany. Time was absorbed in negotiations, when Richelieu came into power. In a few days the affair was terminated; the soldiers of the pope were forced to evacuate the fortresses of the valley. Richelieu stood still in need of time to strengthen himself in the interior before engaging ostensibly in the great quarrels of Germany. The Spaniards avenged themselves for the loss of Valteline by promising their aid to the protestants of France. An internal war, as much opposed to the interests of the reformers as to those of France, intervened to divert the projects of the cardinal.

Fresh War against the Protestants.—The French protestants had many subjects of complaint. The Fort Louis, which commanded the town and the port of Rochelle, was still left standing, in spite of the engagement which the court had taken to raze it to the ground. The assembling of some large vessels in the port of Blavet, on the coast of Brittany, still further augmented the disquietude of the inhabitants of Rochelle. They believed themselves on the eve of being blockaded, and wished to forestal the danger. Soubise made a descent upon the isle of Rhé, then on that of Oleron, seized the vessels of the king in the port of Blavet, whilst Rohan stirred up a portion of upper Guienne and Languedoc. But the prowess of the protestants had been displayed to no purpose; it had only served to compromise them. Toulous retook the isle

of Rhé, Montmorency the isle of Oleron. The protestant fleet was partially destroyed by that of the king. Soubise took refuge in England. Rochelle was hemmed in on all sides; and England, to whom Richelieu had intimated that civil war alone kept the court of France from signing the protestant league against the house of Austria, pressed the "rebels" to submit instead of supporting them. Peace was concluded the 6th February, 1625.

League against Richelieu.—The enemies of the house of Austria received the news of this treaty with joy. What was their disappointment when they learnt that peace had been concluded with Spain! Richelieu was accused of following in the scandalous footsteps of Concini and of Luynes. Such, however, was not the case. The able politician had understood the necessity of establishing unity in France before endeavouring to establish the equilibrium of Europe. He had first to face the storm which was brewing against him at court. The princes and the nobles were ever ready to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and moreover they hated the cardinal. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, to whom Richelieu refused a place in the council, the two queens, jealous of his ascendancy over the mind of Louis XIII., the courtiers, who saw the public treasury closed to them, and the imprudent Chalais, who had already, in concert with Gaston, entered into a plot to get rid of the minister, formed a redoubtable league against him with the count of Soissons, the ambassador of Savoy, and an agent of England. Richelieu had bought over one-half of the conspirators to insure the destruction of the remainder. He sowed fearful distrust in the mind of Louis XIII. against the queen and against his brother, and compelled him by fear to attach himself to him as his only safety, distracted as he was by the snares of his subjects and his kindred. Completely master of the mind of the king, the latter entreated him to accept absolute power. Chalais was given up for trial to a commission, and perished on the scaffold. Gaston abandoned his friends, who were disgraced and dispersed, and was completely subdued. Thus Richelieu, triumphant over his foes, amongst whom the queen and the king's brother were numbered, showed how fatal it was to provoke his enmity, how fruitless to resist his power (1626).

Already all powerful, Richelieu summoned an assembly of notables to create himself a new support in public opinion. The king of England, Charles I., after successively dissolving two parliaments, was walking less prudently in that path of despotism which led him to the scaffold. The assembly ratified all the cardinal's proposals—the re-purchase of the royal domains, the suppression of the charges of constable and admiral, the reduction of pensions, and the demolition of fortresses which were useless for the defence of the kingdom.

Siege of Rochelle, and Ruin of the Protestant Party.—Whilst Richelieu, strengthened by the resolutions of the assembly, and created, since the suppression of the admirals, superintendent of commerce and navigation, was preparing for new struggles, his enemies, who were once more plotting his ruin, furnished him with occasion to destroy them. The duchess of Chevreuse, one of the queen's favourites, whom Richelieu had banished from court, was the principal agent of the league, formed by the duke of Buckingham and the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine. Their tactics

were to incite the Huguenots to a fresh civil war. Buckingham landed in the Isle of Rhé, presented himself before Rochelle, and offered the city the aid of the king of England. The Rochellois hesitated several weeks before declaring themselves. A body of the king's troops surrounding them suddenly, decided them to break out; it was at this moment that Buckingham, after having committed error upon error, evacuated the island and sailed back for England.

The greatness of the peril redoubled the energy of the Rochellois. They chose for mayor a marine named Guitin, a man of indomitable courage, who, in the *hotel de ville*, striking with his dagger the council table, swore that with it he would pierce the first who should talk of surrendering. The Huguenot city could only be reduced by famine. From the land side it was enclosed by lines of three leagues in circumference; from the sea side by a prodigious dike of seven hundred fathoms; these works of defence had lasted more than a year, and were only completed amidst enormous difficulties. The cardinal commanded the siege in person, and directed its operations. On both sides incredible efforts were made, and the inveteracy was the same. The Rochellois were in daily expectation of receiving succour from England; king Charles had written to them "that he would hazard his three kingdoms, if need be, for their deliverance." Twice the English expedition came in sight of the beleaguered town, without seriously endeavouring to force the passage. Famine was decimating the besieged, though it did not cast down their courage: they only subsisted on shell-fish and grass, and even these were beginning to fail; out of eighty men who were defending a gate, scarcely ten could support themselves without a staff. The mayor, Guitin, the old duchess de Rohan, the mother of the two brothers, Rohan and Soubise, and the ministers of the gospel, upheld and animated by their discourses and their example this heroic resistance. In the midst of the horrors of famine, "It is enough," said Guitin, "let one of the citizens remain alive to close the gates." At length there was no longer any food of any description, and the Rochellois resigned themselves to submit to the laws of the vanquished.

Richelieu, however, was not a bigot, and he showed himself clement towards Rochelle: there was no vengeance taken, no victims sacrificed. The town lost its independence, which was, indeed, incompatible with the idea of sovereignty; but its worship and its religious opinions were left free, and the lives and properties of its inhabitants were spared. The capitulation was signed the 29th October. When, the following day, the royal troops entered the city, they did not find in it three hundred men capable of bearing arms (1628).

The stronghold of protestantism had fallen, and the war now only languished in the south. The aid which Rohan expected from Spain came not. Louis XIII., on his return from Piedmont, where he had taught the duke of Savoy, by forcing the pass of Suza, that the Alps were not sufficient barriers against the French, fell rapidly upon the small number of places still in the possession of the protestants, burnt those which resisted, and compelled Rohan to accept the treaty of Alais, by which he was obliged to accept 100,000 crowns for the pay of his troops, and retire to Venice (1629). The last strongholds in which the Huguenots might still have defended themselves having been dismantled,

protestantism had ceased to exist as a political party, and all the factions had been struck by the same blow; they had lost in Rochelle a place which had the repute of being impregnable, and ever open to the foreigner. Richelieu, freed from internal embarrassments, had now at length arrived at the moment of contending for Europe against Austria.

Italian War.—The late pacification of the quarrel in the north of Italy proved but momentary. No sooner was the royal army withdrawn, than the duke of Savoy displayed his old hatred to France. A Spanish force under Spinola invaded the duchy of Mantua, and again laid siege to Casal. The resolution of Richelieu was instantaneouſ to march another army to the Alps. The cardinal had been juſt declared prime miniſter; he now aſſumed the title of generaliſſimo, and at the head of forty thouſand men, armed with ſuperb cuirass and ſword, a page bearing by his ſide a plumed caſque, the prelate-warrior advanced to humble the pride of Auſtria. Louis followed in his miniſter's ſuite, as did the queen mother, who now determined to keep near her ſon, and to make uſe of every opportunity to undermine the great uſurper of authority. At firſt the war proved ſucceſſful: Pignerol was taken; the duke of Montmorency defeated the enemy in action; but to ſuccour Mantua required concentrated force, as well as the undiſtracted attention of the miniſter and leader. The king fell dangerously ill at Lyons; Richelieu had reaſon to tremble for his perſonal ſafety. The monarch, on his bed of ſickneſs, ſhowed a generous ſolicitude for the ſafety of his miniſter. "Should I expire, ſaid Louis to Montmorency, "do you promiſe me to protect the cardinal Richelieu to a place of ſafety." Montmorency promiſed. Louis, however, recovered; but it was too late to proſecute the war with vigour. Marillac, who had commanded during the illneſs and the occupation of Richelieu, had held back, owing, it was ſaid, to the traitorous wiſhes of the queen-mother. Mantua, the duke's capital, was taken by ſtorm and pillaged; and Casal was ſurrendered, after a long defence, by the brave Thoyras. The powerful diversion cauſed by the arms of Guſtavus Adolphus in Germany, alone ſaved France and Richelieu at this time from the diſgrace of a diſhonourable peace, including the loſs of Mantua to the duke their ally. The pope interpoſed, and negotiated a treaty; his envoy on the occaſion was Giulio Mazarini, a name afterwards famous. He ſhowed himſelf moſt active, and at one time perſonally interferred between the French and Spaniards, who, on account of a doubtful interpretation of a certain article of the treaty, were about to proceed to freſh hoſtilities. After all the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, Mantua and Montſerrat were ceded by the emperor to the duke of Nevers (1630).

Day of Dupes.—New agitations occupied the court. The two queens, Gaſton d'Orleans, Marillac, and all their creatures, were plotting the ruin of the cardinal, and fully hoped to achieve it. On returning to Paris, Louis gave an interview to his mother, Mary de Medicis, who demanded the diſmiſſal of Richelieu, in the preſence of the miniſter himſelf. To end an awkward ſcene, the king ſharply required him to retire; the courtiers thought him ruined; he went home and burned his papers. Congratulations poured in upon Mary; but, as a laſt effort, Richelieu demanded an audience, juſtified himſelf, and remained at his poſt. This day was called the *day of the dupes* (1630). The two

displeased queens now roused the spirit of Gaston of Orleans : he went to the house of the minister at the head of a crowd of gentlemen, and, in high wrath, loaded him with menaces, then retired into the country and began to raise troops.

This comedy had a bloody termination. The cardinal caused the two Marillacs the *maréchal* of France and the chancellor, both his creatures, but who had turned against him, to be arrested ; the chancellor died in prison, the other, the *maréchal*, was brought before a commission, which sat in the cardinal's country house at Ruel, and accused of a long list of crimes, of all save his true one of conspiring with Mary de Medicis. Being convicted, he was beheaded in the place de Grève. The queen mother had, at the recommendation of Richelieu, been ordered to quit the kingdom, and had gone to Brussels, whither, after a violent and absurd scene with the cardinal, Gaston was sent to join her. They thought they would be able to return to their country. Gaston drew into his designs Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, levied troops himself, and was forming a junction with Montmorency, when the latter, throwing himself upon the royal forces at Castlenaudary (1632), was unhorsed and taken prisoner, owing to his imprudent valour. The news of his capture dispersed his army, and left Gaston no resources but to join his mother at Brussels.

Notwithstanding the supplication of all the nobles of the court, of the princes of Condé, Montmorency's sister, the clamours of the mob, who cried under the windows of the Louvre for mercy, and even the promise of Gaston, who promised to submit if his generous protector was spared, Richelieu was inexorable. Montmorency's execution followed, and many more friends of the prince lost their heads upon the scaffold. It was thus, by the Bastille and the block, that Richelieu bore down all opposition : the victims of his severities were numberless, and his personal piques were avenged with the same severities as crimes against the public order.

French Period of the Thirty Years' War.—In the midst of intrigues which were incessantly threatening his power, Richelieu had not been able to follow up his project against Austria ; he had, however, not remained a passive spectator of the thirty years' war. The king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, having brought the war in which his country was involved with Poland to a successful issue, had, with the subsidies of France, led an army of sixty thousand men into Germany, for the purpose of rescuing the protestants from the tyranny of the house of Austria. He had brought back fortune to the side of the protestants ; defeated the famous tacticians of the emperor, and penetrated from the Vistula to the Danube. He was only stopped in his progress at Lutzen, by Wallenstein, the "demon of war." He conquered even there, but remained on the battle field, and fortune once more deserted his party. The defeat of the Swedish army at Nordlingen was followed by the submission of Saxony (1634).

It was then that Richelieu decided upon simultaneously attacking the two branches of the house of Austria. He continued his subsidies with Sweden, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Holland. He signed fresh treaties with Switzerland and the dukes of Savoy and Parma. Four armies were to operate simultaneously in Flanders, on

the Rhine, in the Valteline, and in Italy. He himself, from his closet, was to direct all the operations of the war.

The first war did not fulfil the expectations of the cardinal. The army of the north effected its junction with the prince of Orange, after having crushed the Spaniards at Avein; but the Belgians, revolted by its excesses, held it in check until the arrival of the imperialists. In the Valteline, the duke of Rohan defeated successively four divisions of the enemy, each stronger than his own, but the important expedition which he protected by these victories, the invasion of the Milanese, failed. On the borders of the Rhine the remains of three armies hardly sufficed to cover Champagne and Lorraine, threatened by the imperialist armies (1635). The following year, the Germans penetrated into Burgundy, and the Spaniards into Picardy. Already they were only thirty leagues from Paris, and the consternation was general, Richelieu himself for a moment appeared to be overwhelmed. But he soon rallied his courage, and showed himself throughout Paris so full of pride and confidence, that he animated the Parisians in such a manner, that from dismay they passed over to enthusiasm. The companies of justice and finance, the university, the city bodies, the trades, and the religious communities offered the king the pay of fifteen thousand combatants for three months; the youth and the artisans of the city were enrolled and formed into regiments. All the towns followed the example of the capital.

The princes did not share in this national enthusiasm, and the dangers of France served them as occasions for new plots. Gaston of Orleans and the count of Soissons, entrusted with the pursuit of the enemy suffered them to escape. They hoped, by means of reverses, to bring about the ruin of the minister. They would have assassinated him, had not Gaston's heart failed him at the moment he was to give the signal of the murder. The plot failed. The imperialist army, upon which the princes calculated, had evacuated France. Hostilities continued, without producing any decisive advantages to either party, until 1640. One sanguinary battle was, however, won over the Spaniards; and the famous Bernard of Saxe Weimar, who had at first been defeated at Rheinfeldt, having surprised the Austrians in the intoxication of triumph, overwhelmed them, and made four of their generals prisoners. The conquest of Brisach was the fruit of this victory which Bernard, however, was not destined to survive (1639).

Richelieu, more exasperated than discouraged by the vicissitudes of war, pursued with obstinate irritation the results which were continually eluding his grasp. France was exhausting itself; the court was a hot-bed of intrigue; the people, ground down by taxation, rebelled in the north and the south; judgments and executions did not remedy the evil. Richelieu redoubled his efforts against Spain. The revolutions of Catalonia and Portugal came at so opportune a moment to crown his wishes, that it was believed that the hand of the terrible cardinal might be seen in these great catastrophes which shook the entire edifice of Spanish monarchy, as likewise in the civil discords which began to upset Great Britain. Catalonia gave itself entirely to France, the Portuguese chose a king of their own. Overwhelmed by these enormous losses, the Spanish court pursued the war more feebly. For the first time since the commencement of this sanguinary struggle, the French had the advan-

tage on all their frontiers. Turenne commenced to show himself in Piedmont, and the duke of Enghien, who became the great Condé, made his first campaign in the north (1640).

Richelieu triumphant from afar, saw himself surrounded by more pressing perils than any which he had surmounted. Sedan, the residence of the count of Soissons, the most redoubtable of the disaffected chiefs, had become the centre of the web of intrigue woven by the duke of Bouillon, the host and the friend of the count. All the discontented at home and abroad corresponded amongst themselves, and awaited the moment of action. An army marched upon Sedan, under the *maréchal* of Châtillon, to reduce the town, and take or humble the count of Soissons. Châtillon was both valorous and skilful; but nothing could compensate for the ill humour and backwardness of the troops, who, with their officers, felt more inclined to a gallant prince of the blood than to the domineering cardinal. In an action that took place at Marfée, near Sedan, the royal troops showed neither alacrity nor determination; and Châtillon, despite his efforts, was completely put to the rout. No obstacle seemed now to prevent the count of Soissons from marching to Paris, when the almost miraculous good fortune of Richelieu saved him from ruin. As Soissons rode over the field of battle, he pushed up his visor with his pistol; it was accidentally discharged, and the victor perished. Report did not fail to say that he was assassinated, and, of course, by the order of Richelieu; but there is no evidence to support such a rumour. Louis, who, on receiving tidings of the defeat, was preparing with equanimity, to sacrifice the obnoxious minister, was now struck with his unvarying good fortune; and, with a superstitious feeling, bowed still lower to the cardinal's will (1641).

But though the armed revolt had been quelled, Richelieu's danger had not disappeared. The enemy continued even in the closet of the king the hostilities of which the frontiers were no longer the theatre. The grand equerry, Cinq-Mars, the favourite of Louis, who had been chosen by Richelieu for his agreeable person, his frankness, and his frivolity, to fill this situation, where the minister deemed him little dangerous, but around whom all the disaffection was now grouping itself, negotiated secretly with Spain. The cowardly Orleans gave up a copy of the treaty to Richelieu to obtain his good graces. The latter, who was in a dying state, had time to make a fresh example. Cinq-Mars and de Thou were taken. They were judged by a commission; Cinq-Mars of course condemned. Against de Thou no crime could be proved, except that he knew of the Spanish treaty without revealing it. This satisfied the judges, and the friends were both condemned. The execution of these youths was a touching scene: they embraced on the scaffold. Cinq-Mars died with the physical courage of light-hearted youth; de Thou with the constancy of a reflecting mind, trembling, yet full of hope. The duke of Bouillon redeemed himself by giving up the town of Sedan. At the same time the Spaniards evacuated Perpignan, Roussillon was conquered, and France resumed its natural frontiers of the eastern Pyrenees. From France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, Richelieu received nothing but favourable tidings. He re-entered Paris as a conqueror, carried in a magnificent litter; the towns opened their gates to receive the cardinal king. Roman despot was never more courted nor more feared. But death was coming fast to

close his triumphant career. A mortal malady wasted him; yet the cardinal abated nothing of his pride nor of his vindictiveness. He exiled some of the king's personal and cherished officers; he insulted Anne of Austria; remained seated during a visit that she paid him, and threatened to separate her from her children. Even his guards no longer lowered their arms in the presence of the monarch. His demeanour to Louis was that of one potentate to another. He summoned the king to his dying bed, recapitulated the great and successful acts of his administration, and recommended Mazarin as the person to continue its spirit and to be his successor. Louis promised obsequiousness. Richelieu then received the last consolations of religion, and went through the pious and touching ceremonies with an apparently firm and undisturbed conscience. The man of blood knew no remorse. His acts had all been, he asserted, for his country's good; and the same unbending pride and unshaken confidence that had commanded the respect of men, seemed to accompany him into the presence of his Maker. He died like the hero of the Stoics, though clad in the trappings of a prince of the church. Most of those present were edified by his firmness; but one bishop, calling to mind the life, the arrogance, and the crimes of the minister, observed, "that the confidence of the dying Richelieu filled him with terror" (1642).

Richelieu is generally spoken of with applause by the French historians, and is said to have laid the foundation of the greatness of the monarchy, and of the glory which France acquired in the succeeding reign; he was to an extreme fond of magnificence and display, and in some respects like our own cardinal Wolsey, but was incomparably more crafty and artful. He acquired more power than any minister ever did in France, and may be said, from his admission into the royal council in 1624, to the day of his death, to have been the sole efficient ruler in France.

Louis XIII. survived his great minister but a few months: he was attacked by a slow fever, of which he died on the 4th of December, 1643, in the forty-second year of his age. His son Louis XIV. was not five years old. The queen dowager Anne of Austria was regent.

The character of Louis XIII. is by no means favourable. His great defect was indecision of character, which rendered him timid, reserved, and unsociable. His intentions were upright, and he was just and pious, but his taste for retirement was inconsistent with the duties of his station, and induced him to leave the affairs of his kingdom in the hands of his statesmen.

XV. LOUIS XIV. (MINORITY), REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.—MAZARIN.

Louis XIV.—The death of Richelieu had been welcomed nearly everywhere as a deliverance. The people believed that they were freed from taxation, and made songs; the nobility came in crowds to reclaim its privileges; the parliament, which had seen itself despoiled even of its judicial attributes, arrogated to itself the enormous power of setting aside the late monarch's will, by which the regency was left to the queen. Orleans was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and a council was named to limit the powers of both. Anne of Austria applied to the parliament to annul these provisions, and to declare the regency simply vested in herself. She succeeded; but the appeals thus made to it gave that body an erroneous opinion of its own functions, and it afterwards arrogated to itself the right of deliberation on the king's edicts. The parliaments of France were merely courts of law. The representation of the nation belonged to the states-general; but as legislative ordinances must be promulgated with form, and recorded for future guidance, the royal edicts of France were sent down to the parliament of Paris to be registered; if the parliament hesitated, the king might come down in person, and by a *bed of justice* overrule opposition, or by letters of command enforce compliance. The question of the regency would have come before the court as a question of constitutional law; they would be asked to say whether, by the customs of France, the regency does not reside in the queen-mother, and whether the will of the late king can impair those rights. In this case the decision was in favour of Anne of Austria. A coalition of the courtiers was soon formed, called the *Cabal of the Importants*, but the regent banished them to their country-houses, or punished the refractory by imprisonment.

It was Anne of Austria, regent in the name of the youthful Louis XIV., who was five years old on the demise of his father Louis XIII., who saved the tottering edifice of Richelieu from destruction. She forgot her aristocratic affections and her Spanish inclinations, to place at the head of her ministry that Mazarin, of whom the great cardinal had said, after his first interview with him, that he had never met with "a more profound genius for public business."

Giulio Mazarini, we have seen, first appeared as envoy from the pope in 1630. He was an Italian ecclesiastic, of no illustrious birth, and had been a follower of the Barberini. His sagacity discovered the French court to be a sphere where there was more room for his talents than the papal afforded. He came to Paris, attached himself to secretary Chavigny, and rose to be the confidant of Richelieu, who even intrusted him with the management of foreign affairs on the death of friar Joseph, procured him a cardinal's hat, and, as we have seen, recommended him to Louis

XIII. as his successor. The Venetian ambassador described him at this time as possessing "a well-formed and agreeable person; as polite, adroit, impassive, indefatigable, prudent, eloquent, plausible, persuasive, an apt dissembler"—in short, a perfect statesman of the Italian school. Yet, if he now remained at the head of affairs, it was owing more to good fortune, and to the complete dearth of rival talent, than to his own foresight. He had drawn up the late king's will, which had sought to limit the power of the queen-regent. Anne of Austria forgave this. Enemy as she was of Richelieu, and vilifier of his policy, no sooner did she find herself at the head of affairs than she perceived this very policy to be the only one consistent with the welfare of the state and the security of its ruler. Mazarin, on being applied to, promised the most scrupulous devotion to the queen. This Italian, less great than Richelieu, nevertheless continued his foreign policy. Whilst plundering France, he definitively established her preponderance over Austria; and, notwithstanding the disordered state of the finances and the tumult of factions, he terminated twenty-five years of sanguinary wars by treaties which restored France its Alsatian frontier, which consolidated its influence as far as the north, and which remained the diplomatic chart of Europe until the French revolution.

Continuation of the Thirty Years' War.—France continued to triumph on all her frontiers. The Spaniards, led by a general, grey with experience, threw themselves into Champagne; the weakness of the government of a minority roused their hopes; they believed themselves once more on the road to Paris. The army which they had to encounter was commanded by a young man of twenty years, who had received orders not to hazard a battle; but this young man was the great Condé. In spite of the court and the old councillors by whom he had been surrounded, he broke at Rocroi the Spanish infantry, and "with a glance, which at once took in the danger and the resource," gained the battle. The ancient honour of Spanish arms was lost; the respect which Europe had entertained for the soldiers of Spain concentrated itself on those of France. Condé knew how to conquer and to profit by victory. He advanced across the enemy's territory, took Thionville (1643), made the Germans re-cross the Rhine, and crossed it after them. With Grammont and Turenne he attacked the camp of the old warrior Mercy, who was entrenched near Friburg on two eminences. The combat was resumed three times in as many days. Condé threw his marshal's baton within the enemy's lines, and went to seek it again sword in hand (1644). Mercy saved the remnants of his army by retreating with forced marches, and left his artillery and baggage behind him. Spires, Landau, Philipsburg, Worms, and Mayence surrendered. The following year Condé came to retrieve the defeat of Turenne at Mariendahl, attacked Mercy in the sanguinary battle of Nordlingen, and gained a complete victory, after a hard struggle, in which Mercy himself was killed (1645).

French arms were as victorious in Flanders as they were in Germany. Gravelines capitulated. After many other strongholds, Courtray opened its gates under the eyes of the enemy's army. On the sea there was the same success. Twenty galleys defeated the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy. The same year Condé, seconded by the Dutch admiral, took Dunkirk, the key of Flanders. The fortunes of France were only

wanting in Spain, where inefficient troops, badly paid, failed before Lerida, and in Italy, where Mazarin suffered Naples, roused by the fisherman Massaniello, to fall again under the hated yoke of Spain (1646). But so many reverses had overwhelmed the house of Austria, that it no longer knew how to profit by any advantage. Turenne, after his junction, in the lands beyond the Rhine, with a Swedish army, had pushed his cavalry to the gates of Munich, and compelled the duke of Bavaria to abandon the Austrian alliance. He virtually held Austria. The government fearing to work in favour of the Swedes, and to break the equilibrium of Germany to the advantage of the protestants, recalled Turenne (1646). But the following year, the duke of Bavaria having violated his treaty of neutrality, Turenne returned to Germany, rallied the Swedes, pressed by the imperialists, and aided them to gain the battle of Summershausen, near Augsburg. The duke of Bavaria, nearly an octogenarian, was forced to fly, leaving his states as a prey to the conquerors. They were about to penetrate into the heart of Austria, when great tidings stopped them. The emperor submitted to the law of necessity, the thirty years' war was ended (1648). The pacification, however, did not extend to Spain. Spain had resisted peace, notwithstanding the sanguinary battle of Lens, where Condé had been again victorious over the emperor's brother Leopold, having taken a hundred banners and thirty-eight pieces of cannon: Spain reckoned upon the germs of discord which had been spreading through France, during the five years of victories.

The Peace of Westphalia.—The negotiations which had almost been on foot since the commencement of the war, were thus not to be terminated by universal peace. Great results had, nevertheless, been obtained. There were three distinct treaties. The first between Spain and the united provinces, proclaimed the independence of Holland. The second, between France and Austria, established the triumph of federalism over despotic unity, which the house of Austria had wished to impose upon Germany. It stipulated for liberty of conscience for the protestants; regulated the rights and the relations of the Germanic states; gave Alsatia to France, less the great imperial city of Strasburg; confirmed it in the possession of the three bishoprics, Toul, Metz, and Verdun; and decreed a perpetual peace between the kingdom of France and the holy Roman empire. The third treaty conferred upon the Swedes, those indefatigable allies of France, Pomerania, and many places, and money. Austria was vanquished, and the French, enriched by a beautiful province, had become the lawgivers of the empire, and had insured the independence and the security of the various states of Europe.

The Fronde.—At the period when that celebrated treaty was signed, Paris was in a state of rebellion. Mazarin had drawn upon himself universal reprobation. The foremost grievance against the new minister was that he was an Italian, which rendered him odious; his imperfect pronunciation and his manners rendered him ridiculous. He was jeered at instead of being feared. But to these grievances he added many others. Whilst Richelieu kept his enemies in obedience through fear, Mazarin, in the soul of his, added contempt to hatred, by the perpetual use of falsehood. And his enemies not only consisted of the great, for the people had dearly paid for the victories of France. Richelieu had not had

leisure to establish the finances. The reckless administration of Mazarin had had no difficulty in augmenting the chaos which reigned there, and the misery of the people. He bettered the instruction of Richelieu, in devising unpopular measures to fill the exhausted exchequer. He suffered irregularities by others, nay, committed them himself; at his death he left a hundred millions of property to his nieces. The parliament claimed to defend the interests of the people. As the aristocracy of the sword had become weakened, the aristocracy of the robe had extended its influence, by seeking to substitute its regular control to the tumultuous resistance of the *grandeess*. The parliament of Paris, emanated from the royalty of which it had been for a long time the instrument and the support, had appropriated to itself the inheritance of states-general. They claimed the right of examining and refusing to pass the pecuniary edicts of the crown. It was in vain that Richelieu had exhausted his rigours against the parliamentarians, he had only envenomed the struggle and rendered it more decisive. Mazarin commenced by flattering them, and this manœuvre succeeded for a few months. But their compliance was soon at an end, they thought the moment had arrived that they should interfere in public business.

One of Mazarin's schemes for replenishing the treasury, affected the parliaments; it deprived them of four years' salary, and threatened the loss of the *paulette*, or heritability of offices of emolument and trust. The parliaments united, in despite of its having been forbidden, and twenty-seven articles were drawn up for the approbation of the regent. They comprised charges of ignorance against the financiers, and propositions for abolishing monopoly, reforming the system of taxation, and establishing the liberty of the subject. It was, in fact, not less than an attempt at a national constitution (1648). The regent considered these articles as death-blows to the royal authority. Not in a position to deny, the minister determined to evade. In a bed of justice, the young king was made to grant some immaterial part of the demands; but the principal articles were found to want the expression which gave them force. The presence of royalty did not now keep down the murmurs, and the boyhood of Louis XIV. unfortunately saw his dignity insulted and his authority denied. Bred up in these quarrels, his young ears drank in the continued complaints and imprecations of his mother against the parliament; and the circumstances increased that strong bias to despotism which was but natural to his station.

At a time when the English parliament was beheading its king, the parliament of France thought it might at least dispense with the royal sanction. It, therefore, commenced to decree its reforms. Mazarin, who had exhausted every artifice and means of delay, took advantage of the tidings which had arrived of the victory gained by the prince of Condé at Lens, to strike a great blow. On the 26th of August the king went in state to hear the *Te Deum* sung in honour of the victory. The opportunity was taken of the military force attending the ceremony to arrest six of the chief magistrates. Broussel was the name of the principal. The news of his imprisonment created a tumult, which soon grew into a seditious mob, clamouring for the liberation of the prisoners. The *marechal de la Meilleraye*, with two hundred guards, tried to disperse them; he drove them back to the Pont Neuf, where his progress was

impeded, and where he met de Retz, coadjutor of the archbishop of Paris, who had rushed out in his robes amongst the mob. After having harangued, and momentarily tranquillised the populace, de Retz hurried with the marechal to the palais royal, to represent the alarming state of the city to the queen. Anne of Austria, who knew the coadjutor's character, suspected him as one more likely to throw oil than water on the flame. "It is rebellion itself to imagine that the people can rebel," said she, "you would have me deliver Broussel; I will first strangle him with these hands." This resentment, seconded by the jeers of the court, had the ill effect of converting Retz into a dangerous enemy. The mob, however, dispersed for the day; and it was not till the morrow that, on the meeting of parliament, and in full cognisance of the matter, the more respectable citizens joined the populace in renewing the tumult. The queen had troops. Defence was necessary, and tradition pointed out the means. In a few hours the barricades of the league were renewed. The streets were everywhere broken up; and the intrenchments, guarded by an armed population, became, as the military men of that day averred, impregnable to a force of whatever magnitude.

The presidents and chiefs of the parliament now proceeded to supplicate the queen to allay the tumult, by rendering up the prisoners. At first, unhearkened to, the people drove them back into the palace, and into the queen's presence; to whom a sister queen, the wife of the unfortunate Charles I., then present, observed, that the troubles in London were never more passionate nor more alarming. The court was forced to yield. Broussel and Blancmenil were restored to liberty. The barricades were immediately levelled, and the people ceased their turbulence and clamour. The court in yielding had but temporised, however, and it soon made its escape from the capital to St. Germain. Such was the first insurrection of the *fronde*. As it had been commenced by troops of urchins, who, at that time armed themselves with slings, the wits of the court called the insurgents *frondeurs*, or slingers, insinuating that their force was trifling, and their aim merely mischief. The young lords and dames, who afterwards embraced the party, willingly adopted a name which so well characterised their petulance, and sportive rather than serious rebellion. Whilst joining the people, they were not sparing in their contempt of it. They could only be gainers by the disorders. It was the prince of Conti, a small hunch-backed man, a "a zero," said cardinal Retz, "who was only multiplied because he was a prince of the blood," whom the Parisians elected as their generalissimo. The other chiefs of the party were the grandson of Henry IV., the duc de Beaufort, called the *roi des halles* (the king of the markets). He was the most popular, owing to his affable manner and handsome person. There was likewise the duc de Bouillon, smarting under the loss of Sedan; Turenne, who was won over by his passion for Madame de Longueville; the ducs de Vendôme; Nemours, Laroche-foucault, and, as we have seen, by the witty and brilliant abbé de Gondi, cardinal Retz, who loved to hear himself called the little Catiline, and who of his own avowal had the "least ecclesiastical soul of the universe." It was an army without soldiers. The parliament ordered levies of troops, and decreed new taxes to defray the cost of the war.

Although blood was shed upon more than one occasion, intrigue and

song were the principal arms of the war. Condé, who commanded the royalist army, prepared to invest Paris, and occupied on either side of the city the bridges of Charenton and St. Cloud; but with only twelve thousand men it was impossible to invest the metropolis. The Spaniards suddenly entering France, led, through fear, to the momentary reconciliation of the factions. An accommodation was signed, and the chiefs of sedition seized the occasion to endeavour to wrest some fragments from the royal liberality. Bouillon wanted Sedan, Turenne, Alsace; Elbœuf, the government of Picardy; Beaufort, to be admiral. Condé deemed himself indispensable; he had unsupportable exigencies, he was haughty and overbearing, and pleased nobody. The crafty Mazarin embroiled him with the *frondeurs*, and, having isolated him, caused him to be arrested, together with Conti. Turenne had gone over to the Spaniards, and declared that he was fighting for the deliverance of the princes. The party of the princes and that of the *frondeurs* found themselves united and supported by the Spaniards. Mazarin was compelled to yield. Banished by the parliament, he left France, and went to the elector of Cologne at Bruhl, from which place he directed the counsels of the regent in the same manner as before. His enemies soon ceased to agree together. He returned with an army in his pay, and which bore his colours. The factions hardly recognised each other amidst these strange revolutions. Whilst Turenne made his peace with the court, Condé in his turn went over to the Spaniards. The parliament, which at least had at heart to repulse every approach at understanding with the enemies of the state, showed nothing but irresolution and weakness. The civil war recommenced with more ardour than ever. The young king, who was pursued by the rebels, was dragged by his mother from province to province. Condé triumphed at Bleneau, arrived at the gates of Paris, and sustained in the faubourg St. Antoine the efforts of the royalist army. No chance appeared of Condé's saving himself and the relics of his army, when the gates of St. Antoine unexpectedly opened to receive him, the cannon of the Bastile at the same time sending their fire upon the three attacked streets, and thus effectually checking the progress of the royalists. This well-timed succour came from Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the duke of Orleans, whose sympathy for the heroic Condé, now in distress, was aided by the clamours of the populace, enraged at beholding a rash and imprudent, but still generous, prince sacrificed to the detested Mazarin. She wrung from the municipal officers the orders for opening the gates, herself directed the firing of the guns of the Bastile; nay, her hand is said to have applied the match. Mademoiselle had aspired to the hand of Condé, to that of the king, and might hope at least to espouse a sovereign prince. But Mazarin observed, on seeing the fire of the Bastile, and knowing who commanded it, "That shot has killed the husband of mademoiselle."

Terror spread itself throughout Paris; anarchy was complete; the parliament knew no longer how to maintain its position, and out of fear appointed Condé generalissimo of the armies, and Gaston of Orleans regent of the kingdom. The king broke its decrees, and transferred it to Pontoise. One-half only obeyed, the other remained at Paris. Affairs were now further complicated by two parliaments issuing conflicting decrees; they, however, concurred in demanding the expulsion of

Mazarin. The minister leaving France a second time, wrote to the king, "There is not an asylum left to me in a kingdom all whose frontiers I have extended." Those who had driven him from it were soon compelled to receive him back, odious as he had been, with joyful acclamations. The weariness of parties was extreme, the parliaments were divided, the princes did not agree together, the people were disgusted with all. At length the provost of merchants went on behalf of the city to supplicate the king to return to it; Mazarin was not long in rejoining the court; and the *frondeurs* were stifled in his anti-chambers. The king published an amnesty, from which the princes and Laroche-foucault were excepted. Condé quitted Paris to join the Spanish armies. The duke of Orleans was ordered to Blois, and the duke of Beaufort accompanied him. Louis entered Paris on the 21st of October, 1652, and held a bed of justice in his parliament on the following day, which was the anniversary of the famous declaration, or constitution it might be called, of 1648. From his throne the monarch declared his will, that the parliament should no more presume to interfere with state affairs, to discuss or oppose them; at the same time he forbade its members to cultivate the acquaintance of princes and grandees. This royal edict, annulling its long and fiercely-contested claims, the parliament registered without a murmur; and from that hour the spirit as well as the insurrection of the *fronde* may be considered as ceasing to exist, at least in the capital. If a proof be needed, it lies in the arrest of the coadjutor, the cardinal de Retz, in a few weeks after, without a symptom of riot, or even chagrin, on the part of a people of whom he had been the idol so lately and so long.

Thus wretchedly terminated this singular war of the *fronde*, which has been justly denominated child's play; the traces of it were effaced more speedily than ever those of the league had been. Its principle had been a serious one; if the *tiers-etat* had at the outset had more consistency, it might have led to something different than a quarrel of men of the robe and a last affray of nobles and princes. To judge from the *bon mots* with which both parties enlivened the struggle, it was nothing but a symptom of the common impotence, and only profited to royalty.

Treaty of the Pyrenees.—Civil discord had led to fatal consequences abroad. All the conquests of French arms in Flanders had fallen back into the hands of the archduke; the Spaniards had retaken several places in Italy, and seized anew upon a portion of Catalonia. As soon as France was restored to herself, the enemy was compelled to resume the habits of defeat. Condé was vanquished as soon as he no longer commanded Frenchmen. Turenne repulsed the enemies from the northern frontier, and made them raise the siege of Arras. Mazarin having, by the promise of Dunkirk, gained the alliance of England, overwhelmed the Spaniards. Turenne invested Dunkirk. When the enemy approached to aid the town, Turenne's army, sustained by an English squadron from Cromwell, at the battle of the Dunes, or sand-hills, near Dunkirk, completely routed Condé and the Spanish. The battle was decisive. Louis XIV., who had this year made his first campaign, entered Dunkirk, and gave it up to Cromwell, whom Mazarin at the same time styled in his letters "the greatest man upon earth" (1658).

He doubted whether his fortune were secure from the dangers of investigation as to the means by which it had been acquired, and

before his decease he surrendered the whole of it into the hands of the king, who disappointed not his expectations, and restored the whole as a free gift from the hands of the sovereign. The most praiseworthy act of his life was done on his death-bed, and that was the endowing of the college which bears his name.

Henry IV., Richelieu, and Mazarin seem only to have employed their laborious careers to smooth the path of Louis XIV. France had vanquished all its enemies abroad. At home the royal authority remained without counterpoise. The king alone remained in the integrity of his power, capable for good or for evil. When Louis XIV. said, "I am the state," there was in that comprehensive figure of speech neither arrogance nor boasting, but the simple enunciation of a fact.

The king soon after fell dangerously ill at Calais, his life was despaired of; and Mazarin was already in alarm, making preparations for flight, when an emetic was proposed as a remedy. It was a thing then unknown, and looked upon as unnatural and dangerous. It was administered, however, and Louis recovered, to the great joy of his minister. France, in the meantime, though victorious, was anxious for peace. Cromwell's death rendered the alliance of England little profitable, and the finances of the kingdom were in a state of disorder and debt. Anne of Austria's desire was that he should espouse the infanta; but as there was a probability of this princess becoming the heiress of the monarchy, the king of Spain was reluctant to have her rights confounded with those of the house of Bourbon. The future proved the justice and sagacity of his reluctance. Still Spain had even more need of peace than France; and when Louis moved to the south of his dominions, and affected to pay court to a princess of Savoy, Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish minister, alarmed lest the sole opportunity and bond of peace should be destroyed by a marriage with Savoy, despatched a private emissary to Mazarin, proposing the hand of the infanta, and negotiations for peace. The king at that time, it is said, preserved a lingering attachment for Maria Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces, and the cardinal was not averse to see his niece queen of France. Anne of Austria, however, would not make this sacrifice to her friend and minister. She was peremptory, and the demoiselles Mancini were sent away from the court for a time. The espousals between Louis XIV. and the infanta Maria Theresa of Austria, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, were celebrated in June, 1660, with great magnificence. The courts and monarchs met in the Isle of Pheasants. Condé was received and pardoned. The weak Gaston duke of Orleans dying about this time, Louis XIV. granted his appanage and title to his own brother Philip, hitherto duke of Anjou, from which is descended the present house of Orleans. Mazarin might now be said to have completed his career, or, in a political point of view, to have completed the career of Richelieu. Every great object of policy proposed by the latter had been gained: the nobles were humbled; the house of Austria weakened; and France, enriched in territory at least, at her expense, had obtained compactness and a powerful frontier. In his private fortune, which was enormous, Mazarin had been as successful: he married his nieces to the first nobles of Europe, who, though prizing high blood, did not think it derogatory to ally with power, however upstart. The pecuniary wealth, the valuables, and pictures of

Mazarin were immense. He was fond of hoarding—a passion that seized him when he first found himself banished and destitute. His love of pictures was as strong as his love of power—stronger, since it survived. A fatal malady had seized on the cardinal, whilst engaged in the conferences of the treaty and worn by mental fatigue. He brought it home with him to the Louvre. He consulted Guenaud, the great physician, who told him that he had two months to live. Some days after receiving this dread mandate, Brienne perceived the cardinal in night-cap and dressing-gown, tottering along his gallery, pointing to his pictures, and exclaiming, “Must I quit all these?” He saw Brienne, and accosting him, “Look!” exclaimed he, “look at that Correggio! this Venus of Titian! that incomparable Deluge of Caracci! Ah! my friend, I must quit all these. Farewell, dear pictures, that I loved so dearly, and that cost me so much!” A few days before his death, he caused himself to be dressed, shaved, rouged, and painted, “so that he never looked so fresh and vermillion” in his life. In this state he was carried in his chair to the promenade, where the envious courtiers cruelly rallied, and paid him ironical compliments on his appearance. Cards were the amusement of his deathbed, his hand being held by others; and they were only interrupted by the visit of the papal nuncio, who came to give the cardinal that plenary indulgence to which the prelates of the sacred college are officially entitled.

END OF VOL. I.

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
PORTRAITS OF ALL THE KINGS AND RULERS OF FRANCE
FROM PHARAMOND TO LOUIS NAPOLEON.

VOLUME SECOND.

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FIRST BRANCH OF VALOIS.

A.D. 1328 TO 1498.



Philip VI., 1328-1350.



John, 1350-1364.



Charles V., 1364-1380.



Charles VI., 1380-1422.



Charles VII., 1422-1461.



Louis XI., 1461-1483.



Charles VIII., 1483-1498.

ORLEANS BRANCH.

A.D. 1498 TO 1515.



Louis XII., 1498-1515.

SECOND BRANCH OF VALOIS.

A.D. 1515 TO 1589.



Francis I., 1515-1547.



Henry II., 1547-1559.



Francis II., 1559-1560.



Charles IX., 1560-1574.



Henry III., 1574-1589.

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

I. LOUIS XIV.—MINISTRY OF COLBERT.

Internal Administration.—Louis XIV., who was as jealous of the appearance of power as of power itself, had declared, on the death of Mazarin, that he would be his own prime minister. In the first thirty years of his reign, he attended the council eight hours each day, listening to and consulting all, but judging himself. Whatever activity he imparted to public affairs, it is to two of his ministers, however, whose great art consisted in often making him take their ideas for his own, that the greater portion of the benefits and errors of his reign must be attributed. Colbert and Louvois were respectively his good and his evil genius. Colbert, the grandson of a wool merchant of Rheims, a man of a profound mind, tenacious and indefatigable, exercised, in his own person, the functions of minister of the interior, of commerce, of finance, and marine. The great object of his life was to promote the prosperity of France. He achieved great things, and the greatest calamities of the people date from the moment when the influence of Louvois overcame his own. Louvois, nevertheless, gifted with a remarkably vigorous mind, displayed in the war department the same activity which Colbert brought to that of the interior.

The disgrace of Fouquet, superintendent of finance, was the first act of the king's authority after the death of Mazarin. Fouquet was an expensive, prodigal, and licentious character, most unfit to have the management of a treasury, which he often converted to his personal grandeur and indulgence. Louis wisely preferred Colbert—stern, economical, and orderly. But to disgrace or supplant a minister in those days, required address and dissimulation, even in a monarch. In the midst of a splendid fête, given by the superintendent to Louis, the latter was tempted to arrest him. The measure was only deferred until Fouquet's fortress of Belleisle could be seized simultaneously with his person. His process and his papers, in which so many were mentioned and implicated, threw the court into a ferment. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and seems to have merited his fall; although his want of honesty as treasurer was redeemed by such traits of generosity and worth, as had won the attachment of La Fontaine and the sympathy of Madame de Sévigné.

The best proof of the disorder of the finances under Fouquet is, that for the last four years of his administration no accounts whatever were forthcoming of the revenue or the expenditure. In a series of years taxes had been heaped on taxes, the receipt not increasing. The customs especially had been so severe, that regular commerce was sacrificed

completely to the contraband trade; the product of the duties diminishing as the duties themselves mounted up; and agriculture had been treated with an equal lack of mercy and of wisdom. Colbert, the new finance superintendent, found matters in this state, with arrears and debts amounting to twice the ninety millions of livres at which the year's revenue was computed. A chamber of justice, or commission, examined the accounts of the farmers of the taxes, discovered their frauds, and forced them to disgorge much of their gains. And Colbert, by the sole means of simplifying the public accounts, was enabled to relieve the people of three millions of the *taille*, with many vexatious restrictions on commerce, to pay off, at the same time, the onerous debt of the hotel de Ville, and yet, without the substitution of a single new tax, to show an amount of revenue increasing every year. Thus, in lieu of such an account as that of 1661, which presented eighty millions of livres revenue, from which fifty millions charges and expense of raising were to be deducted, Colbert, in 1671, raised a similar sum of eighty millions, free of all expense of levy, and from taxes felt less by the people. If the great enterprises and efforts of the monarch and the minister be at the same time taken into consideration; the purchase of Dunkirk from England; the establishment of the Gobelins, and so many new manufactures; the commencement of the canal of Languedoc; the building of the Louvre, the Invalides, and Versailles, we have cause to admire the miracles that mere economy can work in finance. This was Colbert's only principle, as no progress had been made in finance or political economy as a science; and of this the administration of Colbert, especially in his laws respecting the commerce of grain, offer ample proofs. The prosperity of the branches of manufacturing industry which sprang into life under this minister's administration, opened to France fresh sources of wealth. Colbert spared no effort to make of France the most manufacturing nation of the world. He summoned from foreign countries the most skilful workmen; he caused to be manufactured the point lace of France, the mirrors of Cherbourg, the fine woollen cloths of Louviers, Abbeville, and Sedan, the tapestry of the Gobelins, the carpets of the Savonnerie, and the silks of Tours and Lyons. France owes to his care the improvements in watch and clock making, those in the breed of horses, and in the cultivation of madder. He occupied himself in insuring markets for the products of the manufacturers; he founded colonies, the chambers of commerce, insurance companies, docks, and the canal of the two seas, which traverses Languedoc for upwards of sixty leagues, and which connects the ocean with the Mediterranean. At the same time resuming the work of Richelieu, which had been abandoned by Mazarin, he created a formidable marine; founded arsenals; gave France a code of forest laws; granted bounties to private constructions; opened new ports on both seas; and repurchased Dunkirk, into which flowed all the commerce of the north. "It is necessary," he said to Louis XIV., "to save five sous in things that are not necessary, and to expend millions when your glory is in question."

Millions were in reality expended by Louvois, and, at first, it was for the glory of France. He imparted to the army an organisation which excited the admiration of Europe. He created a numerous infantry, which he armed with the bayonet. Each regiment had, for the first time, its uniform, its special attributes, and its place assigned in the

marches and orders of battle. The army, united in the hands of the king, ceased to be an instrument in those of faction. The troops were fed with regularity, and provided with suitable stores and materials; and the poor people, who had hitherto been preyed upon by the soldiery, were wrapt with admiration at the security which they now enjoyed. Finally, Louvois founded the magnificent Invalides, whilst Scignolai, after Colbert, his father, continued the organisation of the naval forces, and founded schools of artillery and marine.

Louis XIV. was three-and-twenty years old when he assumed the direction of the government himself: the president of the assembly of the clergy desired to know to whom he should now address himself on business. "To myself," said Louis, and he was sole master of France until his death. After the cessation of the wars of the fronde, on one occasion the parliament showed some hesitation about registering some financial edicts (1655). Louis came down to the chamber in his hunting dress, with his whip in his hand: "Gentlemen," said he, "every one knows the evils that have resulted from these meetings, and I wish to prevent them for the future. I order, therefore, that these now, commenced on my edicts, be stopped. M. President, I forbid you to allow these assemblies, and all else to demand them." These haughty words produced their effect, and the parliament obeyed. There was in Louis XIV., said Mazarin, "stuff for four kings."

Conquest of Flanders.—The peculiar characteristic of Louis XIV., which formed one of the leading features of his policy, was the firm attitude which he assumed towards the foreign powers. He compelled the king of Spain to apologise to him for a quarrel between the ambassadors of the two countries. The pope, having suffered the French ambassador to be insulted, was forced to expel his own brother and to raise a pyramid to perpetuate the remembrance of his humiliation. Louis XIV. declared himself, against the infidels, the protector of christianity. He sent soldiers against the Turks, and purged the seas of the barbarian pirates (1664).

The Dutch having been suddenly attacked by the English fleet, claimed from Louis XIV. the execution of the defensive treaty of 1662. He was not eager to aid them, and left the rival fleets to destroy each other, in the most furious naval battles that had yet been waged. Louis despised the Dutch, as a mercantile people; he coveted their territory, as nearly adjacent to his own; and envied them the possession of a navy inferior to none in Europe. He nevertheless aided them on land.

The moment had arrived for Louis XIV. to carry out his projects of conquest. Hitherto he had observed the treaty of the Pyrenees, except in despatching secretly some feeble aid to Portugal. But the king of Spain's death, by which the crown devolved upon a sickly infant, offered hopes to Louis of profiting by the claims of his queen as a Spanish princess. It was true that she had solemnly renounced all such rights of succession; but then the dowry stipulated as the price of this renunciation had never been paid; and casuistry went to work to set aside or allow an escape from this renunciation. Louis pretended that certain of the Spanish provinces of Flanders descended in the female line, and therefore belonged to his queen, daughter of the late king of Spain by his first wife, rather than to the present king, his son by a second wife. Securing the neutrality of the emperor, who thus deserted the interests

of the house of Austria, Louis marched into Flanders at the head of a numerous army, and took possession of what is called French Flanders, Lille, Tournay, Mons, and Charleroi, almost without spilling blood. Everything passed in the most admirable order. The army disciplined as no army had hitherto been, found on its road ample magazines of provisions, of ammunition, and all the materials of war, provided by Louvois; the quarters of the troops were arranged beforehand, and their marches regulated. Turenne marched at their head with the king and the ministers, whilst the ladies followed in the gilded court carriages. The Spanish monarchy was in a state of decay; and peace seemed to complete its ruin even more rapidly than war. A proof appeared in the easy and immediate surrender of so many fortresses. Brussels, and even Antwerp, thought of submitting. Louis, however, deemed it wiser to secure a province than to overrun a kingdom. He checked his career of conquest, ordering Vauban to fortify the captured towns. That engineer exhausted his art in constructing the bulwarks of Lille. Flanders was taken in two months (1667).

Such facile success encouraged Louis to turn his arms towards another quarter. The country of Burgundy, or Franche-Comté, was, as we have seen, separate from the duchy, and had fallen along with Flanders into the possession of Charles V. It still appertained to Spain, though from its distance and isolation under but a nominal rule. It was on this province that Louis cast his ambitious eye. The prince of Condé, who was said to have advised and undertaken this enterprise in emulation of that of Flanders by Turenne, entered upon it in the month of February, 1668, and in three weeks the whole province had submitted.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—These rapid successes alarmed Europe. A triple alliance was formed between Holland, England, and Sweden. Three protestant states armed themselves to defend catholic Spain against catholic France. Louis XIV. consented to peace. Calculating on the speedy death of the young king of Spain, the sickly Don Carlos, who nevertheless dragged out his feeble existence until the age of thirty-nine, he had secretly concluded with the emperor Leopold a treaty for the eventual partition of the Spanish monarchy. Louis offered to restore Franche-Comté, which he knew could at any time be conquered, at the price of preserving Lille and the principal part of his Flemish conquests; and the triple alliance consented. On these terms was concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in May, 1668.

Conquest of Holland.—European League.—France, victorious and aggrandised, was enabled to enjoy a few years of flourishing peace. It was gathering the fruits of Colbert's system, and, to increase its growing prosperity, it only needed time. But the pride and ambition of Louis XIV. willed it otherwise. He could not brook that matters of conscience should escape his grasp, and without foreseeing the horrible extremities into which he was to be precipitated at a future period, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the bigoted cabal that with a little perseverance he would succeed in rooting out religious dissent. But, before striking protestantism in his own dominions, he was desirous of inflicting upon it a more terrible blow abroad. The part that Holland had taken in compelling him to accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had inflamed his resentment, and the ruin of that country had become his fixed desire.

This republic was the natural ally of France—Louis XIV. was short-sighted enough not to perceive this, and could no longer suffer that focus of heresy and liberty so near his frontiers. He burned moreover with indignation that citizens should have come, in the midst of all his glory, to signify to him that he should go no further. His passion obtained the mastery over the dictates of policy. He purchased the alliance of England and Sweden, and the neutrality of nearly all the states of Germany. The ministers of the emperor were in his pay. His agents were stirring up all Europe. Charles II. of England, overreached by his sister, the duchess of Orleans, and lured by his two besetting sins—luxury and avarice, sold his signature to a treaty intended at once to enslave his subjects, to lead to the ruin of protestantism, and the destruction of Holland, and which only shook his throne. Formidable preparations announced the fury of the approaching struggle. The influence of Louvois carried the day, and Colbert was reduced to be only the instrument of a calamity he could not avert. The Dutch endeavoured to avert the impending storm. Every advance they could make without demeaning themselves, they made in vain; their ruin had been vowed; their glory was that it was necessary to stir up all Europe to crush their little republic.

At length, in the spring of 1672, Louis XIV. invaded Holland with an army of a hundred thousand men. Condé, returned from Spain, commanded; Louis was there in person, accompanied by Turenne, Vauban the engineer, and Louvois, who provided for the subsistence of the soldiers by magazines of food and clothing. The troops of Holland amounted to but twenty-five thousand men, ill equipped; at their head was the young William of Orange, afterwards William III., then only two-and-twenty years of age, and unskilled in war. Neither was he a match for Condé and Turenne, nor could his little body of troops cope with the mighty hosts of France. Four or five towns were besieged at once, and made no resistance. In June took place the passage of the Rhine by the French army—a feat so celebrated by the poets, the historians, and the painters of the day. It was nevertheless effected with scarcely either opposition or danger. A band of a few hundred horse merely hovered on the opposite bank. The young duke of Longueville foolhardily advanced, discharged his pistol with bravado, and was slain. Condé was wounded in the wrist. After this no obstacle presented itself to the advance of Louis; province after province, town after town, submitted. Utrecht received the king as a conqueror. Naerden, within a few leagues of Amsterdam, fell into the hands of the French; and although the waters, let in by the breaking of the sluices, surrounded and secured Amsterdam, even that metropolis meditated submission also. One project of the inhabitants was to embark on board the vessels in their ports, which were able to bear fifty thousand families. The entire republic was on the point of embarking for Batavia with its treasure, when all at once the war was slackening. The capital was for this year secure behind its waters, the French army being weakened by garrisoning so many towns. Condé pressed the monarch to dismantle the towns, and unite the army to reduce Amsterdam, but Louvois, minister at war, biased by his peculiar pursuits, would not consent to the demolition of a single bulwark. The consequence was, that nothing more could be

effected, and Louis returned, to enjoy the congratulations of his capital and the flatteries of his court.

Holland now became inspired with the hope of resisting and conquering. The great pensionary, John De Witt, in despair, had demanded terms of peace, and the conditions of Louis XIV. were most crushing. The republic, disarmed, ruined, despoiled of all it possessed south of the Rhine, and to embrace the catholic religion, was to send every year an extraordinary embassy to present to the great king a golden medal, with an inscription testifying that the Dutch owed their liberty to his munificence. The Hollanders heard of these conditions with frenzy; they laid the responsibility for all their miseries on the pensionary John de Witt; they cast themselves upon him and his brother Cornelius, drew them from a prison, and tore them to pieces in the streets of the Hague (1672). All the forces of the republic were placed in the hands of the youthful William of Orange, the inveterate enemy of France. William caused the dykes to be cut, and the rich and fertile fields to be laid beneath the waters. He drowned Holland in order to defend it. De Ruyter, after having defeated the united French and English fleets at the hard-fought battle of Solebay, where Montague earl of Sandwich, the English admiral, was killed, came to range his ships in the inundated plain of Amsterdam; he made the merchant fleet of India enter the Texel; he defended his country with one hand, and enriched it with the other (1762).

Whilst the French armies were wintering in the conquered provinces, the envoys and complaints of the Dutch roused Europe against the ambition of Louis. William armed Austria and Spain against France, and obtained peace from England. He induced the bishop of Munster, the elector of Cologne, Brandenburg, Denmark, the empire, in short the whole of Europe, to rise against Louis XIV (1674).

Then it was necessary to recede. The fifty towns so rapidly taken from the Dutch were left to them without their even having the trouble of retaking them. Nevertheless France coped with all her enemies, and it was Spain which once more indemnified her for all her losses. Louis XIV. besieged Besançon, and in six weeks retook Franche-Comté, which has ever since remained in possession of France. The great Condé fought his last battle against William of Orange. An action took place betwixt these two generals at Senef, in Flanders, in which William was beaten and his Spanish rear-guard routed. This partial success was not sufficient for Condé, who wished to disperse the entire army of the allies. Without waiting for reinforcements, he charged the mass of the enemy which the prince of Orange had drawn up on a height. The French were driven back; but the rest of their army arriving, attacked indiscriminately. Both generals gave proof of valour, but there were no traces of that skill which secures decided advantage, sparing at the same time the soldier. Senef was a carnage, the contest lasted fourteen hours, and twenty-seven thousand dead strewed the field. The prince of Orange lay under the disadvantage of never having served under a general of renown. Victory at Senef inclined somewhat to the side of Condé.

On the Rhine, where the war was not less inveterate, it proved more decisive. Turenne, whose daring had grown with experience, held the whole empire in check. He gained the battle of Sinzheim (1674), and, with twenty thousand men, he crossed the mountains in the snow, and

poured down upon the scattered positions of the imperialists in Alsace ; he defeated them at Turckheim (1675), and drove their army of seventy thousand men across the Rhine.

The emperor, dismayed by his continual reverses, sent against Turenne Montecuculli, the renowned victor of the Turks. The two able opponents displayed their skill in manœuvres, till Turenne, desirous of striking a decisive blow, in choosing ground for a battery, was shot through by a cannon ball, at Salzbach, in Baden (1675). He was buried with the kings of France, and with Dugeseclin, at St. Denis. Montecuculli, immediately drove the French before him across the Rhine into Alsace ; he followed them, and Condé taking the command against him, by occupying two positions only, compelled the Austrians to abandon the siege they had commenced, and to retreat beyond the Rhine. Condé, after this, retired to private life, at his residence of Chantilly, and died in 1686. The allies believed that the French armies had ceased to be invincible since Turenne and Condé were no longer at their head ; but new defeats on land and sea came to deceive their hopes. Duquesne, who had been sent to the aid of Messina, which had rebelled against Spain, fought two naval battles with de Ruyter, off Sicily, in sight of mount Etna ; the allies lost twelve ships, six galleys, seven thousand men, seven hundred pieces of cannon, and the famed de Ruyter himself. Duquesne destroyed their fleet in the roadstead of Palermo (1677). The Spaniards were defeated at the foot of the Pyrenees. In Flanders, the king pursued with success this war of sieges, the only one which he understood, because he could wage it in the midst of all his court. Condé, Bouchain, Aire, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ghent, and Ypres were taken from the enemy. Thus gloriously ended this war so unjustly engaged in. The states-general of Holland were wearied of a struggle which was only sustained by their subsidies, and sued for peace ; it was time for France ; Colbert wished to retire, if the war was not brought to a termination.

The Peace of Nimwegen.—The peace signed at Nimwegen was an honourable one for Holland, which recovered everything that had been taken from it during the war. But its allies were obliged to yield to the conditions of Louis XIV. France kept Franche-Comté, and twelve places of the Spanish Netherlands, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, Aire, Saint-Omer, Ypres, Maubeuge, &c. ; in exchange for Philipsburg she had Friburg, which opened Germany to her ; she caused to be restituted to Sweden what Denmark and Brandenburg had taken from it (1678). "Here may be seen," says Voltaire, "how little events correspond to projects. Holland, against which the war was undertaken, and which had nearly perished, lost nothing, nay, even gained a barrier ; whilst the other powers, that had armed to defend and guarantee her independence, all lost something."

The peace itself was made a pretext for new aggressions ; its language was interpreted at the discretion of France, and Strasburg was arbitrarily seized, without any justification. Louvois had long since coveted this important place ; he suddenly invested it, and forced it to capitulate. The powers of Europe took the alarm, and entered into a fresh league. They were, however, paralysed in their efforts by a new and formidable invasion of three hundred thousand Turks, who persisted in the second siege of Vienna for two months (1683), and finally retreated before Sobieski king of Poland,

with the loss of seventy thousand men. The advance of the Mahometans confined the emperor to protests against the invasions of France. Spain alone engaged in actual war, and lost Courtray, Dixmude, and Luxemburg. A truce of twenty years was concluded at Ratisbone (1684). France profited by her aggressions. Thus, by a constant career of unscrupulous aggrandisement, Louis aroused the fears and embittered the animosity of all Christendom, and prepared for future years a heavy and merited retribution.

Literature and Arts under Louis XIV.—After long agitation, France, like Italy, had a great literary era. The human mind, after having acquired renewed vigour in the sources of antiquity, took a new flight. Whilst Bacon preached, in the sciences of observation, the experimental path that was to lead to so many discoveries, Descartes founded the absolute authority of reason over the ruins of all tradition. Never had the human mind more vigour or more daring than at the commencement of this century, in which genius ended in forging itself fresh fetters. Pascal, who, at twenty years of age, had already surprised the secrets of nature, succumbed, devoured by doubt, in the face of the difficult task which he had attempted to accomplish. Literature was inspired by the same bold and independent spirit. Its sources were in contemporary life, its sole faith was in itself. There was an entirely original school, which, commencing with Regnier, was continued by a chain of secondary poets, too much forgotten and insulted, until it reached its zenith with Corneille, Molière, and La Fontaine. In arts there was the same creative power, Lesueur, Poussin, Claude Lorraine, and Callot, have left master-pieces bearing the impress of all the spontaneousness of genius.

The majority of this generation of great men had lived far removed from the court. Mazarin had gone to Holland to seek out Descartes, in order to pension him. Neither Rotrou nor Poussin had dreamt of inquiring after the taste of the king or his courtiers. When Louis XIV. commenced to reign alone, the court became the arbiter of literary merit. The great king was too solicitous of his glory not to afford a signal patronage to literature and art. His largesses became the price of their independence. Literature was administered like the finances and the war department. It had to submit to absolute power. To the French academy, founded by Richelieu, were added other academies, to comprise every degree of merit. Colbert drew up a list of the French and foreign scientific and literary men *honoured by the benefactions of his majesty*. Genius, which had assumed the garb of the courtier, had become elegant and docile. Racine equalled the suavity of the Greeks. The great king held all the glories of his time around his pedestal, and intoxicated himself with this triumphal chorus of the century singing a hymn to royalty. The magnificence of Versailles had never been equalled. Louis XIV., amidst a court of great men, might believe himself superior to humanity. He did, in fact, sing his own apotheosis, composed by Quinault, to the music of Lulli. Thus Louis XIV., feared abroad, was absolute at home. It became not merely a fashion, but a passion, to testify devotion to the monarch and the monarchy. The parliaments were content to administer justice, the great nobles were detained at court by its splendid attractions and magnificence, the clergy was deprived of political influence, the smaller nobles served in the army, and all the power of the nation, great

and elastic as it is, was deposited in the person of the king himself. The whole of his administration was marked by features of grandeur. Louis XIV. was truly royal; he has been honoured with the name of Great, and the most distinguished names of France are those of the *age of Louis XIV.*

Nevertheless, this brilliancy was transitory; even then appeared a little cloud, scarcely perceptible at first, which gradually spread and darkened, loomed more and more, and after gathering for a full century, burst upon the soil of France with the fury and devastation of a tornado. The expenses of the wars and public works, the gigantic erections of the palace at Versailles, the personal prodigality of the monarch, had exhausted the treasury and all the legitimate resources of Colbert, who began to fall back upon loans, sales of office, and impolitic imposts; and by his death (1683), the council was deprived of his able co-operation. The public morals were deteriorated by the installation of successive mistresses, and in later years death made such inroads in the royal family, that the next successor to Louis XIV. was his great-grandson.

Maria Theresa died in 1683, and in 1685 Louis XIV. is supposed to have privately married Madame de Maintenon, the widow of Scarron, a buffoon author, and fifty years of age. In private she was treated, even by the royal family, as queen, and by her good sense and conversation, she amused the leisure of the king, while she was also always asked for an opinion on affairs of state. She survived till 1719, and is considered to have exercised a pernicious influence in the royal closet, even by her good qualities.

II. THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—The year which followed the peace of Nimwegen was devoted by the king to what he deemed religion, to which he gave himself up with the same excess that had marked his pursuit of pleasure. His confessor, La Chaise, obtained great influence over him, as did the chancellor Letellier and his son Louvois. Colbert had been a minister little in his way of thinking. He had leaned towards the Huguenots, whose superior industry, enlightenment, and aptitude for naval service won him. This minister had many of the protestants in employ, and he supported them in the good opinion of Louis. Louvois and Letallier, on the contrary, hated the reformers, and, as much from dislike to Colbert as from natural bent, leaned to the exclusive doctrines of intolerance. Colbert was now dead, and the monarch was left altogether under the influence of his bigoted councillors. The experience of Louis had shown him that every protestant noble or courtier had been induced, by his persuasion or command, to recant and be converted to catholicism. If interest therefore, or the monarch's will, brought unanimity in the religious opinions of the first class of the state, the most proud, the most powerful, the most enlightened, surely the same motives must have tenfold effect upon the mass of the ignoble. This reasoning was just : pity, the example from which it was drawn, instead of being the rule of human nature, was but the base exception. Louis appointed emissaries and missionaries, charged with ample sums and promises of favour, to convert the Huguenots. They returned ample lists of converts. The mode, however, was found expensive. Severity was suggested by Louvois as a cheaper and more expeditious method. It was tried. The protestants were excluded from public employ, from divers communities. Their children were allowed to recant at seven years old, and were early enticed to do so, the penalties against relapse being severe. This was soon after the peace, and these first measures occasioned considerable emigration.

The emigration, especially of seamen and artisans, was soon felt to be prejudicial to the state. To check it, the pain of death was enacted against the attempting to emigrate, and all sales of property made by those who afterwards exiled themselves were declared void. The next step was to pull down the protestant churches. This was done at Montpellier. It was purposed, at the same time, to have public conferences and disputes with the protestant pastors, in order to convince them ; but the governor wrote back to court that the catholic clergy were too ignorant, and quite unable to dispute or convert. They asked for a supply of dragoons, as more efficient ; and these licentious soldiers, quartered on the protestants all through the south, devoured and plundered their substance, took away

their children to save them from being heretics, hunted the clergy like wild beasts, and destroyed all the churches. Upwards of seven hundred places of worship were overthrown before the revocation of the edict of Nantes. As Languedoc threatened to revolt under this oppression, fresh treaties and fresh edicts were poured upon them. The penal laws were precisely the same as those which were inflicted by the English protestants upon the Irish catholics. The British had but to copy the edicts of Louis XIV., merely abating their barbarity; and no doubt the spirit of retaliation dictated in a great degree their savage measures. A day was appointed for the conversion of all the protestants of such a district, the dragoons taking possession on that day. The refractory were hanged, and their chiefs broken on the wheel. St. Ruth was one of the leaders of these military expeditions, called the *dragonnades*.

At length, on the 22nd of October, 1685, appeared the ordinance styled the revocation of the edict of Nantes. It forbade all assemblies or exercise of the reformed religion; banished all their ecclesiastics from the kingdom in fifteen days; offered to such of them as would recant, their pensions, augmented by a third, which was to be continued to their wives; compelled the baptism of all infants in the catholic church; and condemned to the galleys all except the parties who should attempt to expatriate themselves. This, instead of being merely the revocation of an edict, was a new enactment of unheard-of severity; and, as usual, it induced amplifications still more severe. In 1686, a protestant pastor, French or foreign, was punished with death if taken. Men who assisted or harboured them were to be sent to the galleys; women, to be shaved and confined: 5,500 livres reward was set upon each of their heads. Death was the penalty for a protestant taken in an assembly or act of public worship. All these details are from catholic writers, justly touched with horror at their enormity. "Twenty of the religionists were put to death at this time," say the memoirs of Noailles. "The fugitives who assembled in the mountains were pursued. A premium was offered to each parish that could give up twelve; and three or four pistoles to each soldier that brought in one. *Battues* were made through the country by the troops, just in the manner of chasing wild beasts." Notwithstanding the penalties and the sanguinary prohibition, it is supposed that upwards of five hundred thousand French escaped across the frontiers. They were the most industrious part of the population, proved by the circumstance of their thriving in every land that received them, and enriching it as the price of their welcome. England received an immense number, principally silk manufacturers. The north of Germany profited by the same act of expatriation. The bigotry of Louis gave a greater blow to the industry and wealth of his kingdom than all the unlimited expenses of his pride or ambition. Together with the strength and sinews of her industrial population, France lost a host of brave soldiers, and men of science and letters. William of Orange more than once charged the French at the head of a regiment of Frenchmen; he was mainly indebted for the success of his Irish war to the old marshal Schomberg, who had preferred his faith to his country. Jurieu retired to Holland to dream of the approaching extermination of the catholic Babylon, whilst Bayle made Louis XIV. learn beforehand the severe judgment of posterity.

League of Augsburg.—Whilst the power and prosperity of France began to decline, Europe armed itself against her. The day of vengeance had arrived for the enemies of Louis XIV. They reproached him with having violated every treaty, and, by his understanding with the revolted Hungarians, to have opened Germany to the Turks, and led to that terrible invasion against which John Sobieski saved Christendom. All, catholics and protestants, formed an alliance against him at Augsburg. There only remained to him the king of England, James II., of strong prejudices, narrow understanding, and cold and ungenerous temper, who had fallen from the throne. He was succeeded on it by his son-in-law William of Orange, the life and soul of the new league. All the forces of the English nation were now in the hands of the most redoubtable enemy of France (1688). Louis XIV. received with the greatest kindness and hospitality at St. Germain's the last of the Stuarts, and took up his cause, which he declared to be that of all kings; he levied in his already exhausted country a mass of four hundred and fifty thousand troops, and threw down the gauntlet to Europe (1688).

War for the Succession of England.—Louis XIV., after the expulsion of James II., thought he had only to distract William of Orange's attention at home to prevent him from taking possession of the crown of his father-in-law. He followed the pernicious counsels of Louvois, and commenced the war of the Rhine whilst the stadtholder was quietly taking possession of his throne. The desolation of the palatinate (1689) excited horror over the continent; this unfortunate province had been wofully wasted by Turenne, and now a second time, in compliance with an order signed "Louvois," it was turned into a desert; forty towns and innumerable villages became the prey of the flames, and this for the purpose of depriving the enemy of subsistence. This barbarous scheme failed to serve the French. On the contrary, fortune turned against their arms. The young duke of Lorraine drove them beyond the Rhine—took Bonn and Mayence, and gave promise of generalship when he was cut off by disease. The marshal d'Humières was equally unsuccessful in Flanders against the prince of Waldeck, who had under him an auxiliary army of English commanded by lord Churchill. Despite of the six armies of four hundred and fifty thousand men kept on foot by Louis, the French had the worst of the first campaign.

Louis rightly attributed his defeats to the inferiority of his generals. The enmity of Louvois had deprived the marshal de Luxembourg of command. He was now placed at the head of the army in Flanders, independent of Louvois, and corresponding directly with the king. Catinat, chosen with equal sagacity, was sent to Italy. Luxembourg was a general of the school of Condé, of a quick eye, decisive and skilful in the moment of action, though too indolent and light for the whole conduct of a campaign. It was now incumbent upon him to support his character. He advanced to cross the Sambre, and attack Waldeck about the very same time that king William was drawing near to his competitor at the Boyne. The prince of Waldeck was encamped on the plains of Fleurus, not far from Namur, watching the course of the Sambre. Learning, however that Luxembourg was inferior in force, he allowed him to pass the river, and found his mistake too late; the marshal, by a

temporary reinforcement, being pretty much his equal. Luxembourg won the battle by a successful manœuvre. His right, as he advanced, being hidden by a rising ground, neglected by Waldeck, the marshal threw all his disposable force on this side, by which he was enabled to attack the Dutch left in front and flank. The German horse was broken, but the Dutch infantry made a most valiant resistance. So stubborn was their valour, that, although the French were victorious, the loss on both sides was considered as nearly equal (1690).

The envious Louvois prevented him from gathering the fruits of his victory, and took from him a portion of his forces. The king also wished to have an army to command. He entered Flanders and took Mons and Namur. Luxembourg at the same time again displayed high talents, at Streirkirk (1692). A spy of his was discovered, and compelled to send him false intelligence; his army was surprised by William III., and the rout had begun, but Luxembourg, rising from a sick bed, three times rallied his troops, and retrieved the day. In this engagement, Philip, afterwards regent of France, distinguished himself by his bravery; though but fifteen, he charged at the head of the king's household troops, and when wounded, returned to the combat. But the fruitful genius of William seemed to draw advantage from all these defeats. He continued the campaign. For a moment his situation was desperate. Louis XIV. might have crushed him beneath the clash of a hundred thousand men; he dispersed his troops, and returned to Versailles. The marshal, who had supplicated the king to give battle, endeavoured to seize on fortune anew; but had no longer that great army which would have insured him a complete success. Defeated by Luxembourg at the bloody engagement of Neerwinden, William of Orange retired in good order. At the same time Catinat was gaining new laurels at Marsaglia, where he defeated the duke of Savoy (1693).

On the ocean the wars were equally furious, without more decisive results. Assisted by Louis XIV., James II. was enabled in March, 1698, to make an attempt for the recovery of Ireland. Tourville, with an immense fleet of upwards of seventy sail, encountered the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to no more than fifty-six, off Beachy-head. The Dutch began the action, but were for a long time weakly supported by Torrington, the English admiral. The Dutch were thus defeated ere the action became general: they lost two admirals and six of their best ships. The loss of the English was proportioned to their honour on this occasion. Torrington fled into the Thames; and the French admiral proceeded to insult the coasts of England. They even made a descent, and burned the town of Teignmouth (1690). In June of the same year, James II. lost the battle of Boyne. Louis XIV. was not discouraged, and sent him a fresh army. Tourville, charged to convey it, found himself with fifty-four vessels against eighty. In compliance with express orders from the king, the French were compelled to engage. After heroic efforts their ships were dispersed; the English admiral burned thirteen of them at Cherbourg and on the coast of La Hogue (1692). Notwithstanding this terrible battle of La Hogue, the French navy continued to struggle with advantage against that of the allies. Whilst, in the East and West Indies, the colonies of France were taken by the enemy, Tourville captured and destroyed the great merchant

fleet of Smyrna; Jean Bart and Duguay-Trouin ruined the maritime commerce of Great Britain and the Netherlands.

Peace of Ryswick.—The enormous exertions of Louis XIV. against such a combination of enemies, began now to bring their pernicious consequences. The commerce of the kingdom was destroyed; its ports were bombarded and burned; the country was exhausted of men, of money, and of money's worth; and famine, occasioned by an inclement season, had added to the general state of discontent. Colbert was dead. Louis XIV. offered peace, and could not obtain it. For five years he laboured to dissolve the leagues of his enemies. The duke of Savoy yielded the first. Some advantages gained in Flanders and Catalonia decided Spain and England. The emperor was the last to lay down arms. The treaty of peace was signed at Ryswick, near the Hague (1697). It retrenched some of the unjust conquests of Louis XIV. on the Rhine and in the Netherlands, and recognised William III. as the lawful sovereign of England. Thus, for ten years, he had waged a ruinous and inveterate war, to receive the law from his enemies.

War of the Spanish Succession.—Perhaps he wished to hold himself in readiness for greater events. The question at issue was speedily to be, not the possession of such and such a province of Spain, but that of the entire Spanish monarchy. The several component parts of that monarchy had been first united by Ferdinand the catholic (1479), about the same time that Louis XI. had done so much to consolidate the territory of France; and the sovereignty had descended by inheritance to the emperor Charles V., his son, the intolerant and gloomy Philip II., to Philip III. and IV., and Charles II. This last monarch of the Austrian blood of Charles V. left no heirs, and the dynasty of Austria in Spain drew towards an end. Charles II., after a variety of diplomatic intrigues, was prevailed upon to bequeath, by his last will and testament, the succession of his house to a grandson of Louis XIV., and on the death of the imbecile monarch, in 1700, this young scion of the Bourbon race peacefully occupied the throne by the name of Philip V. He derived his title from queen Maria Theresa; but by the treaty of marriage, that of the *Pyrenees* (1659), all her rights in regard to the succession had been expressly stopped and renounced. This objection Louis XIV. met by the plea, that so long as the crowns of France and Spain were on different heads, the purport and spirit of the treaty would be sustained. Such an answer could not be supposed likely to satisfy other claimants, and in the age of Philip V., who was but seventeen, they saw a new cause for remonstrance, from the evident certainty that the policy of Spain would be directed by Louis XIV. himself, an old and experienced ruler, to whom every one in France, and his own family not least, instinctively paid the utmost deference. The close union of two such kingdoms under such a sovereign as we have seen Louis to be, was a sufficient cause for alarm throughout all the governments of Europe. The territories of Spain were extensive; the new world had been conquered by her adventurous sons; Naples had been subdued by Gonsalvo de Cordova, for Ferdinand; the Belgic provinces still remained of the noble dowry of Maria of Burgundy, grandmother of Charles V.; and Portugal (1640) and Holland (1566) had only attained their independence by actual rebellion. It was not to be expected that doubtful claims would give Philip V. undisputed possession

of an empire like this; nor could any sovereign or any patriot calmly behold resources so preponderating placed at the disposal of Louis XIV., whose insatiable appetite for dominion had been already experienced. A counter claimant was supplied by the other branch of the Austrian family, the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor Leopold, care being taken not to unite the imperial with the Spanish crown, lest the same objections that rendered Philip V. distasteful to Europe should apply with equal force to his antagonist. Louis XIV. did nothing to avoid the war against all Europe which was thus once more combined against France. France appeared to be waning with its king, and to be in its decline. All its glories were gradually fading away. One of the creatures of Madame de Maintenon, the foolish Chamillart, administered in his own person the departments formerly presided over by Colbert and Louvois. Disorder and misery were everywhere. Taxation, monstrously increased, had killed commerce and industry; and the war department had become relaxed like every other. The troops were badly paid and equipped; public functions had been invaded by a disdainful and incompetent aristocracy; the nobles purchased regiments for their young sons, commanded armies, and suffered themselves to be defeated and taken. It was, moreover, necessary to obtain from Versailles the authorisation to conquer. Louis XIV. claimed, more than ever, to do everything himself. From the cabinet of Madame de Maintenon he pretended to direct, with Chamillart, the military operations. The allies, on the contrary, from the moment they thought they had lost William, found that they had two Williams at their head instead of one—the prince Eugene, and Marlborough. Hostilities did not at once blaze forth; time was required for preparation. The continent had been exhausted by the last war, and a rebellion in Hungary called for the attention of the court of Vienna. But negotiations prevailed not against the long meditated resolution of Louis XIV.; by insidious arrangements with his grandson he was gaining a footing in Belgium, and the addition of that wealthy country alone would have given France such a pre-eminence in Europe that no power would have singly ventured to bid her defiance. The war of the Spanish succession broke out in Italy, where prince Eugene headed the armies of the emperor. Villeroy, an officer who owed his employment to the king's partiality, commanded an attack upon a strong position of the prince at Chiari (1701). Catinat, who served under him, heard the order thrice repeated; he then cried, "Forward, gentlemen, we have but to obey;" the attack was repulsed with slaughter; Catinat was wounded, but recalled the troops, and retreated beyond the Adda. The next year Eugene surprised Villeroy himself in Cremona, and took him prisoner (1702). But a great-grandson of Henry IV., Vendôme, came to raise for a while in Piedmont the falling fortunes of France. Idle and cynical, Vendôme knew, nevertheless, to inspire the soldiers with prodigious enthusiasm. Under him there was neither order nor discipline, but everything was retrieved by dint of courage. He defeated prince Eugene several times, and, notwithstanding the defection of the duke of Savoy, he held Italy, when an order from the court sent him to Flanders to retrieve the errors of Villeroy. Marshal Marsin succeeded him as general-in-chief before Turin; but Eugene, marching to the relief of that city (1706), the French retired within their

entrenchments before that place, and were routed in a great battle by the prince. The duke of Orleans (afterwards regent) received two wounds, Marsin was killed, the army was disorganised and dispersed, the military chest and 213 pieces of cannon were the trophies of the victor, and the French evacuated Italy by a "general capitulation." Eugene marched without obstacles upon France, whilst the earl of Galway took possession of Madrid, where he proclaimed the archduke.

Catinat commanded in Germany, and under him Villars. The latter, impatient at the prudence of his chief, marched against the imperialists with inferior forces, and gained the battle of Friedlingen (1703). His enthusiastic soldiers saluted him marshal of France upon the field of battle, and his sovereign confirmed their acclamations. Villars again justified their confidence by the battle of Höchstet (1703). The road to Austria was open. But Villars was sent with Berwick, a natural son of James II. and Arabella, sister of the duke of Marlborough, against the protestant mountaineers of the Cevennes, whom the rigorous measures of the government had compelled to take arms. Marsin and Tallard took Villars' place, and that of the aged Catinat. Marlborough, who commanded in Flanders, and had in despite of all difficulties driven back the armies opposed to him, and had carried their fortresses, now saw the necessity of arresting the progress of the French towards Vienna. He kept his plans secret, and, by a rapid march, presented himself to the victorious enemy upon the Danube, and carried the heights of Schellenberg (July 2, 1704); the French concentrated; and, 13th August, 1704, the name of Marlborough was rendered for ever illustrious by the victory of Blenheim. Tallard had thrown eighteen battalions into the village of Blenheim; by the skilful disposition of the English general, these troops never came into action at all, and capitulated to a man after the battle was over. He penetrated the French centre, cut off all communication between their wings, and threw the whole army into irretrievable confusion. Marshal Tallard, who was near-sighted, rode into the midst of a squadron of horse, and was taken. Everything became the spoil of the victorious allies: the French lost in this terrible battle fifty thousand men, their equipage, cannon, and a hundred leagues of territory. The enemy penetrated into Alsatia. This was when the war of the Cevennes was at its fiercest. Louis XIV. saw himself compelled to treat from one power to another with the leaders of the refractory protestants, who had escaped from the executioner (1704). Villars had hastened to conclude this accommodation, in order to be enabled to go to the frontiers. Marlborough, in the meantime, had returned to his own allotted command in the Netherlands, and made continual and sure progress. The unskilful and obstinate Villeroy, who wished to take his revenge for Blenheim, delivered him battle at Ramillies (1706); he placed the recruits in his centre, and threw his left wing out of action, by interposing an impassable morass between it and the enemy. Marlborough saw the error, reinforced his centre from his unoccupied right wing, and bore down upon the middle of the French line with superior forces. The rout was disastrous; Villeroy lost twenty thousand men, killed or wounded. The king sent for Vendôme out of Italy, as the only general capable of coping with Marlborough.

The campaign of 1707 produced nothing, but in 1708, the allies again

overthrew the French, under Vendôme at Oudenarde, where George II. and James Stuart fought on opposite sides; and forming the siege of Lille, under wonderful disadvantages, they took it in defiance of the gallant defence of marshal the duke of Boufflers for four months against prince Eugene, who, when he at length took that place, said to the marshal, "I am very proud of having taken Lille, but I should be still more proud of defending it as you have." Ghent and Bruges fell afterwards, and, with the exception of one or two towns, the frontiers of France lay completely open. A party of Dutch troops advancing as far Versailles, carried off upon the bridge of Sevres the equerry of the king, whom they mistook for the dauphin.

This was a terrible moment for France. The year 1709 commenced by one of the most rigorous winters ever known. The strongest elixirs, Hungary water for example, the Eau de Cologne of that day, froze, and broke the bottles in which they were kept, though in the warmest rooms of the palace. From this a judgment may be formed of its effects on vegetation. All fruit trees perished, olives and vines. The sown corn was destroyed. The tokens were certain of a general famine. The populace began to clamour under present sufferings, and with the prospect of still greater. Seeing the disastrous and disturbed state of the population, the parliament thought proper to assemble in the great chamber, to consider the state of things. It was proposed to appoint deputies to visit the provinces, buy corn, and watch over the public peace. It was a bold attempt under Louis XIV., whose cholera was extreme on the occasion. He reprimanded the parliament, and told them they had as little to do with corn as with taxation. The magistrates obeyed, and were silent. Reverses so numerous entailed extreme miseries on the population of France, credit was annihilated, the public debt increased, and loans, anticipation of revenue, and imports were exhausted. Government found difficulty in borrowing at four hundred per cent. The king's lacqueys begged at the gates of Versailles. Louis XIV., and the great men, sent their services of plate to the mint, and many illustrious families at Versailles stinted themselves to the use of oat bread, Madame de Maintenon setting the example. The peasants threw off the restraint of order, and even carried by assault the town of Cahors, while smugglers encountered the officers of the customs in open day. Louis XIV. now humbly demanded peace of that Holland he had so arrogantly invaded forty years before. The Dutch repaid the king all his past insults and pride. His envoys and his offers were slighted, yet the last were sufficiently ample. He could obtain no better terms than that he should himself join the allies in pulling down Philip V. from the throne of Spain. Any less stringent demand would have transferred the seat of war to a distance, and have afforded time for France to have recovered her strength; on the other hand Louis for the first time addressed himself to his people; he published the terms prescribed to him, and cried, "If I am to fight, I had rather do so with my enemies than with my own family." The people made a supreme effort to save the honour of France. Villars, with an army of recruits in a state of starvation and nudity, marched against the army of Eugene and Marlborough, and encountered it at Malplaquet. "Send us bread, for heaven's sake!" wrote Villars to the minister; "send us bread, we will do

without coats or shirts;" and when the bread arrived, the soldiers, who had not tasted food the entire day, threw it away on hearing the drums of the enemy. This battle of Malplaquet was the most terrible of all. It was remarkable in this, that the French only lost eight thousand, whilst upwards of thirty thousand remained on the field of battle. The battle however remained undecided, and could not save Mons, which surrendered immediately after (1709).

Whilst the allies were besetting France on all sides, the youthful Philip V. was disputing in his own kingdom the crown with the archduke. Marshal Berwick had reopened to him, at Almanza, the road to his capital (1707). The battle of Villa Viciosa, gained by the French over the Austrian party, revived the hopes of Louis XIV. (1710). The disgrace of Marlborough, however, served him better than a victory. The conqueror of Ramillies was recalled to London. England began to be weary of the war. She was ruining herself in order to ruin France. Finally the death of the emperor Joseph (1711), which called the archduke Charles to the throne of Austria, rendering it impolitic any longer to contend for his claims in Spain, altered the aspect of affairs. The English withdrew their troops. The brilliant victory gained by Villars over Eugene at Denain, accelerated the termination of the peace. It was signed at Utrecht in 1712, accepted the following year by the emperor, and completed in 1715 by a treaty with Holland.

The Treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and Bavaria.—France saved at least its honour from the wrecks of this disastrous war. Her frontiers remained intact. And though she was obliged to guarantee the protestant succession to the throne of England, she made Europe recognise the grandson of Louis XIV. as the successor of the king of Spain. Nevertheless, her interests were hardly dealt with. Her greatest sacrifices were not the cession to England of some of her American colonies, nor the giving up to the duke of Savoy and the emperor a portion of her possessions in Spain, the two Sicilies, the Milanese, and the Spanish Netherlands. She was compelled to let England take a footing in Gibraltar and Minorca, that is to say, to divide with her the empire of the Mediterranean. She was further compelled to submit to a disadvantageous treaty of commerce. Finally she consented to the destruction of the harbour of Dunkirk.

Death of Louis XIV.—Louis XIV. outlived his grandeur; his last years were mournful and gloomy; he had seen nearly all his children die one after another; there now only remained, in the cloister-like solitude of Versailles, formerly peopled by a magnificent court, an old man with one foot in the grave and a child in leading strings. The successor of Père la Chaise, the jesuit Letellier, one of the most wicked men of the age, soured the mind of this old king bent down by misfortune. Religious persecutions occupied his last moments; death found him meditating the assemblage of a national council to cause one portion of his clergy to be proscribed by the other; dissipating enormous sums in his useless constructions at Marly, and endeavouring, in defiance of his word, to make a last effort in favour of the son of James II. Nevertheless, before expiring, he took a retrospect of his past career. "My dear child," he said amongst other things to the little duke of Anjou, "you are about to become the king of a great kingdom; endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours; I have been too fond of war, do not imitate me in this,

nor in the great expenditure which I have indulged in. Take counsel in everything, and endeavour to know which is the best, in order always to follow it. Relieve your people as soon as possible, and do what I have had the misfortune of not being able to do myself." On the 1st of September, 1715, Louis XIV. breathed his last, after a reign extending to the unparalleled duration of seventy-two years, leaving for his successor, his great-grandson, a child of five years of age. The claim of Louis to the applause he has received has been questioned by many, yet no one can read his history without pronouncing it that of a great king; his talents were great, but his ambition was unbounded, and this blinded his eyes to the real interests of his people; he was certainly a generous man, and his manners were dignified and amiable, but his susceptibility to flattery was at once amusing and disagreeable.

III. FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

REGENCY OF PHILIP OF ORLEANS.

The Regent.—Immediately after the death of Louis XIV., by a sudden reaction against the despotism of his reign, the parliament assembled, and by a decree annulled his will, which appointed a council of regency, consisting of the old ministers; and preserved to Orleans the name of president of this council, in which the majority, governed by the duke du Maine, would completely dominate. Moreover, the latter was to have the care of the young king's person. The parliament without hesitation declared these provisions null, broke the testament of Louis XIV. as he was cold in his coffin, and proclaimed the duke of Orleans regent. To obviate all suspicion, however, the care of the young king was left to the duke du Maine, and to his father's friend the marshal de Villeroy.

The duke of Orleans entered upon his high office with a deserved reputation for a corrupt private life, and much unmerited suspicion of having dealt unfairly with the princes of the royal house, who fell so rapidly before the arrows of death towards the close of the last reign; his administration was deeply embarrassed by the growing financial difficulties of the kingdom, and his choice of ministers did not tend to relieve the pressure. The wicked abbé Dubois, notorious for his ambition and his vices, who had been the teacher of atheism to the duke of Orleans, and the pander to his passions, became his prime minister.

The most pressing subject of consideration was finance. The expenditure, which, in the year 1670, amounted to eighty millions of livres, had, in the last year of the war, reached two hundred and sixty millions. Every means were used to meet this enormous outlay. The royal tenth on all property, planned by Vauban, was laid on in 1710. The capitation was raised. Paper money was issued at an enormous discount; Louis giving thirty-two millions in paper for eight millions in specie. Vanity seemed the national commodity most productive when taxed; and offices of all absurd kinds were created for sale, such as comptrollers-general for piling wood and trying butter, and royal counsellors' inspectors of wigs. Despite of all these ways and means, Louis left a debt in bills, demanding immediate payment, that amounted to upwards of seven hundred millions of livres, besides a funded debt, of which the yearly interest was ninety-six millions. These financial difficulties were not alleviated, but aggravated, by the devices adopted by the regency. Prosecutions were indiscriminately commenced against all who had benefited by the collection of the revenue, and pursued to a mischievous excess; the loans contracted in times past were reduced to one-half: offices, formerly sold, were pitilessly suppressed; and the coin was

debased by a new issue. National bankruptcy appeared imminent, when an adventurer of genius, a Scotchman named Law, promised to revive commerce and to open inexhaustible resources to the state, whilst diminishing its burdens. He established a bank (1716) on the basis of an issue of paper money, and its operations were conducted with regularity and punctuality; the government accepted its notes as cash, and soon discovering the advantages of the system, desired to become a participator of the profits. The bank (1718) became the royal bank; it acquired the privileges of the India company, with vast possessions in Louisiana, and the exclusive commerce to Africa and Asia; the monopoly of tobacco, the right of coining money, and the collection of the revenue. Speculation to a fearful extent was carried on in the shares of the bank, and its notes were issued at the instance of the government to an enormous amount; when all at once it was discovered that this paper money was the representative, not of real effects, but of imaginary advantages which might never be realised. Then came the downfall of the whole scheme; edicts reducing the notes to one-half only ruined all confidence. Law was called upon to give in a statement of accounts, and baffled his enemies by the clearness with which he did so; his efforts to restore affairs to an equilibrium were defeated. The liquidation, with which the unfortunate scheme closed, increased the national debt by nearly one-half. As for Law, its author, he contrived to escape to Venice, far from the wreck of so much wealth. He had purchased some of the first estates in the kingdom, which were of course confiscated. An operation called the *visa* was next resorted to; it quashed one-third of the public debt, and reduced the interest of the remainder; all scrip not submitted to the *visa* was totally annulled. At the end of all these violent measures the kingdom was more deeply pledged than at the death of Louis XIV., and a prejudice remained against all new schemes and projects for amelioration.

Intrigues of Alberoni.—In the midst of this fever of speculation European policy was active. The Spanish prime minister, Alberoni, who cherished the notion of overthrowing the established order of things in all the chief nations of Europe, worked upon everybody, from the illegitimate children of Louis XIV. to the Turks. He wished to restore to Spain what she had lost, to give the regency of France to Philip V., to re-establish the pretender in England, and to restore everywhere the old principles. Spain rose again under his government; she had an army, a navy, arsenals, and finance. The king of Sweden, Charles XII., was in her pay; the Turks were driven by her against the emperor; her ambassador conspired in France. There was nothing wanting to the great projects but the slightest degree of success. Eugene defeated the Turks; the English under admiral Byng (lord Torrington) destroyed the Spanish fleet; Charles XII. was killed at the siege of Frederickshall; the fleet which bore the pretender was destroyed by a tempest; Spain was defeated in Sicily by the Austrians, and at home by Berwick (1718). Spain was obliged to yield to the quadruple alliance formed by France, England, Holland, and the emperor. The duke of Savoy had Sardinia in exchange of Sicily: Spain obtained Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia. Alberoni's disgrace was at the same time stipulated, and Philip V. only granted the flighty statesman twenty-four hours to quit Madrid, and a fortnight to leave Spain.

IV. LOUIS XV.

Ministries of the Duke of Bourbon and Fleury.—Louis XV. was entering upon his majority. The duke of Bourbon, who had all the vices of the regent with less mind and a more wicked heart, administered the government, at the suggestion of Fleury, the king's confessor and instructor. Bourbon was himself governed by the marquise du Prie, daughter of a financier, and an adept in the mystery of jobbing in the public funds. The marriage of the king was the most important point to be considered. He was betrothed to the infanta then educating at the French court; but the duke of Bourbon had his old political dislike to Spain; and he also proposed, by forming a new marriage and making a queen of his choice, to gain full ascendancy over the mind of Louis. A menacing illness of the king hastened this resolution. The duke turned his views first towards his sister. Madame du Prie despatched one of her confidants to make a trial of the sentiments and temper of the princess; but the latter, disgusted with the meanness and vulgarity of the messenger, refused to enter into either terms or promises. Madame du Prie would therefore no longer hear of this lady, mademoiselle de Vermandois. A daughter of Russia was proposed, and rejected. At length it was recollected that Stanislaus, the exiled king of Poland, had a daughter, who now shared his wanderings and misfortunes. A creature, thus raised from distress to the throne of France, could not but be grateful to those who elevated her. Thus reasoned Madame du Prie. Moreover, Maria Leczinski was lovely, mild, humble, pious. Fleury, when he heard the choice, could not disapprove of it. Stanislaus and his daughter could not credit their good fortune. It was confirmed, however, and the daughter of the fugitive king of Poland became queen of France (1725). The duke of Bourbon conducted affairs on the same erroneous principles which had hitherto ruled the monetary system of France, until he was obliged to abandon the helm by the general outcry (1726). Fleury, bishop of Frejus, succeeded to the post, and the peaceable condition of the state was interrupted only by theological disputes about the Jansenists.

War of the Polish Succession.—The death of Augustus II., king of Poland, suddenly aroused all Europe. Stanislaus Leczinski was brought back to the throne to the prejudice of the son of the late king, who was supported by Russia. At the court of France, the old generals declared that it would be impossible to do otherwise than support the father-in-law of Louis XV. Fleury allowed himself to be persuaded, and only succeeded in compromising the French name. He feared to disquiet the English by naval armaments. He sent Stanislaus fifteen hundred men against a hundred thousand. Spain had seized upon the pretext of the Polish war to recover a portion of her former possessions. She was aided

by Villars. The leading feature of the war was the loss by Austria of Naples, where a branch of the house of Spain was established, so that the Bourbons filled three of the thrones of Europe, in France, Spain, and Naples. Peace was concluded at Vienna, and Poland was sacrificed. The infante Don Carlos renounced Parma and Placentia, and obtained the two Sicilies; the duke of Lorraine exchanged against the duchy of Tuscany, those of Lorraine and Bar, which Stanislaus received for life, and which were to be incorporated with France after his death (1733-39).

War of the Austrian Succession.—The emperor Charles VI. had done everything, in default of male heirs in his family, to cause his crown to devolve on his daughter Maria Theresa, a lady of vast ability and spirit. One of the conditions of the treaty of Vienna had been the sanction of his will by Louis XV. As soon as the emperor was dead, the states which had guaranteed the succession of his daughter took arms against her. All wished to have their portion of the spoils of Austria. Spain claimed Bohemia and Hungary; the king of Sardinia, the Milanese; Frederick, Silesia; France wished to give the empire to the elector of Bavaria. Fleury had not the courage to refuse war. Once more he entered upon it with a bad grace, and conducted it inefficiently. Whilst France was penetrating into Bohemia to crown the elector, Frederick took possession of Silesia (1741).

Maria Theresa had the distant and ineffectual aid of England; but her best resources lay in her own royal resolution, and the enthusiasm with which her subjects responded to her appeal. With her young children in her arms, she presented herself, already expelled from her German provinces, before the Hungarian diet, and made this pathetic address: "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no other resource than in your fidelity, your courage, and your constancy; I commit to your hands the children of your king." The youth, the beauty, and the misfortunes of the queen made a deep impression. The magnates drew their sabres and exclaimed, "We will die for our sovereign, Maria Theresa." Till then she had preserved a calm, majestic demeanour; but their fidelity and courage overcame her feelings, and she gave way to them in tears. The troops furnished by Hungary, by their mode of warfare and their ferocity, spread terror through the German and French armies. England furnished subsidies, fleets, and armies. The battle of Dettingen, (1743) was an instance of the injurious effects of the imperfect state of discipline, which at that era was seen equally in all armies. Marshal Noailles had taken such measures, that the ruin of the British, under George II. and the duke of Cumberland, seemed secure; but his nephew, the duke of Grammont, at the head of the king's household troops, boiling with ardour, threw himself too early upon the enemy, and by placing his own troops where those of the English would have been had he obeyed his orders, obstructed the fire of the French batteries, which could not play upon their own people, and produced the loss of the battle. The king of England that day had fought both on horseback with the cavalry, and on foot with the infantry; he dined upon the field of battle, and retreated from his position with such haste as to leave his wounded behind him, well pleased to have extricated himself by a victory. The duke of Cumberland received a ball in the leg; and the loss among the French

nobility was severe. Belleisle had already evacuated Prague. Marshal Maillebois, with sixty thousand combatants, proceeded to succour him when it was too late. Belleisle, with his army, returned by forced marches, without provisions, almost without clothing, across thirty leagues of mountains and ravines covered with snow, abandoning Bohemia and all his advantages. The emperor Charles, driven even from his electorate of Bavaria, and now, without an army, took refuge in Frankfort.

The French, defeated in Germany, were conquerors in Italy and Flanders. Seconded by the Spaniards and the Genoese, they established the infant Don Philip at Milan and Parma. At Fontenoy (1745), marshal Saxe, with Louis XV. himself, was opposed to the duke of Cumberland, with British, Dutch, and Austrian troops. The villages, which were the strong points of the French position, were armed with formidable batteries: nevertheless, the English advanced in a close column, overthrew two lines of French infantry, and in a few moments would have turned the position, and been out of reach of the artillery. Louis XV. had been already recommended to retreat, but the allies had not supported the English column; four guns in reserve were brought to bear, and made a frightful havoc in its ranks; the French cavalry bore down at a gallop, and cut the brave fellows to pieces; the victory was with Louis, and nine thousand English, killed and wounded, lay stretched upon the field. Charles Edward, the young pretender, by his landing in Scotland (1745), with such support as France could give, produced a diversion which recalled the duke of Cumberland; and marshal Saxe, by his victory at Rocoux, became master of Brabant. England, which had ridded herself from the pretender at Culloden, now began to fear for Holland. The prince of Orange was raised to sovereign power, and created hereditary stadtholder. In the meantime, the duke of Cumberland arrived from the field of Culloden to defend the ally of England against the marshal Saxe. Immense armies on either side seemed to promise a decisive campaign. Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom were the only two fortresses that held out against the French. In manœuvring to besiege the former town, the French came in front of their enemies, advantageously posted at Lawfeldt. It was now the turn of the duke of Cumberland to be intrenched and defended by cannon, whilst the marshal Saxe attacked in close columns. It was the day of Fontenoy reversed. The French, in their attack upon Lawfeldt, were thrice repulsed. The English cavalry, under Ligonier, advanced to the charge, drove through, and routed them; when the French marshal, anxious for the fate of the day, and forgetful of his infirmities, brought up his squadrons, and the English, too far advanced to retreat, and unsupported by their allies, were obliged to surrender. This decided the day. The village of Lawfeldt was won. The duke of Cumberland retreated; he was worsted, but remained still strong enough to cover Maestricht. Marshal Saxe, unable to besiege this town, sent Lowndahl to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, considered as impregnable. It was, nevertheless, taken by assault, after a month's siege.

Holland was in dismay; but France experienced the most terrible disasters on the seas. Her very coasts were insulted; and port l'Orient, the seat of the East India trade, had almost capitulated to the English.

Marshal Saxe saw that peace was in Maestricht. He deceived the enemy by skilful manœuvres, invested the town, and the preliminaries of the ardently desired for peace were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. France made no demand. Louis not only yielded all his conquests in Flanders, but allowed that stipulation, so disgraceful to the country, of rendering the port of Dunkirk useless, to be inserted. Savoy was given up to the king of Sardinia. In exchange for these, Don Philip of Spain was established in the duchy of Parma; Maria Theresa recovered Austrian Flanders; England giving up Louisburg, in North America, kept Nova Scotia. Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, recompensing neither France nor England for their enormous expenditure of blood and treasure, at least achieved one aim of the latter, in preserving the unity of the Austrian dominions, establishing the heroic Maria Theresa on her throne, and thus preserving the due balance of power in the east of Europe (1748).

The interval of eight years' peace was occupied in ineffectual efforts for the amendment of the system of taxation, and by renewed quarrels concerning the Jansenist doctrines. In 1757, Damiens stabbed Louis XV. in the midst of his guards, as he was getting into his carriage. The wound was not mortal, and Damiens was instantly seized; but the most cruel tortures which he was doomed to suffer could not induce him to confess that he had any accomplices; and the horrid sentence which condemned him to be torn in pieces by horses, was executed, March 28, 1757.

The Seven Years' War.—France, by the court intrigues of Madame de Pompadour, suffered herself to be again embroiled in war. Maria Theresa had vowed to take back Silesia from the king of Prussia, to whom nought could reconcile her. She stirred up against him Russia, Poland, and Sweden, and even stooped to address Madame de Pompadour as her dear friend and cousin. Louis XV. was not ill inclined to Austria. He had a jealous feeling towards Frederick, personal as well as political. The rhymes and sarcasms of the royal wit of Sans Souci galled the French monarch and his mistress; whilst his abandonment of France twice during the war gave them more legitimate cause of dissatisfaction. Frederick, in the meantime, alarmed, and well aware of the storm which menaced, concluded a defensive alliance with England. England sought, in this alliance, the security of Hanover; Frederick aimed at neutralising the power of Russia, then linked to England. Austria and France, learning this, hesitated no longer, and the treaty was signed between them in May, 1756.

The French commenced the war by an expedition against the island of Minorca, then in possession of the English. An engagement took place at long shots, off Minorca (1756), between la Gallissonnière and admiral Byng, a son of the victor of Cape Passaro. Byng sheered off, and when he came home was tried by a court martial and shot, for not bringing the French fleet into close action. The honour of the day, such as it was, and the advantage—for Minorca was captured—remained with France.

England furnished subsidies to the enemies of France. Frederick the Great was carrying on the war at her cost and to her advantage. He invaded Saxony, and took Dresden from the king of Poland. He faced all his enemies in succession. Fifty thousand Austrians fled before him,

and the Saxon army suffered itself to be disarmed. Abandoned by the English, whom marshal Richelieu had compelled to submit to the capitulation of Closterseven, and threatened by the Russians, he penetrated into Saxony, and found himself hemmed in by four armies. But his indomitable genius again prevailed. He routed, at Rosbach (1757), the French and their allies, headed by Soubise. Proposing to attack him by surprise, they had not completed their evolutions when they found themselves in the presence of their enemy, drawn up on advantageous ground, in order of battle, while two-thirds of their own forces were thrown out of action; the consequence was a signal defeat. Frederick followed up the course of his success. He resumed the road to Silesia, leaving the vanquished precipitately to effect their retreat towards the marshal Richelieu, but he only arrived in time to save the remnants of his army, which had been destroyed at Breslau by the prince de Lorraine and field marshal Daun. A few days afterwards, however, he took his revenge at Lissa, where he defeated the Austrians, and recovered his ancient superiority in despite of his numerous enemies. The conquest of Silesia followed closely upon the heels of this second victory; Prussia was saved; the French army had been driven back beyond the Rhine; the Austrians were flying towards Bohemia; an old general, Lewwald, with twenty-four thousand Prussians, had driven the eighty thousand Russians out of eastern Prussia, and compelled the Swedes to evacuate Pomerania, and to take refuge beneath the cannon of Stralsund, and, finally, in the island of Rugen.

The abbé de Bernis, minister for foreign affairs, counselled peace to Louis XV. in these moments of reverse; he was disgraced; all Europe was at war. In England, the duke of Cumberland had been removed from the command of the armies, and the impetuous Pitt had taken the place of the pacific Fox in the government; his first act was to break the capitulation of Closterseven, all the blame of which now fell on marshal Richelieu. General Clermont was sent to replace him; he was an unskilful general, who had nothing but his bravery to oppose to the abilities of the chief of the enemies, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. A bold manœuvre of the latter, who had only thirty thousand men, caused Germany to be abandoned by the eighty thousand men of Clermont. Bremen, Brunswick, Hanover, all the French strongholds in Germany, were evacuated. Clermont only deemed himself in safety when he had placed the Rhine between himself and the enemy (1758).

Whilst the king of Prussia, with unchanged courage and talent, but with most uncertain fortune, was making head against his enemies, the French army mustered near Frankfort, in the spring of 1759. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick began the campaign, by attacking it at Berghem, but was repulsed by the marshal de Broglie. The slightest success then filled the French with audacity, and impelled them to advance boldly on the offensive, whilst the least check was apt to precipitate them into a contrary extreme. They now drove the prince of Brunswick before them, and reached once more the banks of the Weser. Minden was taken (1759); and the inhabitants of Hanover began to look forward to fall again into the power of the French. Prince Ferdinand rallied his forces, however, and took post near Minden, putting an isolated column in advance to entice and deceive his enemies. The marshal de Contades

marched on the 1st of August to attack this body, placing his cavalry in the centre, and his foot upon the wings. The French attribute to this disposition the loss of the day, their horse being swept away and routed by the batteries which prince Ferdinand had prepared, whilst the infantry, disordered by its defeat, were unable to act with effect, and were driven from the field. The right wing of prince Ferdinand did not advance to complete the victory, as he had ordered. The general blamed lord George Sackville, who commanded it, obliquely censuring him in his despatches, by observing that, had the marquis of Granby been in the place of lord George, the battle could not have failed to be much more decisive. The loss of the French was severe; amongst their colonels slain at the affair of Minden was the marquis de Lafayette, a noble of an ancient family. He left his marchioness, a lady of the house of Lusignan, pregnant. This posthumous child was the Lafayette of the revolution.

France was exhausted; the penury of the treasury was extreme; and, to flatter the self-love of his subjects, Louis XV. had sent in his silver plate to the mint, to relieve the difficulties of the government. The king of Spain, Ferdinand VI., died. The duke de Choiseul, the successor of the abbé de Bernis, more decided than ever to continue the war, in order to propitiate Madame de Pompadour, concluded with his successor, Don Carlos, king of the two Sicilies, the famous family compact, directed against the maritime preponderance of England. The secret article of the treaty was the cession of a portion of Louisiana to Spain; this alliance was productive of nothing but reverses to the united navies. The loss of the French colonies was consummated by the taking of Martinique; Spain also lost Cuba, the Philippine islands, Havana, and Manilla (1761). Negotiations were opened at Paris, and the exhaustion of all the powers accelerated the conclusion of peace which was signed at Paris (1763).

France ceded Canada and Cape Breton. The Mississippi was declared to be the boundary betwixt the colonies of the respective nations; New Orleans, however, on its left bank, adhering to Louisiana. In India, property and territories were restored to their ancient limits; but the French were to send thither no more troops. Guadaloupe and Martinique were restored, Grenada kept by the British, who at the same time appropriated St. Vincents, Dominica, and Tobago. Senegal was also ceded to them, and Minorca restored. The demolition of the port of Dunkirk was to be completed, and an English commissioner to oversee the execution of this article. Peace could scarcely have been ceded more disgracefully to France, and yet she signed it, so pusillanimous was her government, so exhausted the finances, so spiritless and disorganised were her armies. The nation, proudly susceptible, deeply felt the humiliation. They attributed it not to their own want of courage, or talent, or resources, but to the imbecility of their government, and, fundamentally, to the vice of its constitution. Whatever of loyalty or of ancient attachment to despotic rule still lingered in the country, evaporated with the national honour in witnessing this disgraceful treaty.

Louis XV., weary of war, could now devote himself entirely to his mistresses, the last of whom was the notorious countess du Barry, a public prostitute, who had replaced Madame de Pompadour. His egotism kept him at a distance from the people, who already foresaw the part they

were destined to play. The king alone, with his licentious court, only considered the present time, whilst, beyond the pale of royal favour, every one regarded the future with gloomy apprehension. Public opinion, which the king of France had always kept under since Louis XIV., began to alienate itself from him, and to become independent. Through its influence the parliament expelled the Jesuits from France (1764), and suppressed an institution, of which France repelled the intriguing and dictatorial policy. It was public opinion which roused the people, on the judgments of Lally and la Chalotais, both victims of court intrigues. Louis XV. did not understand progress, or, rather, he was not suffered to understand it. The duke de Choiseul, who showed a desire to follow the spirit of the age, was dismissed. He was succeeded by the chancellor Maupeou (1768).

The weight and unequal pressure of the taxes soon brought on debates between the royal power and the parliaments. The duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, was protected by the despotic interference of the sovereign against a process instituted by the parliament of that province. The parliament of Paris, indignant at the arbitrary acts of the king, refused to execute its judicial functions; but the chancellor Maupeou adopted and successfully carried out a measure, which suppressed at a sweep all the courts of justice throughout France, and substituted men of his own appointment in offices of a new form. Public opinion remonstrated loudly at first against these proceedings, but the parliaments did not represent the people, and Maupeou promised that the abuses and defects of the old courts and laws should be remedied by the new organisation. The change was therefore carried into effect (1771). The noblesse alone seemed, on this occasion, to make common cause with the parliament, with whom they were united in the court of peers, abrogated by the late act of authority. All refused to attend the bed of justice, held by Louis XV. to open and sanction his new judicial court. The prince of Condé, his son Bourbon, and the prince of Conti, were exiled in consequence, as well as the duke of Orleans, and his son, the duc de Chartres. The last personage was afterwards the famous Philip Egalité. He was now the zealous opponent of court and partizan of parliaments.

As ever, the greatest evils arose from the state of the finances. Terray, who was finance minister, was obliged to meet an annual expense of four hundred millions of livres with a revenue far inferior. To meet the deficit, Terray increased the *taille*, a tax upon the peasantry, and, in addition, ventured on the simple expedient of a partial bankruptcy. By a stroke of his pen he reduced the interest of the public debt by one half. The partition of Poland set the seal of imbecility and disgrace on the ministry of the duc d'Aiguillon.

In the midst of this decay and disgrace of his kingdom, Louis XV. was smitten with a mortal malady: it was the small-pox. Considering his age and free life, there were few hopes, from the first, of his recovery. The bedside of the dying monarch from thence became the scene of the most disgraceful quarrels and intrigues. The Choiseul party urged the necessity of chasing Madame du Barry from court with disgrace; and loudly argued that Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, should refuse the sacrament to the dying monarch, if this sacrifice was not made to decorum

and piety; but the archbishop, who had so oft refused the consolations of the church and the ceremony of burial to a refractory Jansenist, would not be severe with Madame du Barry, who, however base, had humbled Choiseul and the parliament, the great enemies of the high church. The mistress, therefore, was allowed to retire without scandal or public disgrace. Louis, attended with the most exemplary affection by his daughter, expired on the 10th May, 1774.

Etiquette required that the body should be embalmed. But already in a state of putrefaction, no surgeon could be found to undertake the office; nor could a courtier be induced to oversee the last duties paid to the monarch. His remains were huddled in their last abode by the workmen of the chateau; spirits of wine were poured on them; and in this state they were abandoned, till conveyed to St. Denis. The dauphin was with Marie Antoinette, awaiting tidings of his royal grandsire's fate. A noise, like thunder, was heard suddenly in their ante-chamber. "It was that of the courtiers," says madame Campan, "who had deserted the apartments of the deceased monarch, to do homage to the new power of Louis XVI." The first act of this prince and of his queen, was to fling themselves upon their knees and exclaim—"God guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign."

The great faults of Louis XV. were inactivity, listlessness, and timidity, which led to others; and his conduct to his amiable queen has met with deserved opprobrium. He may be truly said to be one of the worst kings of his race. Had he died at Metz, in the midst of the triumph by which he was deservedly surrounded, when grief reigned through France at the illness he caused by his own activity, and when popular fame had styled him *Nauis*, the well-beloved, posterity would have rejoiced in his name; as it was, he was despised and detested equally as a king and a man, and his death was considered a national blessing. Men of talent during this reign, by their lively and popular productions, spread widely among the people a contempt for the monarchy, a love for republican institutions, and a distaste for all that had hitherto been esteemed sacred in France. They sneered at religion, made infidelity the fashion of the day, and prepared the public mind for the overthrow of all the ancient institutions of the kingdom. The encyclopædists, in particular, conducted their extensive work on principles most hostile, not only to old prejudices, but to well-founded convictions; and Voltaire, by a clever and vivacious style, disguised the looseness and inaccuracy of his historical facts, and gave circulation to his attacks on christianity. At the same time science produced names that do real honour to the country of their birth;—Lavoisier in chemistry; Buffon and Saussure in natural history.

V. LOUIS XVI.

Ministry of Turgot.—Louis XVI. was twenty years old when he ascended the throne (1774). He was grandson of the last king, and married (1770) Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria. On the accession of the young king everything seemed for a while to go on prosperously. The king, in fact, adorned with the virtues of private life, had honest intentions. But the entire burthen of the past weighed on his reign. It had become as difficult to effect good as to continue evil. The feeble Louis XVI. was capable of neither one nor the other. Maupeou was replaced in his government by the count de Maurepas, and the abbé Terray by the virtuous and honest Turgot. Turgot, who was the greatest administrator that France had possessed since Colbert, knew the sources of evil, and wished to dry them up. The work which he contemplated was scarcely consummated after half a century of commotions. He was desirous, in concert with Malesherbes, to suppress all privileges in taxation, to emancipate labour, gradually to free commerce from all restrictions, and by provincial assemblies, to prepare the nation to discuss its interests and govern itself. It was the abolition of privileges which he proposed to the privileged. His benevolent views were thwarted by intrigues, and he failed. The clamours of the noblesse were too great for Louis to resist. "It is only Monsieur Turgot and I who love the people," said the monarch; but the minister was nevertheless dismissed, and was followed in his retreat by Malesherbes (1776). There was an explosion of joy at Versailles.

Administration of Necker.—Turgot was succeeded by Necker, a skilful banker, a Swiss; a man of commercial wealth and of social eminence. He succeeded in procuring loans on no exorbitant terms, and by this means relieved the distress of the treasury. These, however, were only temporary expedients, such as Turgot had disdained, and to which that statesman declared he would not stoop. What that bolder minister failed in procuring, viz: the diminution of expense and increase of the revenue, Necker could not and did not succeed in. Necker simply borrowed, and added yearly to the public burdens (a state of war certainly proving his excuse); making fair promises of an excess of revenue, yet to accrue from an economy that the minister had not the power to enforce. This system, of which a longer profound peace might have guaranteed the success, did not hold good against the new American war, added to the foolish prodigalities of a brilliant court. A general revolution had broken out in the North American colonies of England, arising out of questions of taxation. The British government claimed the right to impose duties upon them, and found that claim denied and resisted. The dispute continued for ten years before blood was shed in the quarrel,

until tidings of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, with six thousand men (1777), came to assure it that the colonies had ample means of resistance. Then, in the eleventh hour, the French ministry stepped forth, and concluded a treaty in February, 1778, acknowledging the independence of the United States. War between France and England was the necessary consequence. Franklin had come to demand the aid of France against the mother country. The moment was favourable, the words of republic and liberty were in favour amongst a population already full of Voltaire and Rousseau, and imbued with the philosophic ideas of the eighteenth century. Moreover, the hatred against England was great. Louis XVI. only saw in the war the means of glory, like the remainder of the nation. Notwithstanding the penury of the treasury, a host of young nobles, eager for that liberty which was so soon after to proscribe their order in France, embarked for the New World with the marquis de Lafayette.

The contest between France and England was chiefly confined to the ocean. The undecided action near Ushant, between the fleets under Keppel and d'Orvilliers, reassured Louis XVI., who already was in fears for his inexperienced fleet (1778). The count d'Estaing took from Great Britain several islands in the West Indies, especially St. Vincent and Granada, but was repulsed in an attack on the British forces in Savannah (1779). In 1780 the French proved of signal service to their American allies, for De Grasse defeated Hood in Chesapeake Bay in a smart engagement, and by his victory deprived the land forces under Cornwallis of all hope of succour; these troops, amounting to eight thousand men, were vigorously attacked in their position, and at length compelled to surrender. Such success decided the war of independence in favour of the United States. In other quarters the conflict was less advantageous to France. In 1780 the combined fleets of France and Spain, who had united their maritime force in order to crush the naval superiority of England, bore up the English channel unopposed, insulted Plymouth, and menaced an invasion, but they retired without attempting anything. In 1782 De Grasse was defeated, with the loss of eight vessels, by Rodney, near Guadaloupe, and was himself made prisoner. The same year the French and Spanish lavished enormous sums, and their utmost efforts, on a bombardment of Gibraltar, but they were successfully and ably repulsed by Elliott (lord Heathfield), and the garrison was relieved by the fleet of admiral Howe. During this period many naval combats took place in the East Indies, between admiral Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes; no decisive consequences followed from any of these rencontres, and both parties claimed to have the advantage. Suffren, however, is one of the favourite naval heroes of France. Peace was signed in 1783, and the independence of the United States was recognised by England.

Administration of Calonne and Brienne.—The war of independence had only aggravated the internal state of France. Necker had exhausted every means of improving the revenue; he ended, however, by understanding the inadequacy of his system of credit, and he was obliged to retire after publishing the celebrated *compte rendu*, or statement of income and expenditure, which suddenly revealed to France the depth of its wounds and the uselessness of half remedies (1781). Two years after this the financial department fell into the hands of Calonne, who resolved

to rely upon the party of the courtiers, and to consolidate public credit by prodigality. He acquired the confidence of the capitalists by punctuality in payment, and secured numerous loans during the peace; but credit was at length exhausted, he was compelled to avow an enormous deficiency, and laid the blame on Necker; the latter replied vigorously to this imputation, and was exiled by the minister. Calonne at length summoned an assembly of the notables (1787), and did not shrink from avowing that in three years of peace he had borrowed upwards of eight hundred millions of francs more than Necker had done in five years of war. He declared that the suppression of abuses was the only means of preserving order, and demanded a *subvention territoriale*, which would subject all landed property, not excepting that of the clergy, to direct taxation. At the same time he was unable to conceal the fact that the annual deficit exceeded one hundred and twenty-five millions of francs. The notables who belonged to the privileged classes, showed little disposition to accede to the reforms. The public showed the same apathy, because it did not deem them sufficiently sweeping. Calonne resigned office and quitted the kingdom. The difficult task was next confided to Brienne, archbishop of Sens. The new minister propounded his theory of gradual loans, which provoked the last political resistance of the parliament; after this he proposed the enormous loan of four hundred and twenty millions of francs; the notables refused their consent, and referred the matter to the wisdom of the king. Brienne then presented his edicts to the parliament, which declined to register them: but measures were taken to win their consent, and might have been successful, when the king (Nov. 1787) held a royal sitting, and in a bed of justice enforced the registration by the royal prerogative. The duke of Orleans rose, and with hesitation remonstrated, requiring that the registration should bear upon the face of it that it took place by the express command of the king; and when Louis XVI. had left the hall, the parliament passed a resolution that it took no part in the illegal registration of the edict of loans. This resolution by royal order was struck out from the records, the duke of Orleans banished from Paris to his estates, and a struggle began between the regal authority and the parliament. The government proposed to supersede the parliament in its functions by the establishment of a *cour plénière*, or body of peers, magistrates, and notables, to constitute a high court of appeal. This measure was vigorously denied and resisted all over the kingdom, and at last a promise of the convocation of the states-general was obtained, and formation of the new court deferred. Brienne was removed from office by court influence, and Necker recalled (1788). The dismissal of Brienne was a popular act, but the king, by loading him with honours, lost all the benefit of the approbation of the nation, which saw no longer the dismissal, but the favour still enjoyed by the odious minister. Necker, on this his second tenure of office, proved himself as incapable a statesman as he was undoubtedly able in finance. The edict for the assembly of the states-general appeared amid a general fermentation in the public mind, but it left two important questions undecided: first, whether the *noblesse*, clergy, and *tiers état* should meet in one chamber, or be separated into two; and secondly, whether the *tiers état* should return as many deputies as either of the two other bodies, or enjoy a double representa-

tion. The double representation was conceded by a supplementary edict, but the remaining question was not noticed.

Thus it was Louis XVI. himself who was precipitating France towards revolution, involuntarily, doubtless, but by the simple force of circumstances. He hoped that the national representation would impose upon itself some great sacrifices, but he did not foresee the reaction against the privileged aristocracy, or the arousing of the people at the powerful voice of Mirabeau. The court seemed to make light of the danger whilst the tempest was roaring in the faubourgs of Paris and in the remainder of France. The faubourg St. Antoine, in one of its days of riot, had pillaged several manufactories—a prelude to the revolutionary dramas. The old monarchy was crumbling away under the vigorous hands of the people, who were about to strike without pity; Louis XVI. himself being destined to be one of its earliest victims.

VI. CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

I. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(FROM 5TH MAY, 1789, TO 1ST OCTOBER, 1791.)

Formation of the National Assembly.—The states-general assembled at Versailles, 5th May, 1789, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of an immense multitude. Nothing had been omitted of the etiquette of 1614 to humble the deputies of the commons, but the time had gone by when they had to speak kneeling; when the king covered himself, they also covered themselves, like the other two orders, contrary to the established usage. The king's speech was listened to with the deepest attention. It was characteristic at once of the benignity and irresolution of his nature. **Barentin**, the chancellor, followed with a kind of political homily, and Necker continued by unfolding his budget of finance, at a moment when the great question which preoccupied all minds, and shut out every other consideration, was, how the orders were to vote,—whether united, each member with a voice, or separate, each body with a *veto*. Both Necker and the king left this question undecided. The commons, supported by the popular sentiment, came prepared to insist on the union of the three orders, and for very natural reasons. Both noblesse and church had resisted in their several assemblies the ameliorations proposed by Colonne and Brienne. The states were called to effect these; and apparently this could not be done if each order remained apart, entrenched behind its *veto*. The monarch saw and acknowledged the force of these arguments. The previous inveteracy of the noblesse prevented him from frankly embracing their cause, and establishing their independence. The states were, therefore, left to decide the point betwixt them.

The architectural distribution of the edifice was not without influence. The large hall of assembly was allotted to the *tiers état*; two smaller ones had been prepared for the noblesse and clergy. The commons affected to expect that the two orders would join them, in order to verify their powers in common; but these, in their respective chambers, decided against the coalition. Still there was but a majority of seventy even among the nobles for remaining separated, and but a majority of twenty amongst the clergy. In the latter body, the number of curates, elected by the low church, was great. The ministry, in the elections, had favoured the popular, much more than the aristocratic or high-church candidate. Learning this distribution of parties, the *tiers état* necessarily persisted. They were certain of succeeding in their aim. Meantime all business was deferred. The public expectation, wound up, and daily disappointed, turned to anger against the aristocrats. Irritation increased,

and with it increased the influence of the *tiers*. The minister at length proposed a plan of accommodation as to the verification of powers, which favoured the pretensions of the noblesse much more than those of the *tiers*. Nevertheless, the deputies of the latter had the art and address to show no decided objection, and by this means threw on their opponents the odium of offering all conciliation. The noblesse, indeed, at first accepted, but then demurred against, the title of *commons*, assumed by the *tiers*. This being inserted in the conferences, the peers refused to sign them, risking an open quarrel for the sake of an empty word. Their democratic opponents made decisive use of this pretext. In the body of the *tiers état* were two parties;—one, headed by Mounier and Malouet, was constitutional and moderate; anxious to secure public liberty, but to check revolution; and desirous of forming a system of government analogous to that of England. An adverse party was led by Mirabeau and Sieyes, with principles and aim yet unfixed, but bent on the establishment of one assembly, in which all rank and distinction merged. Mirabeau, smarting from a long imprisonment, was eager to retaliate on the higher classes, and on the throne itself. Ardent, conscious of the long pent-up fire of genius, to rule by eloquence and wield the sceptre of popularity was his object. Sieyes, equally ambitious, presented a contrast with his fiery colleague; he was cold and systematic. Sieyes spoke little, his ideas were mathematically put together.

The parties and their chiefs now for the first time came into collision. The ultra-liberals declared that the noblesse merely manœuvred, and raised futile objections in order to embarrass the march of the states-general, and retain them in complete inaction. Sieyes, therefore, advised that, preparatory to their constituting themselves into a national assembly, a final summons should be made to the recusant orders to join the commons. This took place on the 10th of June. Its consequence was the defection of three curates from the clergy to join the *tiers*; in two days after, more of their brethren followed; amongst others, the famous Gregoire; and at length, on the 17th, took place the famous debate on the title, meaning the powers which they should assume. The preamble of Sieyes stated that they were ninety-six hundredths of the nation, and that such a majority could no longer postpone the commencement of business, because the four-hundredths which remained, meaning the noblesse and the clergy, refused to join them. This fractional logic, which at once swept away all rights of property or birth, was adopted without dissent. And in truth the doctrine, which it discovered to be that of the overwhelming majority, might well alarm the court. Mounier, to palliate such a declaration, proposed that they should assume the title of representatives of the commons, or of the major part of the nation. But brevity in a title being justly considered dignity, Le Grand's proposal of adopting that of "national assembly" was preferred. Nevertheless, the body now self-constituted is known in French history as the *Assemblée Constituant*. An act of foresight followed this act of sovereignty. The assembly voted that the imposts now levied had hitherto been illegal, wanting the sanction of the representatives of the people; henceforth, however, their levy was sanctioned temporarily.

Oath of the Tennis Court.—The court was startled by so much audacity; the royal brothers were admitted to the council; they with-

drew the king from the influence of Necker, and decided him to go to the assembly to annul its previous votes and acts, and to command the orders to unite in the same chamber to decide on pecuniary questions, to remain separate on others, and to announce the concessions to be granted by him. The hall was closed for preparations for the royal sitting. Bailly, the president of the assembly, protested, and the assembly decided not to interrupt its sittings. There was a tennis-court at hand; it was suggested to adjourn thither, and the idea was welcomed with acclamation. Even the most moderate deputies joined in the general enthusiasm; and it was Mounier who first moved that the assembly should bind itself not to separate till they had prepared and voted a constitution. "An oath! an oath! let us swear it!" was the universal cry. Bailly, standing on a bench, now held up his hand towards the heavens that canopied the delapidated place of meeting, and repeated the oath, whilst all the other members, one alone excepted, extended their arms and joined in the solemn adjuration. The deputies were joined by the greater part of the deputies of the clergy, and by such of the noblesse as had become familiar with democratic doctrines by serving in America. The king, at the promised sitting, was received with mournful silence. He pronounced the stern words which had been dictated to him, and commanded the deputies immediately to separate for that day; he himself retired, accompanied by the noblesse. The commons remained immovable. De Brezé, the master of the ceremonies, summoned them to depart; the president said "that he should obey the orders of the assembly alone." Mirabeau started up and apostrophized De Brezé. "Tell your master we are here by the will of the people, and nothing less than the force of bayonets shall expel us." Workmen began now to remove the decorations of the hall; Bailly ordered them to cease. After much agitation, Mirabeau proposed a vote, that the persons of the members were inviolable. With this concluded the sitting. From that moment royalty was vanquished. Those who, by their counsels, had provoked resistance, dared not punish it. The court entreated Necker not to withdraw from it the support of his popularity. The clergy, and fifty-seven of the noblesse, with the duke of Orleans at their head, seeing the attitude assumed by the commons, soon afterwards joined them. The king, whose authority was thus set at naught, gave way; he annulled the acts of his own royal sitting, and the three orders for the future met without distinction together. Thus the effectual preponderance of the *tiers état* was secured, and the royal prerogative defeated and overruled. Addresses reached the assembly from all parts, to testify to the joy and hopes of all France.

Capture of the Bastille.—Meanwhile the court, baffled, had resolved to employ violence instead of intrigue. Versailles was crowded with troops, and large bodies of the army were approaching Paris. Twice the assembly fruitlessly entreated the king to countermand the troops which thronged around the capital, recommending the formation of the citizens of Paris into a civic guard. Paris was in a state of the greatest agitation; the questions which the assembly was debating upon, were being tumultuously discussed in the public streets; the dangers of the country were talked about, and the people were incited to resistance. All of a sudden, the tidings of Necker's dismissal reached the crowd. Riotous

mobs collected together; ten thousand persons invaded the palais royal. A young man, one of the habitual haranguers of the crowd, Camille Desmoulins, mounted a table with a pistol in his hand: "Citizens," he exclaimed, "there is not a moment to be lost; the dismissal of Necker is the tocsin of a St. Bartholomew's eve of all the patriots! This very evening the Swiss and German battalions will leave the *Champ-de-Mars* to massacre us: nothing remains to us but to run to arms!" He plucked a branch from a tree, and put a leaf in his hat by way of cockade. His example was applauded and imitated. Waxed busts of Necker and Orleans were then seized in a neighbouring shop, crowned with laurel, and carried in procession through the streets. Near the Place Vendôme the procession came in contact with a German regiment. Blows and shots were exchanged. A soldier of the royal guards was said to have been killed in the ranks of the people. For this cause, and from previous jealousy, some hundreds of the guards issued from the barracks near the spot, drew up, and fired upon the Germans. The prince de Lambesch, commanding them, ordered a retreat, to avoid bloodshed; whilst effecting this through the gate of the garden of the Tuileries, an aged person was slain. Cries of vengeance followed. The populace hastened in search of arms. The Hotel de Ville, where the electors, self-constituted as a municipality, were in the habit of daily assembling, delivered up all preserved in that establishment. They ordered the establishment of a civic guard; a vain and late attempt to separate the armed citizen from the armed ruffian.

Thus passed the 12th of July; the 13th saw the fermentation increase, though unmarked by events. On the morning of the 14th the Invalides was invaded by the mob; its arsenal afforded a fresh supply of muskets, and, what was more important, artillery. Thus provided, they marched to the Bastille. Some thirty Swiss and eighty invalids garrisoned this fortress. They, as well as the unfortunate governor, De Launay, were assailed by an enemy so new to the soldiers,—the clamours of a ferocious multitude. The morning was spent in parleys and menaces. The municipality in vain endeavoured to quiet the people, and put the fortress in the possession of their new militia. The populace was too numerous and too agitated to hearken to aught but their own passion and impatience. By a sudden assault, they broke the chains of the drawbridge, and passed the outer fosse. The garrison defended the inner fortification, and the combat commenced. The French guards now took the lead; when the garrison, alarmed, compelled the governor to hoist the white flag in token of surrender. The victors rushed in, and filled the interior of this once formidable prison. The rabble attempted to massacre the invalids; the French guards defended them. A young woman was seen thrown amidst some burning mattresses, but was rescued from the flames. De Launay, was not so fortunate. Several of his officers were slain. Two French guards vainly undertook to conduct him safe through the crowd; but blows fell upon him from every side, and soon immolated the victim.

The Bastille conquered, the populace marched in triumph to the Hotel de Ville. The assembled chiefs of the citizens were now to learn that it was not royalty alone, its officers, and its nobles, that were threatened by revolution. The municipality had chosen Hesselles, provost of the

merchants, to preside. He weakly undertook to amuse the people, promising them arms, and indicating where they were to be found. Exasperated at finding this information false, the provost of the merchants was massacred by the same hands as the governor of the Bastille. Thus the middle as well as the upper ranks furnished the first victims to insurrection.

This outbreak produced fresh submissions from the king; his bolder resolutions disappeared. He hurried to the national assembly, where he was received in mournful silence, "That silence of the people," said Mirabeau, "which is the lesson of kings;" he had scarcely promised the removal of the troops from the capital, when his voice was drowned by applause. Necker was recalled, and returned in triumph, to vanish a few months after, powerless and unnoticed. The king, preceded by a numerous deputation from the assembly, went to Paris to reassure the people. Two members of the deputation, Bailly and Lafayette, who had just been elected, the one mayor of Paris, the other commander of the national guard, went to meet the king at the head of the municipality and the Parisian guard. The procession, like funeral ones, had the appearance of a fête. The new militia was under arms. The tricolour cockade was in every hat. Green had been discarded, as being the colour of the princes. Blue and red were of old the colours of the city of Paris. White was now added out of affection to the Bourbon king. The cockade being presented to him by Bailly, at the Hotel de Ville, he assumed it cheerfully, and bade the mayor to state from him to the municipality, that he approved of their acts. This royal adhesion to the revolution being given, Louis returned to Versailles, rejoiced in heart that he had again escaped from his capital. The queen flung herself into his arms on beholding him; she had been prepared for worse.

Abolition of Privileges.—A general enthusiasm followed the capture of the Bastille. The movement of Paris communicated itself to the provinces. All France became organised into municipalities to govern itself, and in national guards to defend itself. It felt the approach of fresh perils. The emigration had commenced. The count of Artois and the prince of Condé, with a numerous suite, had left the kingdom, to stir up against the nation the powers of Europe. The provinces were profoundly disturbed; the inhabitants of the rural districts pillaged and burned the *châteaux* of their former masters. It was one of those tumultuous and sanguinary moments, when governments reap the fruits of their own iniquities. In the capital, Foulon, superintendent of the revenue, a peculiarly detested member of a detested profession, had been seized as one of the aristocratic conspirators. He was brought, on the 27th July to the Hotel de Ville, then the centre of justice as of force. He was reported to have derided the sufferings of the people in famine and to have bidden them "eat hay." He was now brought with ignominy to the Hotel de Ville, the populace clamouring for his instant condemnation. In vain the municipality urged that they did not form a court of justice; equally in vain did they affect to go through the forms of an interrogatory, to gain time. Lafayette tried his eloquence and popularity. The rabble, impatient, rushed on Foulon, tore him forth, and hung him to a lamp-post. His son-in-law, Berthier, was soon after brought in on the same charges. The mob held up to him the streaming head of Foulon and

laughed with delight at his recoil of horror. Berthier shared a similar fate. Lafayette threw down his command in disgust, but was prevailed on to resume it.

The deputies or the privileged classes now resolved to resign those rights which rendered them odious. On the 4th August, all privileges, titles, seigniorial jurisdictions, annates to the pope, plurality of benefices, forest laws, sales of offices in the magistracy and chartered companies, were abolished and suppressed, while equality of political rights was ratified throughout the kingdom. The national assembly, or states-general, next drew up a constitution for France; after debates for and against a senate, it was decided that there should be but one chamber, and the menacing demonstrations of the populace turned the scale against a negative, and allowed the sovereign only a suspensive veto upon the laws that should pass the legislature.

The People at Versailles.—The court had not yet resigned itself to events. It endeavoured to represent the king, even to himself, as oppressed by the assembly, and led him gradually to see no refuge save in the midst of an army of foreign soldiers commanded by nobles. Its hope was in civil war. The people once more devined the projects of the enemies of the revolution. New regiments had arrived at Versailles. Received with disquietude by the inhabitants, a magnificent banquet was given to them in the palace theatre, by the body guards. Wine circulated; enthusiasm was excited. The soldiers of the regiment were admitted into the building; cups being handed to them, they drank to the health of the queen and of the king. With drawn swords the banqueters pledged them. The queen, hearing of the fête, presented herself with the dauphin. A fresh effusion of loyalty ensued. Swords again flashed, with vows to support the royal cause, whilst the ancient cockade was distributed, and the tricolour trampled under foot. This was on the 1st October. This scene of provocation was renewed two days afterwards. The exasperation was at its utmost in Paris. The people wanted bread, and they found themselves under the blow of counter-revolutionary plots. The insurrection broke out on the 5th October.

On the very same day, in the assembly, the popular party first showed itself fully. Petion, Robespierre, Gregoire, started up with denunciations, giving vent to the extreme of revolutionary language. Already they began to accuse and threaten Mirabeau, the representative of the *bourgeoisie*. The only hope for the monarch at this time, was to have rallied to the latter party; and his adhesion would have completed its separation from the ultra-revolutionists, who, at this time, were but in the feebleness of birth. It was this day, however, that the monarch was advised to set himself at variance with the vote of the assembly, and to disapprove of their constitution.

In Paris, a crowd of women was adroitly employed to besiege the guard and the Hotel de Ville. They could only be diverted from setting fire to the edifice, by an invitation to proceed to Versailles. The tocsin, in the mean time, was sounded. The rabble, armed with pikes, forks, and sticks, crowded to the square, and soon marched off to Versailles, to ask bread of the assembly. Lafayette soon after arrived at the Hotel de Ville. The assembled companies of the national guards awaited him. Though bearing this title, these troops were not citizens, but mere mer-

cenary troops. They, too, demanded to march upon Versailles. Lafayette in vain dissuaded them; he was constrained to lead them. All Paris followed in their wake.

The horde of women and rabble reached Versailles in the afternoon; they penetrated into the assembly, demanding bread, and saying that the aristocrats and the archbishop of Paris had bribed the millers not to grind corn. Mounier was despatched to the palace; the women accompanied him thither, but the crowd were stopped at the iron railing in front of the château; twelve were, however, admitted, to lay their complaints before the king. At his aspect, and that of the queen, their fury was dumb; they returned to their comrades, satisfied and charmed with their benign reception; these, amazed and angered at such a change, threatened to hang their unfortunate envoys.

In the course of the night, some of the mob found an entrance into the palace; they summoned their companions, and engaged the royal guard within the apartments; the queen was scarcely saved from the fury of these ruffians, but Lafayette, at the risk of his life, drove the rabble out of the palace, and placed the royal family, for the time, in safety. The crowd demanded that the king should come to Paris; and, amidst a procession of market-women, at a foot pace, with human heads borne aloft on pikes before the carriage, the unhappy Louis and Antoinette were conducted to the capital (6th October, 1789), and placed more immediately under the eyes of the revolutionists. Such was the progress of anarchy since the meeting of the states-general on the 1st of May.

The assembly, which had followed the king to Paris, pursued its legislative labours. A new administrative and judicial organisation effaced the last vestiges of the old régime. The division of the soil of France into eighty-three departments, was substituted for the ancient provincial circumscriptions. Each department was divided into districts, and each district into municipalities. The administration of justice was placed on an entirely new basis, and the municipal functions confided to electoral bodies; thus a thousand obstacles to internal prosperity were swept away at once. Everything was submitted to the ordeal of election, the principles of legislation being based on the sovereignty of the people. Another step was the confiscation of the endowments of the church. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, was the first to propose this sacrifice, intended to relieve the wants of the exchequer; and the *assignats*, issued on the security of ecclesiastical estates, now first appeared, and were gradually multiplied till their value became no more than nominal. From that moment dates the hatred of the clergy against the revolution. They only required a plausible opportunity to break out against it. The assembly did not fail to afford it to them, by occupying itself with their interior organisation. The civil constitution of the clergy tended to reconstitute the church upon its old basis, and did not interfere with matters of faith. It placed ministers of religion on the same footing as other state functionaries. It established the siege of a bishoprick in each department, left to the people the election of the bishops and curates, suppressed monastic vows, allowed to all the members of the clergy a salary proportionate to their functions, and imposed upon them, as on all the magistrates, the oath of fidelity to the national constitution. At the

moment when the decree was put to the vote, the bishops quitted the hall. They fomented disturbances in the provinces, impeded everywhere the operations of the municipalities, and alarmed all consciences to destroy the work of the revolution. The pope refused his adhesion to the civil constitution, as established by an incompetent power. There were two clergies in France, the one constitutional, the other refractory. The priests who had refused the oaths, filled the pulpits with anathemas against the sworn priests. A furious struggle commenced in various parts of the kingdom. It was destined to be the more redoubtable, since there were there not only interests but sincere convictions at stake.

Fête of the Federation.—The anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was approaching; it was from that memorable day that the nation dated its deliverance. It was resolved to celebrate it with extraordinary pomp. As a prelude to this patriotic fête, the popular members of the noblesse proposed the abolition of titles; liveries, armorial bearings, orders, all the privileges of vanity melted away, as those of power had done. This seemed to the noblesse even a more terrible blow than the former. The emigration redoubled. Meanwhile the entire of the population of Paris, handling the pickaxe and wheeling the barrow, had completed the preparations for the fête in the vast space of the Champ de Mars. It was there that the citizens from all parts of France were to unite in one oath, to be sworn to the constitution on the altar of the country. The 14th of July arrived at last; four hundred thousand spectators occupied the steps of turf which surrounded the Champ de Mars. The federates of the eighty-three departments were ranged in order beneath their banners; the deputies of the army and the national guards were in their ranks and under their colours. The bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, ascended the altar in pontifical costume. He was surrounded by four hundred priests arrayed in white surplices and decked out with tricolours. He celebrated mass amidst the sound of the military instruments, and blessed the oriflamb and the eighty-three banners. A deep silence followed. Lafayette, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the national guards in France, advanced to take the civic oath. It was repeated by all the deputies, amidst the noise of salvos of artillery, of music, and the acclamations of the people. Louis XVI., in his turn, also swore to maintain the national constitution, decreed by the assembly, and accepted by himself. The queen took the dauphin in her arms, and showing him to the crowd said, "Behold my son, he unites with me in the same sentiments." The acclamations of the people redoubled, they believed in the sincerity of their monarch, as he believed in the attachment of his subjects. And this magnificent day terminated by a hymn of thanksgiving.

Flight and Arrest of the King.—*Petition of the Champ de Mars.*—Whilst the people forgot for a while its distrust, counter-revolutionary plots were rife in all directions. The enemies of the revolution were paving the way at once for civil and foreign war. The greater part of the officers of the army were attached to the old régime. Those who did not join the ranks to join the emigrants, endeavoured to win over the soldiers to their cause. The aristocratic spirit on one side and the spirit of insubordination on the other, led to disorders in many corps. Three regiments at Nancy had revolted against their chiefs: general Bouillé marched against them at the head of the garrison and the national guard at Metz. The regiment of

Châteauvieux was charged, defeated, and the ringleaders sent captives to Paris (August, 1790).

The assembly, which saw nothing but anarchy, had been remorseless. The people saw the counter-revolution, and became alarmed at so harsh a mode of repression. It was known that Bouillé had only consented to take the civic oath in order to favour the projects of the court. He was at the head of a formidable army, and held all the fortresses of the north open to the enterprises of the emigrants. The projects of the emigration were beginning to be openly avowed; the attitude of the cabinets of Europe was threatening. All at once the flight of the king became known. The people alone had foreseen it, and had several times endeavoured to prevent it; all Paris was in a state of stupor. The plan of flight had been concerted for some time with general Bouillé, who had formed a camp of some faithful regiments on the frontier, near Montmedy. The king hoped, by reaching it in safety, to avoid the reproach, at least, of emigration; and without foreign aid, as he afterwards asserted, to raise up liberty upon a firmer basis.

The time of flight was fixed for the night of the 19th June (1791). Bouillé gave orders, in consequence, for troops and detachments to meet the king at the bridge of Sommeville and at St. Meneshould, to escort and protect his progress, should he succeed in reaching these towns. Unfortunately, owing to some difficulty excited by the female attendants on the royal family, the departure was put off to the following night, by which means, although word was sent to Bouillé, the detachments were no longer in waiting for the king when he arrived. A private door in her apartment had been prepared by the queen; issuing by this in three parties, the royal family gained the courts and crossed them, the king, with his children, reaching the rue de l'Echelle without impediment. Here a coach awaited them; but the queen had, in the meantime, lost her way, the *garde du corps* who conducted her being ignorant of Paris. She chanced to meet Lafayette, but passed unrecognised by him, and joined the rest at length, after much wandering and trouble. The hackney coach, driven by M. de Fersen, in disguise, then bore them to a distant part of the city. At the gate St. Martin they quitted it, for a berlin drawn by post horses, and were soon on the road to Chalons. The king's brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., took, on the same night, the road to Flanders, and succeeded in reaching the frontier.

The carriage bearing the royal family reached Chalons in safety, and, subsequently, St. Meneshould. The detachment of Bouillé, weary of waiting, had already taken their departure. At St. Meneshould Louis was recognised by Drouet, son of the post-master; but the carriage was then setting off. Drouet set off also by a cross road, and reached Varennes, the next place of halt, and within but two stages of Bouillé's camp, before the fugitives. There were no post horses in Varennes, but an officer of Bouillé was appointed to have a relay in waiting. There were no symptoms of horses or guards about the hour of eleven at night, when the royal family entered the town. They were obliged to alight, to question, to parley with the postilions: whilst Drouet had aroused the municipal officers, and called together the national guards of the canton. Whilst the carriage was slowly proceeding under an arch that crossed the road, Drouet and one or two others stopped it, demanding their passports. The *gardes du corps* on the box

wished to resist. The king forbade them. Here the presence of a man of resolution was wanted. Bouillé had designed the marquis d'Agoutt to accompany the monarch, but his place had been usurped by an obstinate old woman, governess of the prince and princess. They were now conducted before the *procureur* of the town; and the national guards crowding in, Louis was arrested. The troops of Bouillé's army arrived also, but refused to rescue him. An aid-de-camp of general Lafayette soon after made his appearance, bearing a decree of the national assembly for the re-conveyance of the fugitives to Paris.

Thus, within an hour, a league, of safety, the unfortunate Louis and his family found themselves captive, and on their return to a capital which, if it had before loaded them with contumely, would now, most likely, observe no moderation in cruelty. The assembly already showed that its opinions had taken a deeper die of republicanism since the flight. Petion, a rude and rigid democrat, with Barnave, the rival of Mirabeau, were the commissaries who re-conducted the king. Seated in the royal carriage, Barnave, with the sensibility ever attendant upon talent, felt his sympathy awakened for the sufferings of the fallen family.

During the eight days of their painful journey, he continually conversed with the monarch, and felt each moment deeper respect for a character so amiable and so just. Petion, on the contrary, a man with few ideas, held rigid in those which he possessed, and piqued by being obliged to play an inferior part, merely murmured that he cared for nought save a republic. Previous to the return of the king to Paris, it was placarded that whoever insulted him should be beaten; whoever applauded him should be hanged.

The club of the *cordeliers* prepared the draft of an address to the national assembly, in which their situation was summed up in the first phrase. "Behold us free," it said, "and without a king; it remains to be seen whether it would be advantageous to appoint another." Before the event of the 20th June, the assembly had declared that the flight of the king from the kingdom would involve his deposition. The case had not been realised to the letter, the king having been arrested within the kingdom. Barnave, in concert with the principal members of the moderate section of the assembly, defended, against Robespierre, the principle of the king's inviolability, and obtained from the assembly a decree absolving the king. Bouillé and his accomplices alone remained to be brought to trial, and Louis XVI. resumed his functions, of which he had been provisionally suspended (15th July, 1791).

Enraged at their want of predominance in the assembly, the Jacobins endeavoured to agitate the people, and caused a petition to be prepared for dethroning Louis. The people would no longer have a fugitive king, and who was forced to reign. The 17th July, they went in crowds to sign the petition, on "the altar of the country," in the *Champ de Mars*. In a few hours it was covered with upwards of six thousand signatures. Immediately the red flag was displayed, as a token that martial law was in force. Lafayette and Bailly marched at the head of ten thousand national guards to the scene of tumult. Received with imprecations, they dispersed the multitude beneath a serious and well-directed charge. The *Champ de Mars* was cleared, and there remained nothing but heaps of dead bodies, the number of which has not been ascertained.

Treaty of Pilnitz.—This bloody execution exasperated the people without consolidating royalty. The emigrants meanwhile were arming. They formed two bodies, one organised under Condé at Worms; the other under the count d'Artois, at Coblenz. The latter had already signed with the emperor Leopold the secret declaration of Mantua, which promised to Louis XVI. the aid of a coalition in which Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and the kings of Sardinia, Spain, and Prussia, were to enter (10th May, 1791). Soon after this appeared the celebrated declaration of Pilnitz, in which the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia stated their intention of combining their forces, to enable the king of France to establish, in perfect liberty, a monarchical government, equally in conformity with the rights of sovereigns as with the happiness of the French people. The popular exasperation grew still higher on the reading of this threatening protestation; but the assembly, without concerning itself at the republican disposition of the men of the clubs, and other agitators, hastened to complete and give the last touches to the constitution which was accepted by the king. After this, on the motion of Lafayette, it voted a general amnesty for all acts relating to the revolution; finally, on the 30th September, 1791, the president Thourret, announced that the session was closed, and that the mission of the constituent assembly had been fulfilled; but previously it had been decided, at the instigation of Robespierre, that the present representatives should be excluded from being elected members of the next assembly; and this strange act of self-denial was a grave error, for they alone could love and defend the constitution, who had given birth to it amidst the storms of the last two years.

VII. LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

(FROM 1ST OCTOBER, 1791, TO 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1792.)

State of Parties.—The new assembly opened its sittings on the 1st October, 1791 : it declared itself the national legislative assembly. The opening ceremony was characterised by a degree of ostentation somewhat partaking of the antique solemnities ; the twelve most aged members went to fetch the constitutional act, and every one in the room, standing, and with uncovered head, swore upon it, amidst the applause of the galleries, to live free or to die. The new elections had all taken place under revolutionary auspices ; the noblesse, the count, the clergy, were no longer represented ; the sincere constitutionalists, amongst whom were numbered Dumas, Vaublanc, Beugnot, &c., had not even in their favour the authority of numbers ; they acted in concert out the assembly with the club of the *Feuillants*, with Lafayette, and with the triumvirate of Barnave, Lameth, and Duport, who aided the king with their counsels. On the left sat the impassioned orators of the Gironde, who formed a phalanx, and rallied round them the most ardent spirits, such as Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, Isnard, Brissot, Condorcet, and Petion ; and further on, on the same side, sat the most violent revolutionists, such as Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, who brought to the tribune the resolutions of the club of the Jacobins, of which Robespierre was the presiding genius, and sometimes even those of the club of the Cordeliers, even still more violent, in which Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Camille Desmoulins were the ruling spirits. The situation in which the legislative assembly found affairs was difficult and complicated. Abroad, the powers had suspended their common dissensions, and closely watched the course of events in France ; the declaration of Pillnitz gave a glimpse of more decisive measures ; the emigrants, whose number increased daily, had seen the gates eagerly open before them on the entire frontiers of the Rhine, whilst the petty German princes had accorded to them a threatening hospitality on the other bank of the river. The prince of Condé and the duke of Bourbon had protested in the face of Europe against the acceptance of the constitution by Louis XVI. ; regiments of gentlemen were being formed at Coblenz and Worms ; threats were sent to those indifferent to quit the country, and the perspective was held out to them of the loss of their titles of nobility on the day of triumph, if they did not join the migration. At home, the declamations of the clergy against the civil constitution had yielded their fruits ; the constitutional priests, surnamed *intruders*, were placed on a level with the people ; the sacraments administered by them were deemed an odious sacrilege ; a

marriage blessed by them had no validity; the municipal officers who presided at their installation were deemed as openly guilty of apostacy. These fanatical writings had spread alarm amidst the rural populations, and seditions had broken out in the departments of Calvados, la Vendée, and of Gevaudan, where the formerly privileged classes had, in spite of the progress of the former century, preserved all their old feudal dominion. The assembly, which was noways disposed to compromise, and which during the first days of its meeting had been on the point of depriving the king of his titles of "majesty" and "sire," resolved to cut these manœuvres short. On the motion of one of these most daring of the Girondists, and notwithstanding the resistance of the constitutionalists, it decreed, on the 30th October, that the eldest brother of the king, Louis Stanislaus Xavier, should be summoned to return to France within one month, failing which he would forfeit his right to the regency. On the 9th of November it declared as suspected of conspiring against the country the Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers, and liable to the punishment of death, should they still be thus assembled on the 1st of January, 1792. On the 29th it ordered all ecclesiastics who had not yet taken the civic oath to do so forthwith, under penalty of losing their pensions or stipends, and to be suspected of rebellion, and even to be provisionally removed from their domiciles, should disturbances arise from religious causes, and to be punished with two years' imprisonment if they provoked disobedience to the law. The constituent assembly had recoiled before these rigorous measures; but the legislative assembly did not hesitate. Louis XVI. interposed, and whilst sanctioning the first decree against his brother, had put his veto upon the two others. Between the king and the assembly there had only been a moment of concord and harmony, on the day in which he had appeared in the midst of the representatives and had said—"The enemies of our repose will only endeavour too much to disunite us; but let the love of our country join us together, and let the public interests render us inseparable." After this his timorous conscience had become alarmed at the persecutions which were being prepared against the refractory clergy, and the decree of the 29th of October profoundly indisposed him. On the other hand the Girondists, dissatisfied with his opposition, laid the blame on his ministers, and accused Delessart of not holding a language sufficiently firm to the foreign cabinets; Du Portail and Bertrand, with neglecting the defence of the frontiers and the coasts. At the same time they sent a message to the king, to request him to demand formal explanations from the sovereigns of Germany who suffered on their territory the armed emigrants. Louis XVI. complied with the desires of the assembly, and addressed representations to the German sovereigns, after which he replaced the minister of war, Du Portail, by a man filled with ambition, and who nourished vast hopes. Narbonne had promised himself to serve at once the king and the constitution, and to found his reputation on their durable understanding. He believed with reason in the imminence of war, and set about seriously to prepare for it. One hundred and fifty thousand men were put into requisition, and three armies were formed under the orders of marshal Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Luckner. The count de Provence was deposed from the regency because he had suffered the time fixed for his return to pass, and the count d'Artois and the prince

of Condé were impeached as being guilty of plots and conspiracies against the general safety of the state. The elector of Trèves promised to require the disbanding of the emigrant corps; but the diet of Ratisbonne demanded the establishment in Alsatia of the princes whom the night of the 4th of August had despoiled of their feudal rights; and Austria, which had already fifty thousand men in the Netherlands, summoned thirty thousand more from Bohemia. The post of Narbonne was a perplexing one: in the midst of these warlike preparations between the distrust of the king and the cavilling disposition of the assembly, divisions broke out in the council, and after some days' struggle he was compelled to retire; but he dragged with him in his fall Bertrand de Molleville and the unfortunate Delessart, the foreign minister, who was arrested and sent before the high court of Orleans.

Girondist Ministry.—The Girondists thus succeeded in seizing every avenue to power; they mastered the assembly by their overpowering eloquence; they had the executive power by the entrance into the ministry of all their friends, Lacoste, Clavière, Duranthon, Servau, Dumouriez, and Roland; whilst the election of Petion to the functions of mayor of Paris, in the place of Bailly, who had retired, procured to them the concurrence of the municipality of the capital, which ruled all the communes of France. The two important men of the new cabinet were the ministers for home and foreign affairs, Dumouriez and Roland; Dumouriez, an able intriguer, a Girondist from calculation, but endowed with the most brilliant talents; Roland, of narrow and somewhat systematic mind, but of upright and austere character, who has owed the greater portion of his fame to the genius and grace of his wife, the real chief of the Girondist party.

The principal mission of the *sans culotte* ministry, as it was called at court, was to declare the war which was no longer evitable. The emperor Leopold was dead, and had carried with him all hope of reconciliation. To the ultimatum of Austria the assembly replied by a declaration of war. All France rose and armed itself in a fit of enthusiasm. The invasion of Belgium had been decided upon. The first two invading columns were seized with a panic of terror on beholding the Russian army, and took to flight. The exasperation was extreme in Paris. The joy of the counter-revolutionists confirmed the suspicions of the patriots. The court was suspected of complicity with the enemy, and the assembly declared its sittings permanent. It ordered the disbanding of the king's constitutional guard, issued a decree of exile against the refractory priests, and voted the establishment of a camp under the walls of Paris. Louis XVI. raised obstacles, and did not sanction the measures taken by the assembly. Roland addressed him a severe letter upon his constitutional duties, and urged him frankly to become the king of the revolution. It was then that the feeble king decided upon breaking with the Girondists. He rejected the decrees, and dissolved the ministry, to throw himself into the arms of the Feuillants. The assembly declared that Roland, and two of his colleagues, carried with them in their retirement the regret of the nation.

Insurrection of the 20th of June.—*The Country in Danger.*—*Fall of the Monarchy.*—The Girondists were succeeded in the government by men without consideration and influence, whose names have no significance in

history; such as Scipion Chambonnas, Terrier-Monteil, Beaulieu, and Lajarre. Notwithstanding the constitutionalists congratulated the king on this act of vigour, and Lafayette, on the 16th of June, wrote from the camp at Maubeuge a letter, in which he denounced to the assembly the Jacobin faction, and demanded a severe repression of the violence of the clubs, the Feuillants possessed neither the confidence of the king nor the people. The court was secretly negotiating with the coalition. The danger was growing hourly. To avert it, the Girondists had recourse to the all-powerful intervention of the people. The anniversary of the oath of the tennis-court was approaching; Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, the butcher Legendre, the brewer Santerre, and the ex-marquis of Saint Hurgues concocted the plan of an insurrection to take place on that day.

On that day, in fact, several thousand men issued forth from the faubourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau, under the pretext of planting a tree of liberty, and presented themselves at the doors of the assembly; a deputation was admitted to the bar of the house, after a stormy discussion raised by the members of the right, who refused to receive armed petitioners. The language of the orator of the deputation was vehement. "There is no longer time for dissimulation," said he; "the plot is discovered, the hour is at hand. Blood will flow, or the tree of liberty which we are going to plant shall flourish in peace. The executive power is not agreed with us; of this we require no other proof than the dismissal of the patriot ministers. Must, then, the happiness of a people depend upon the caprice of a king? The king should have no other will than the law. The people wills it thus, and their heads are as good as those of the crowned despots. These heads constitute the family tree of the nation, and before that robust oak the feeble reed must bend. We complain, gentlemen, of the inaction of our armies. We demand that you examine into the cause of this inaction. Should it be attributable to the executive power, let it be annihilated. The blood of patriots must not flow to satisfy the pride and ambition of the perfidious inhabitants of the palace of the Tuileries." The mob, after this, obtained permission to defile through the hall of the assembly, and thirty thousand persons, men and women, passed through, singing *ça ira*, and crying, "*Vive la Nation!*" "Down with the veto!" From thence they proceeded to the Tuileries, the gates of which the king had caused to be thrown open, and invaded the apartments. Soon Louis XVI. found himself almost alone amidst this furious multitude, retired within the recess of a window, mounted on a table before which were some national guards, ready to make a rampart of their bodies; his admirable courage did not forsake him for one instant during that terrible day; he consented to put on the red night-cap that was extended towards him on the end of a pike, but he constantly refused his sanction to the decrees to which we have alluded. "This is neither the time nor the place," said Louis, with a courage and a dignity that confounded the rabble. Overwhelmed with thirst, he drank, without hesitation, out of the glass of an operative, and shouts of approbation rent the palace. On the first tidings of this invasion of the palace, some deputies hastened thither to protect the monarch. Vergniaud and others used their eloquence with the mob; and at length Petion himself, the chief magistrate of the city, appeared,

and employed his persuasion to make them evacuate the palace. When the assembly met, the Girondists were ashamed of their triumph. They were silent; but their votes crushed all efforts to discover or punish the authors of the sedition. Petion, towards evening, recovered sufficient impudence to intrude upon Louis, with an intimation that "all was quiet, and the people tranquil." "That is not true," said Louis. "Sire?"—"Be silent."—"The magistrate of the people need not be silent when he does his duty and speaks the truth," retorted Petion. The most singular circumstance of the day was the forbearance of the mob, in departing without any promise of the *veto*. Never was courage more conspicuous than that of Louis on this occasion. To an observation of alarm, he replied by taking the hand of a national guard, and placing it upon his breast, asked "Does that betray fear? It never beats more regularly." With such characteristics on either side, who would not have hoped for happier results? The issue of that day, on which the populace were infuriated and left to their own uncontrolled propensities, leads one to cast the censure of the crimes which followed more on their atrocious instigators than upon the deluded people.

This audacious violation of the royal residence had momentarily a success different from that anticipated from it by its authors. The partizans of the court were burning with indignation at the outrages lavished upon the king and the queen, who had heard more than once during the scene of the 20th of June, resounding in their ears, the threatening cry—"There is the Austrian." The constitutionalists deplored the criminal attempts against the laws and the public tranquillity. Louis XVI. was enabled at ease to reject the decrees the sanction of which had been endeavoured to be forced upon him: some of his faithful adherents endeavoured to inspire him anew with ideas of flight; but it was in vain, for he expected in future everything from the coalesced powers. Lafayette quitted his army for some days, and came, in their name, to express to the assembly their sentiments of horror at the events of the 20th of June; and he proposed to the king to carry him off from Paris and to place him at the head of the army. He also demanded of the assembly the punishment of the authors of the insurrection. The assembly commenced to deliberate whether it should not indict him as having deserted his post. He reckoned on the national guards to close the clubs, but scarcely a few men responded to his appeal. The court, blinded by its hatred, allowed the projects of the constitutionalists themselves to fail. It bargained with Danton, and thought to purchase a people, together with this athletic orator of the clubs.

The dangers on the frontiers were imminent. The Russians, at first undecided, had put themselves in motion to the number of eighty thousand men, under the duke of Brunswick, the old companion of Frederic II.; the alarm was great in Paris, for the retreat of Luckner, very inferior in forces, under the walls of Lille and Valenciennes had become known. At this intelligence the orators of the Gironde, redoubled in vehemence; Vergniaud supposing the case that Louis XVI. should endeavour to paralyse the means of defending the country, exclaimed, "Oh! king, who hast doubtless read with the tyrant Lysander, that truth was not better than falsehood, and that it was necessary to amuse even by oaths, just as children are amused by toys;

thinkest thou to deceive us by thy hypocritical professions? Thinkest thou to impose upon us as to our misfortunes, by the artifice of thy excuses? No, no; man whom the generosity of Frenchmen has not been able to render sensible, whom the love of despotism alone has been able to touch, thou art no longer anything to this constitution which thou hast so unworthily violated, to the people thou hast so basely betrayed!" Brissot, more explicit, did not even avail himself of the circuitous path of hypothesis, and formally denounced the king, as giving by his conduct a great moral force to the coalition. At this stage, one of the most honest and sincere of the representatives, the constitutional bishop of Lyons, who foresaw all the evils of the future, wished to effect a general reconciliation between all parties, and made so affecting a speech, that all the members of the assembly, seized by a generous enthusiasm, threw themselves into the arms of one another, and swore to forget all their past divisions (7th July). But soon after it became known that the mayor, Petion, and the *procureur-général* of the commune, Manuel, had been suspended from their functions by the administration of the department, owing to their participation in the events of the 20th of June, and the apparent reconciliation became a subject of universal ridicule. On the 11th of July, the president of the assembly, after a report by Hérault de Séchelles, pronounced the solemn formula resolved upon on the 7th, which declared the country in danger. Upon this all the citizens capable of bearing arms were immediately placed in active service, pikes were distributed to those whom it was not possible to arm with guns, battalions of volunteers were enlisted in the public highways, and a camp was formed at Soissons. The public excitement grew still higher by the arrival of the federals from Marseilles. Petion, who, as we have seen, had been dismissed by the directory of the department, became the idol of the people. The club of the Feuillants was closed. The national guard had to undergo calculated mutilations; the troops of the line and the Swiss, who inspired distrust to the revolutionary ring-leaders, were partly removed from Paris. Thus the unfortunate Louis XVI. had been deprived of the greater portion of his defenders, and everything was preparing for a great event.

The national assembly comprised more orators than statesmen. It was deficient in resolution, for which the people made, however, amends. The duke of Brunswick was advancing at the head of seventy thousand Prussians and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians, and emigrants. He issued a manifesto, which contained frightful threats against Paris and all the towns that should have the daring to defend themselves. All France rose indignantly. The deposition of the king was loudly demanded; and whilst the assembly was hesitating, and referred back to a committee a petition for the deposition, presented by Petion in the name of the sections and of the communes, Danton, Westermann, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and Fabre d'Eglantine were agitating the people, and exciting a fresh insurrection. The legislative assembly was in the greatest tumult, the constitutionalists knew the projects of their enemies, and made desperate efforts to prevent their explosion, by acts of vigour; the 8th of August, the arraignment of Lafayette was mooted, and it was with great difficulty that they obtained a majority in favour of acquittal; on leaving the assembly they were ill-treated, and threatening words sounded in

their ears. Paris, abandoned to itself, was now entirely in the power of the leaders of the popular party, and the insurrectional movement had been fixed for the 10th. The agitators assembled at the commune had formed an insurrectional municipality, and taken into their hands the government, which was falling from the hands of the legislators. Alarm reigned in the palace, and the court had taken some measures of defence. From eight to nine hundred Swiss had been drawn up in the interior; the officers of the old guard, indifferently armed with sabres, swords, and pistols, had hastened to the palace, to defend royalty in this extreme peril; the ministers had accomplished their duty, and occupied their places by the side of the king; the commander of the national guard, Mandat, had given orders for the most faithful battalions to repair to the Tuileries; and the royal residence was surrounded by artillery. Towards four o'clock in the morning, the queen sent for Roederer, the *procureur* of the commune, and asked his counsel. Roederer replied that he saw no means of safety for the king save in going to the national assembly; and this advice, which was then not the best, since it was possible to resist, did not prevail. At five o'clock, Louis descended, and reviewed the different troops, who received him with repeated cries of "Long live the king." But at the same time battalions armed with pikes were approaching, who cried "Down with the veto! down with the traitor!" and the unfortunate monarch re-entered the palace greatly cast down. Division had crept in among the ranks of those who had the painful mission of defending the Tuileries. The national guard had seen with disfavour that the suspected troop of gentlemen had been mingled with them, and murmurs of disapproval had circulated against the aristocrats. Mandat, who had been summoned by the commune, at the Hotel de Ville, had not returned; he had been massacred on the way. The unity of command no longer existed, and the supreme moment of the crisis was approaching.

At midnight, the ringleaders of the insurrection which was concocting at the faubourg St. Antoine, had given the signal for the movement, the drums had beaten to arms, the tocsin had been sounded, and collected together all who were destined to be the heroes of the day. The assembled sections had withdrawn from the municipality the confidence of the people, and a new council-general of the commune, appointed by them, had installed itself at the Hotel de Ville. This was the insurrectional power which, with the view of disorganising the defence of the palace, had summoned the unfortunate Mandat to appear before them. Towards six o'clock in the morning of the 10th of August, the several columns of the insurgents were complete. Santerre led the inhabitants of the faubourg St. Antoine. That of St. Marceau sent an equal force. They went to the number of twenty thousand to the arsenal, after having pillaged which, they marched towards the Tuileries by both banks of the Seine; the federals, from Marseilles and Brittany, who had arrived in the rue St. Honoré, had already invaded the Carousel, and directed the mouths of their guns against the palace. Roederer, at the head of the department, attempted to harangue them; but his words were not heeded. The national guard showed little resolution, and the Swiss alone remained to defend the palace.

Seeing this, Roederer advised Louis to abandon the château, and retire

with his family to the national assembly. The queen violently opposed this step. "Madame," said he, "you will have to answer for the lives of the king and of all his family, as well as of those collected here to defend you." This apostrophe decided Louis, and he resolved to follow at once the advice of Roederer. A difficulty still remained: to traverse the crowd, and to prevent the royalists of the château from following the royal family; the latter were induced to disperse. After suffering unnumbered insults, Louis, followed by his queen and children, the dauphin in the arms of a pioneer, entered the assembly betwixt eight and nine o'clock. "Gentlemen, I am come," said he, "to spare the perpetration of a great crime; I cannot be more safe than among you, gentlemen." "Sire," replied the president, Vergniaud, "you may rely on the firmness of the national assembly; its members have sworn to die in maintaining the rights of the people and of the constituted authorities." The king was at first seated in an arm chair near the president, but a deputy having observed that his presence marred the freedom of debate, he was compelled to remove, accompanied by his family and his ministers, to the box reserved for the reporters, situated behind the president's *bureau*. His departure had dismayed the defenders of the Tuileries; the remainder of the *gendarmérie* had taken advantage of it to disband, amidst cries of "Long live the nation!" and the artillerymen of the national guard had joined the federals. There was no longer any necessity for defending the château, since the king had left it, but there remained a terrible question to solve between the assailants and the assailed—a question of life and death. The Swiss, stationed at the windows, were standing with arms shouldered, in an attitude full of anxiety; for a moment it was supposed that everything was about to pass off without the effusion of blood; then, when both sides advanced, as if to fraternise, shots were fired, and the affray became general. At the first discharge of musketry which issued from the interior, the Marseillais, seized with panic terror, dispersed, and the place des Carousels was cleared. Soon after, however, the aggressors reappeared, more eager and in greater force, at the moment when the Swiss were receiving the king's orders to retire and abandon the château.

D'Hervilly, who had been sent by the king with this order, made known the unseasonable command, most absurdly, to only one battalion of the Swiss. It thought proper to obey, and repair to the assembly, where it was instantly disarmed; and thus the remaining two or three hundred were left exposed to all the fury of the mob, rendered vindictive by their own cowardice and defeat. The Marseillais, finding the approaches of the château unguarded, rushed in. The Swiss, with diminished numbers, seeing themselves sacrificed, defended, for a short time the staircase. But surrounded on all sides—for others of the mob had attacked by the gardens—they were overpowered and massacred. The victorious rabble once more filled the halls and saloons of the palace, murdering most of those who fell in their way; yet sparing some, from caprice more than mercy. Eighteen Swiss took refuge in the chapel, and offered to surrender if their lives were spared. The promise was speedily given; and the Swiss not the less inhumanly butchered. The first attack took place about nine o'clock; by eleven the mob were masters of the Tuileries. Their victory, or rather their previous defeat, is said to

have cost them three thousand slain. Of the royalists and Swiss about half that number perished. Among these fell, where more of his order should have fallen, on the steps of the throne, the marquis of Clermont-Tonnerre. The marshal de Mailly, though of the age of eighty-five, and commanding the little band of gentry on this day, escaped, to perish afterwards beneath the axe.

Shut up in his narrow box in the assembly, Louis XVI. heard the cannon, which boomed forth the last hour of the monarchy; the moment of captivity had arrived. The assembly, which had listened in fear to the sound of the artillery, and which had almost feared that it was the signal of an attack against its inviolability, breathed again when the insurrection was completed, and put itself in an attitude to regulate its consequences. The Girondists, who had played an entirely passive part during that day, from the mayor Petion downwards, who had been sequestered at the Hotel de Ville, so that his responsibility should be sheltered, deemed themselves at first destined to be the inheritors of royalty, and believed themselves entitled to a large share in the future revolution; but the real conquerors were loud in voice, and calculated upon deriving the advantages of the movement which was their work. The municipality of the 10th of August, appeared at the bar of the house, as if to claim the sanction of its existence, and demanded the deposition of the king. This was the unanimous wish of the petitioners, and the assembly, which dared not decree so flagrant an act of spoliation, adopted a medium course, which adjourned the discussion, and threw on others the heavy responsibility. The assembly, by a decree, suspended the monarch from his functions, and ordered the formation of a national convention and a new ministry. A peach and some bread composed the nourishment of the royal family during this disastrous day. The dauphin was asleep in the arms of his mother, and the future duchess d'Angoulême weeping betwixt her parents. They were obliged to remain in this situation till one in the morning; when two narrow cells, of the ancient monks of the convent, in which the assembly sat, received the monarch and his family, who but yesterday had still a palace for their prison. They were removed in close custody to the Temple, on the 14th August, on the declaration of the commune that that was the only place in which they could answer for their safety.

In the meantime, the old ministers of the Gironde, Roland, Servan, and Clairère, were restored to their respective offices, and the redoubtable Danton, the ringleader of the conspiracy of the 10th of August, took his place by their side in the council. The decree against the priests who had not taken the oaths, so obstinately repulsed by the king, received its execution, and about four thousand ecclesiastics were expelled from France; finally, notwithstanding the legitimate repugnance of the assembly to exceptional tribunals, it was compelled to yield to the imperious exigencies of the new municipality, which had sent deputation after deputation to the bar of the assembly, and one of whose body had pronounced the following menace: "As a citizen, and as a magistrate of the people, I come to acquaint the assembly, that this evening, at midnight, the tocsin will sound and the drums beat to arms. The people are weary of being balked of vengeance. Beware that they do not do themselves justice. I demand, that instantly you vote a criminal tribunal, composed of one

member from each section." An extraordinary tribunal to judge the crimes of the 10th of August and the royalist conspirators of that famous day, was accordingly created on the 17th of August. When the provisional organisation of the means of government had been once completed, it remained to make this second revolution accepted by the departments and the army. The former submitted without a murmur. The army, which, thanks to the solemnity of the military oath and to the empire of discipline, preserved still a remnant of fidelity to the constitution, learnt the overthrow of the throne with a degree of sorrow. Lafayette, who had in the highest degree the religion of plighted faith, excited the soldiers against the events of the 10th of August. But this could be no otherwise than a powerless effort; the enemy became too threatening for the army to think seriously upon anything but the defence of the country; the subordinate officers, moreover, saw nothing in this defection of a chief, but a question of advancement, and Dumouriez, who was next in command, adroitly availed himself of the occasion to reinstate himself in the good opinion of the Girondists. A decree of accusation was issued against Lafayette, who was obliged to fly, accompanied merely by his staff. He then fell into the hands of the enemy, and was detained by them for a long time in the prisons of Olmutz, from whence he was only delivered some years later, at the period of the peace of Campo-Formio, and through the intervention of general Bonaparte. His command was given to the ambitious general Dumouriez.

Foreign Invasion.—Massacres of September.—Retreat of the Prussian Army.—The Prussians, meanwhile, were rapidly advancing; Longwy capitulated, Verdun was bombarded. The road to Paris was open. The alarm in the capital was general, and, already, in the executive council, there had been a suggestion of retiring behind the Loire; but Danton declared that Paris was France, and must be defended at all risks. "My advice," said he, "is to confound the agitators, and to stop the enemy by striking terror into the royalists." This advice produced the imprisonment of hundreds of persons considered not sufficiently zealous in the revolutionary cause. On the 30th of August, all the gaols in Paris were overflowing, and the most sinister reports were in circulation about the fate of these unfortunate prisoners, who, for the greater part, belonged to the two proscribed classes of the noblesse and the clergy. On the night of the 1st of September, at the moment when the citizens who had been put in requisition had departed for the frontiers, the news of the capture of Verdun by the Prussians reached Paris. Immediately the tocsin sounded, the cannon of alarm was fired, and the drums beat to arms. Soon after mid-day, as the mob gathered round the *Place*, before the Hotel de Ville, a number of priests who were under accusation, amounting to twenty-four, were brought forth and placed in coaches, to be conveyed to the prison of the Abbaye. They set forth, escorted by the Marseillais and by the mob, who pursued them with execrations and with menaces. They reached at length the court of the prison, where Maillard, the man who had headed the female deputation to the palace of Versailles, in 1789, awaited with his band the first victims of the day. As each ecclesiastic descended from the carriage, he was stricken down by an hundred blows. Of the twenty-four, the abbé Sicard alone escaped;

and that almost by a miracle. Billaud-Varennes, officer of the municipality arrived just as the last victim fell, and exclaimed, "People, you do your duty! Immolate your enemies!" "There is nothing more to do here," cried Maillard: "to the *Carmes*!" This was a convent in which two hundred of the principal ecclesiastics of the kingdom were confined. One by one they were led forth and massacred. Some of the assassins had particular victims to despatch, and were obliged to wipe the faces of the dead, in order to ascertain whether the task was surely fulfilled.

Thence the assassins returned to the Abbaye, and proceeded in form. They prepared a table. Maillard constituted himself judge, with a dozen aids or assessors. He called for a list of the prisoners, which was delivered, the very gaoler fainting with horror at the scene which must follow. Maillard then addressed his comrades with the mockery of reason and calmness, and passed a panegyric upon justice. "Do you," said he to the band of assassins, "place yourselves outside the gate. When I pronounce that the culprit should be transferred to *La Force*, strike him down and slay him as he goes out." The artifice was applauded, as preventing struggles and difficulties; and the prisoners summoned. The first were Swiss. They met with no favour; were ordered out of the gate, and massacred. This scene was continued till late in the night, and this frightful butchery was continued on the two following days. The assassins paused at times to refresh themselves with wine. The women, however, were spared. The daughter of the singular Cazotte saved her aged parent. Mademoiselle de Sombreuil made the same efforts in behalf of her father, when a ruffian presented her with a goblet of blood, saying, "Drink, drink, the blood of the aristocrats." To have some claim to pity, she actually swallowed the horrid draught, and M. de Sombreuil was spared. Others were preserved by the display of courage, and extorted pardon by exciting admiration. One thousand livres were registered in the books of the municipality, as payment for these deeds. Each prison presented a similar scene. The number massacred is calculated at 13,000.

Amongst those confined at *La Force* was the unfortunate and lovely princess De Lamballe, the friend of Marie Antoinette. She met no mercy. The pen refuses to trace the ineffable horrors committed on her remains. Her head, borne on a pike, was brought in procession to the Temple, where the *commune* had confined Louis and his queen. They were startled by the unusual tumult, and demanded the cause. Rushing to look at the window, Marie Antoinette was prevented by her guards. She pressed for explanation; and it was given—"they sought to prevent her beholding the head of the princess Lamballe!" She fainted at the words in the arms of the no less wretched monarch.

Whilst the municipality, under the orders of *the minister of justice*, thus perpetuated the disgrace of the nation, the legislative assembly, ashamed, indignant, but powerless, sat witnessing the crimes which its conduct had induced, and which it could not prevent. Its legal authority was expiring; the elections had already commenced for returning the members of the future convention: not, however, ere it had abdicated all real power and influence in favour of the sanguinary *commune*. Thus the first national assembly expired in an act of folly, the other in blood and crime.

In the meanwhile the Prussians were steadily approaching, **when** Dumouriez, appointed to the command of the army on the Moselle, threw himself, by an inspiration of genius, in the forest of Argonne; he occupied, as he wrote to the assembly, "the French Thermopylæ." The progress of the Prussians was arrested. An error committed by Dumouriez compelled him to abandon his position. But Kellerman, attacked by the Prussians at Valmy, drove them back amidst shouts of *Vive la nation*. The enemy, to whom the emigrants had represented this campaign as a military promenade, commenced immediately to beat a retreat. The French re-entered Longwy and Verdun, and the enemy recrossed the Rhine to Coblenz. Whilst the enemy were everywhere retreating, the French armies were resuming an aggressive attitude; the revolution was victorious (1792).

VIII. THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

I. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE GIRONDISTS AND THE MOUNTAIN.

(FROM 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1792, TO 2ND JUNE, 1793.)

Opening of the National Convention.—The national convention assembled on the 20th September, the very day on which the Prussians quailed at Valmy, and gave up victory to the cause of republicanism. In its very first sittings it had abolished royalty, proclaimed the republic, and dated its acts from year I. of the French republic. The composition of this assembly, elected under the influence of the massacres of September, was a faithful reflex of the public mind of Paris and the provinces; in it were found the eloquent deputies of the Gironde, who had been distinguished in the legislative assembly, by the side of the old members of the constituent assembly, such as Petion and Burzot, who had not yet been outstripped by public opinion, in the face of the excited revolutionists who forestalled it. The capital, under the sway of the Jacobins and the *commune*, had returned significant names, such as Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, the painter David, Robespierre the younger, Collot d'Herbois, Legendre, Panis, Sergent, Billaud-Varennes, and even Marat. The duke of Orleans, who had assumed the name of Philippe Egalité, had also solicited the suffrages of the people, and obtained a place in this assembly, which had only met for the purpose of condemning his royal and unfortunate cousin. The Girondists sat on the right in the hall of the assembly; the Parisian deputies occupied the extreme left, called the *Crest* or the *Mountain*, from the elevated benches on which they sat; whilst in the centre sat those who were still free from party ties, and who intended to decide according to their personal impressions; these constituted what was termed the *Plain*. The Girondists had returned more ardent and more numerous; they were eager to repudiate that degree of moral complicity which their silence had caused to weigh upon them during the massacres of September; they deemed themselves certain of the majority, and intended vigorously to use it against their enemies. The departments, though they had accepted the disappearance of royalty, which for two or three years had already been no more than a dead letter, disavowed the massacres of the prisons, and rebelled against the omnipotence of the *commune* of Paris. This *commune*, in fact, was the most irresistible power of the day, for it had on its side the Mountain in the assembly, the club of the Jacobins with its innumerable ramifications, the *sans-culottes* of the sections, and all the men of passion and of action whom the revolution had cast out of their narrow spheres, and who were struggling to achieve some importance. The contest between the two parties began by violent personalities. Robes-

pierre, who had only played a very insignificant part during the entire of the constituent assembly under the leadership of Danton, better fitted for the struggle than himself, now reached the foremost rank, thanks to his dogmatism and to a sustained reputation of incorruptibility; he had succeeded by the force of obstinacy and perseverance in establishing on a solid basis his sway at the club of the Jacobins, and his enemies already accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship. This reproach was at least premature; it had no foundation but the preachings of Marat, that ferocious maniac who had so often extolled murder, and who at that moment saw no means of safety for the republic save in the appointment of a dictator charged solely with condemning the traitors. These vague and inconsistent indices sufficed to the Girondists to attack Robespierre. "There exists in this assembly," exclaimed Rebecqui, of Marseilles, "a party which aspires to the dictatorship, and the chief of this party, I will name him, is Robespierre." Another Marseillais, Barbaroux, who had taken a considerable share in the events of the 10th of August, confirmed the assertions of his colleague; and the witty Louvet indulged in a long and violent diatribe against the accused. Robespierre, who felt himself supported within and without the walls of the assembly, had no difficulty in defending himself, and did so with emphasis and an appearance of victory, which obtained for him the applause of the galleries and of the Jacobin club. The Girondists had created a void around themselves; they had lost the aid of the constitutionalists without obtaining that of the democrats. They endeavoured to ally themselves to Danton, but could not decide upon grasping a hand stained with the blood of September. The sittings of the convention were passed in reciprocal accusations and threats. The crimes of some men weighed heavy on the destinies of France. The most inveterate attacks of the Girondists were directed against the violent dictatorship of the commune. They were levelled at Marat, the apostle of murder. Marat endeavoured to address the assembly amidst shouts of "Down from the tribune!" "I have," said he, "in this assembly, a great many personal enemies." "All of us! all of us!" was the clamorous interruption and reply of the greater part of the members. Marat undauntedly continued, "I have personal enemies in this assembly. I recall them to a sense of shame;" and availing himself of the surprise caused by this strange opening, he developed his theories of dictatorship and extermination. The assembly was struck with stupor by this audacious apology; the Girondists demanded that a guard of three thousand men, drawn from the provinces, should be given to the convention. This proposition completely compromised them. The Mountain accused them of sowing among the nation the seeds of federalism; and as if to oppose themselves to their fatal projects, they succeeded in obtaining a decree declaring the republic *one and indivisible*.

Trial and Execution of Louis XVI.—Soon after this, the Mountain, dissatisfied with the composition of the committee of the constitution, almost exclusively formed of their adversaries, Petion, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Barrère, Sieyès, and the American Thomas Paine, and in which a single member of their party, Danton, had found place, began again to agitate the terrible question of the trial of Louis XVI. They knew that this extreme measure was repugnant to the Girondists;

that the secret desire of the majority of them was to save the unfortunate monarch, and that it would thus be easy to excite the distrust of the people against them.

After the idea of the trial had been once put forth, everything was rapidly arranged for its speedy realisation. The public mind was excited by the reading of documents found in the offices of the civil list, which proved the understanding of Louis XVI. with the coalition and the emigration; and later, the discovery of the famous iron chest, in which the amplest details had been discovered of the intrigues of the court, of its negotiations with Mirabeau, of the plans of Bouillé, and even of ulterior projects, had increased the popular exasperation. The club of the Jacobins destroyed the bust of Mirabeau, and his body was torn from the Pantheon. Addresses were drawn up to demand the condemnation of the tyrant; the Jacobin clubs of the provinces, instigated by that of the capital, met for the purpose of writing violent letters to the assembly; the sections presented themselves at the bar of the house; the wounded of the 10th of August came to cry for vengeance against the conquered. The unfortunate prisoner of the Temple foresaw his lot, of which he had many a fatal foreboding; he only lived in the expectation of the executioner. Rigourously watched by the *commune*, and reduced to a single servant, the faithful Cléry, he led a simple and monotonous life with the queen, his sister Madame Elizabeth, and his two children. He frequently read Hume's History of England, and dwelt often on the last moments of Charles I., whose fate appeared so similar to his own. When his trial commenced, he was separated from his family, and his existence then became a long agony. The convention, yielding to the influence of petitions and threats, had at length resolved upon this fearful extremity, and the committee of legislation had presented a report concluding that Louis XVI. might be judged by their assembly.

Accordingly, Louis XVI., who had been four months a prisoner in the Temple, was placed upon his trial, and heard the act of accusation read against him (11th December). His countenance was calm and full of dignity; he replied mildly, but, at the same time, energetically, to all the questions put to him, and frequently astonished his judges by the moderation and the pertinency of his replies. His calm dignity silenced the noisy galleries, excited the pity of the Girondists, and even shook many of the Jacobins in their cruel resolves. Once alone he made use of a tone approaching to indignation; it was when he repelled the charge of spilling the blood of his subjects on the 10th of August. A new debate arose as to whether he should have defenders; they were not conceded without a struggle. Louis selected Target and Tronchet; the former declined the dangerous office, which Lamoignon Malesherbes himself proffered to undertake. He said, "I have been twice called to assist at his council table, when such a summons was an object of ambition to every one; I owe him the same service now that it is a function many persons would consider dangerous." The meeting betwixt the venerable man and the fallen prince was touching in the extreme. Malesherbes fell at the feet of his royal master; words could not express the feelings of either. Louis was allowed until the 26th to prepare his defence, on which day he attended once more before the convention, attended by his defenders. The young Deseze, who had been added to their number,

pronounced the monarch's defence, which was listened to amidst breathless silence. His plea for the king wound up with the words, no less true than solemn: "Louis, placed on the throne at the age of twenty, was a pattern of morality, justice, and economy; he had no foible, no contaminating passion; he was the constant friend of the people. The people wished to have some imperious impost removed, Louis removed it; the people wished for the abolition of agrarian servitude, Louis abolished it; the people desired reforms, he put them in execution; the people wished to change the laws, he consented; the people wished that millions of Frenchmen should recover their native rights, he restored them; the people longed for liberty, he gave it. He anticipated their demands: he sacrificed all to them: and yet it is in the name of this people that some this day stand forth to demand—Citizens, I cannot go on; I leave the task to history. Reflect, that history will pass judgment upon your sentence, and that hers will be also that of eternity." The assembly was moved, but an extraordinary tumult reigned in Paris; the members of the Mountain, who feared an acquittal, accused the Girondists of royalism; the sections were on foot; the club of the Jacobins re-echoed with fiery declamations against the timid representatives; and it became evident that if Louis should escape a condemnation, this judicial drama might be converted into an assassination. The discussion that followed in the assembly was long and earnest. Robespierre said, "The last proof of devotion we owe to our country is, to stifle in our hearts every sentiment of sensibility." Vergniaud, the most eloquent orator of the Gironde, treated the accusation of Louis as a fresh step towards a frightful anarchy: he asked what guarantees they had against the authors of the massacre of September; and drew a striking picture of the scenes that soon filled France with bloodshed. A Girondist, convinced of the impossibility of an acquittal, proposed an appeal to the people, and this question excited for eight days the most stormy debates, which still further exasperated all minds. The appeal to the people was rejected by a great majority. The final question of the sentence was put on the evening of the 16th of January. Each member was called to the tribune to give his vote aloud, in presence of the applause or execration of the galleries. Of the party of the Mountain the universal vote was, of course, death; still that of Egalité duke of Orleans, as he pronounced the fatal word against his relation and sovereign, jarred upon the feelings even of that hardened assembly. Of the Gironde many voted simply for death, in fear and despair it should seem; twenty-six of their number, amongst whom was Vergniaud, voted for death, with reprieve or delay of execution. The number present was 721. The bare majority was thus 361; and but 361 voices were for death without condition. But Vergniaud and his friends had declared their vote independent of their condition, which was but a vow and recommendation, and by this means their faintheartedness raised the majority to 387 against 334 voices, which were for imprisonment during war and exile after peace. In vain the Girondists endeavoured to amend their weakness by again agitating the question of reprieve; the hour of useful resolve was passed. The president, Vergniaud, on declaring the result of the scrutiny, said, with a voice of emotion, "I declare, in the name of the convention, that the sentence which it pronounces against Louis Capet, is that of death."

Some sobs were heard amongst the audience; they were those of the aged Malesherbes, who wept at the fate of his king. The king's defenders had recourse to a means that had already been rejected, that of proposing an appeal to the nation, but the convention passed to the order of the day. Nothing now could save the head of Louis XVI. from the scaffold; when Malesherbes went to announce to him his condemnation he threw himself into his arms, and the minister of justice charged with notifying the sentence to him, found him calm and resigned. The monarch heard it without emotion, except a smile of indignation at one word, that which accused him of conspiracy. He was prepared; and taking the decree of condemnation from the secretary, he handed in return to that personage a written paper, asking amongst a few other requests, three days to prepare for death, and a confessor of his choice. The convention, as soon as consulted, refused the delay, but gave orders that a confessor should be admitted to the Temple. The abbé Edgeworth being selected by the king, accordingly repaired to him. At seven in the evening his family was allowed to visit him, but not in private. His guardians insisted on witnessing, through a glass door, this most melancholy of domestic interviews. It lasted nearly two hours. Louis spoke the greater part of the time, related the circumstances of his trial, and endeavoured to soothe the distracted queen and princesses. They found utterance but in the convulsive sobs of anguish. In parting, he promised to see them early on the morrow. But no sooner had they gone than he observed, "I cannot." He resolved to spare both them and himself this further trial. He was engaged until midnight with his confessor. He then went to bed, and slept soundly till five, when he arose, heard mass in the chamber, and received the sacrament, the guards affording the means of performing these ceremonies with the greatest difficulty. Neither would they allow him a knife for his last repast, nor scissors to cut off his locks, and bare his neck for execution. "The executioner is a valet good enough for him," was the observation.

At nine o'clock, drums and the rattling of vehicles announced Santerre, who came to conduct Louis to the fatal scaffold. He did not stay to be summoned, but merely handing to one of his guards a paper, that proved to be his testament, he said, "Let us proceed." Placed in a coach betwixt two gendarmes, he was led across almost the whole extent of the capital, to the Place Louis Quinze. Every shop was shut and window closed. The middle classes were struck at once with pity and consternation; even the armed rabble who lined the streets observed a profound silence. The procession lasted two hours. Arrived at the place of execution, the king stripped himself of his coat and vest, and opened his shirt. The executioner approached to bind his hands. He resisted this indignity, till the abbé Edgeworth observed, "Sire, I see in this new outrage but a fresh point of resemblance betwixt your fate and that of the God who will be your recompense." On hearing this, Louis submitted, muttering, with upcast eyes, "Do as you will, I must drink the cup to the dregs." He then began to ascend the scaffold, feebly at first, till finding strength as he reached the top, he stepped firmly across it to the front, and spoke with a voice that all the crowd could distinctly hear—"I die innocent of the crimes imputed to me. I pardon the authors of my death; and my last prayer is, that the blood about to be shed may

not be visited upon France." At this moment the drums drowned his voice, the axe descended, and while Edgeworth uttered the words, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven," the king ceased to live, amidst loud cries round the scaffold of "Long live the republic! Long live the nation!"

His corpse was carried in a cart to the parish church in St. Magdeline; it was there laid by the side of those who are mentioned as having perished at his marriage. The grave was filled with quick-lime, and a guard placed over it until it was consumed; The bones were deposited, in 1815, in the chancel of St. Denis.

No one can read the history of Louis without discovering traces of a disposition the most amiable and humane. He was amply anxious to promote the welfare of the people: and although not bold and courageous in prosperity, he displayed in his adversity a noble spirit and magnanimous disposition; he was not, however, formed to govern, especially during a period of universal excitement. If Providence had designed him for a martyr, it could not have bestowed a character more apt or perfect to sustain that trying part. Long will it be ere the stain left on the cause of liberty by the pure and guiltless blood of the royal victim, shall be utterly effaced!

The evening before the execution of Louis, Paris, one of the body guards, assassinated one of the judges who had voted for the sentence of death, Lepelletier de Saint-Fargeau. The convention awarded to Lepelletier the honours of the Pantheon, whither it accompanied his body. England ordered its ambassador to quit France; the convention replied by a declaration of war against England and Holland. Already, on the 6th of November, 1792, the battle of Jemappes had carried the arms of the revolution into the heart of Belgium. The decrees of the 19th of November and the 5th of December, in which the convention promised assistance and fraternity to all the nations desirous of recovering their liberty, announced to the coalesced kings the nature of the reprisals they had to fear.

Overthrow of the Gironde.—Thus, the death of the king had become the signal of an implacable war abroad, and a more implacable one at home. It threatened above all the Girondists, though many of them had voted with the Mountain. The forces of both parties were unequal: not only because the Girondists had with them the majority in the convention, and the Mountain the people of Paris; but also because the Mountain had faith in itself, whilst among their opponents everything was hesitation and contradiction. This immense power of faith would of itself have sufficed to insure its victory; events were destined still further to contribute to it; England and La Vendée were about to become its involuntary, but most terrible-allies. At first parties seemed desirous of showing their progress, and to show—the one, that legal order had not been destroyed, the other, that the popular will was the only law. On the very day that the execution of Louis XVI. was ordered within twenty-four hours, the Gironde had decreed prosecutions against the authors and accomplices of the September massacres; fifteen days after, the Mountain stopped these prosecutions. Robespierre and Marat were in possession of the *commune*, the Jacobins of the sections and the armed power; they had only left to the Girondists the convention,

and they were now incessantly at work to deprive them even of this last asylum.

The clamours recommenced in the midst of the popular societies, and an insurrectionary spirit again broke out in the capital. Its cause lay in the general distress, in the dearness of bread and of all necessaries, aggravated by the recent declaration of war against England and Holland. A revolution such as the present, which had swept the rich from the face of the land, and converted even the moderately wealthy into trembling misers, necessarily threw all the population hitherto dependent on the expenses of these classes into indigence. Up to this moment the *commune* had paid them the produce of its plunders as the price of insurrection. This fund was now exhausted. Universal war made such a large demand that the *commune* could no longer obtain funds from the convention, somewhat jealous of it, whilst the depreciation of *assignats*, or republican paper, rendered aid illusory, and left the people utterly without the means of procuring even bread. They were numerous and armed. They crowded to the convention and demanded that corn should nowhere be sold for more than twenty-five livres the sack, under penalty to the vender of being sent to the galleys. Marat himself, in the convention, exclaimed against the *maximum*, as this measure was called. Robespierre made similar efforts in the Jacobins. Danton alone held back, and still kept his club of the Cordeliers true to the prevailing spirit of the populace. His brother anarchists soon acknowledged his wisdom, and shuffled round once more to lead the popular cry. Marat, in some ten days after, having opposed the *maximum*, recommended the mob, in his journal, to pillage a few magazines, and hang the monopolisers. He was accused of this by the Gironde, and new tumults arose in the assembly. The Parisian populace adopted the advice of Marat. After the dearness of bread, that of sugar, candles, and such necessities, was most severely felt since the war with England. Crowds of women accordingly proceeded to the grocers' shops, and demanded these articles at the old prices, and some at no price at all. A scene of plunder now ensued, which was at length put a stop to by the federals of Brest and some national guards. During this time, an extraordinary criminal tribunal was established to judge crimes against the revolution. The Girondists could not prevent its establishment, but succeeded in obtaining the addition of juries to it, to be selected not merely from Paris, but the departments. The people of Paris were led by haranguers recommending *liberty*, *equality*, and *fraternity*, and a nocturnal rising was conceived at the clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, for the annihilation of the Gironde. It passed off. Vergniaud denounced the intended murderers. "We go on," he cried, "from crimes to amnesties, and from amnesties to crimes. . . . Citizens, it is to be feared that the revolution, like Saturn, may successively devour all its children, and engender only despotism with all its calamities." His speech created an impression, but the conspirators of the 10th of March remained unpunished, and they postponed their sinister projects to a more propitious opportunity.

In the midst of these internal complications, the campaign of 1793 had opened at the frontier of the north, and on the Rhine. Tidings of the loss of the battle of Nerwinden and of the rebellion in La Vendée

reached the capital simultaneously. The revolution was threatened. The fears of the coalition and of the royalists threw the majority of the convention and the nation itself into the arms of the most extreme party. After the death of Louis XVI., England, Holland, and Spain, had united their arms with those of the German powers; Russia was occupied with the second dismemberment of Poland, so little did they who invoked the rights of kings respect those of the people. The convention had to combat on different points three hundred and forty-eight thousand men; a levy of three hundred thousand men had been ordered to meet these perils from without. The desperate resolution of these soldiers, their republican pride, the pledge and the cause of success, gave exaggerated hopes to some of their generals, which of themselves would have been a source of danger; and the most renowned of them gave too much grounds for this distrust. Dumouriez, after the conquest of Belgium, had directed an expedition against Holland; being dissatisfied with the march of events, he intended to avail himself against the convention of some friends he had in the two parties, and to deceive both, for the purpose of re-establishing the monarchy. Recalled from Holland, in consequence of the reverses of other generals, he came to combat the prince of Coburg, gave him battle at Nerwinden and lost it. There was a cry of treason; the club of the Jacobins sent three of its members to sound his intentions. He frankly dared to avow them. The convention immediately sent four representatives, Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, together with the minister of war, Beurnonville, to arrest him. Far from surrendering himself, he delivered them as hostages to the Austrians: he then tried to win over his army, which refused to follow him. A battalion of volunteers fired upon his escort, and he had no other resource but to join the Austrians, by whom he was honourably received, and who offered him command, which he, however, declined. The requisition for three hundred thousand men produced a rebellion in La Vendée, a district much wooded, without roads, and without share in the revolution. The peasants of Brittany, of Anjou, and of lower Poitou, were above all repugnant to quit their homes: devoted to the catholic religion, they were averse to defending a revolution which was cursed by their priests. They repulsed general after general, and had on foot three corps of ten or twelve thousand men each.

The assembly was not disconcerted in the face of all these dangers. It placed all the members of the Bourbon family in a state of arrest; created the famous committee of public safety, consisting of twelve members, to watch over the security of the representatives, and emitted twelve hundred millions of assignats. These events excited to a frenzy the hatred of the people against royalty; the Mountain profited by it to destroy the Girondists, who were accused of professing in a less degree that principal virtue of the period. At first they were denounced by the sections, who demanded their expulsion; insults were lavished upon them by the crowd; murder threatened them. The principal instigator of these manœuvres, Marat, was accused, acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, and carried in triumph. Guadet proposed a bold appeal to the people of the departments against the *commune* of Paris; he wished for the dissolution of the convention, and for a new assembly at Bourges. Such a step might doubtless have saved the Girondists; but would it

have saved France from la Vendée and from Europe? The intermediate or moderate party did not believe it; it was desirous of holding the balance between the two extremes, by creating a commission of twelve members charged with preventing plots, and prosecuting their authors; but the Girondists made themselves masters of the commission, as of an instrument, and the exasperation redoubled. Danton undertook to commence the realisation of the recent prophecy of Vergniaud, that "the revolution, like Saturn, would devour all its children."

The commission of twelve took their parts in earnest; they disquieted the municipality by their investigations, and discovered the traces of a conspiracy, the execution of which was fixed for the 22nd May, and they arrested Hebert, the procureur of the *commune*, and editor of a famous journal, called the *Père Duchesne*. This was a declaration of war; the threatened Jacobins immediately assumed the attitude of resistance; and during the following days the convention was hourly assailed by deputations demanding that the commission of twelve should be broken, and Hebert liberated. In vain the assembly passed a vote that it intrusted its dignity and safety to the guard of all good citizens. The citizens friendly to order, unsupported, unled, unrallied, shrunk in terror to their homes, abandoning the city and the national representatives to the *sans culotte* band of the anarchists. These at length, on the 27th, appeared in a body at the door of the convention, bearing a general petition of the sections. The majority of the assembly expostulated and protested in vain. Numbers of the mob burst into the place of sitting, and took their seats with the members. In vain the Girondists cried to the president to cover himself or quit the chair, the assembly being no longer free, no longer consisting of representatives. Héroult and de Séchelles, who presided, persisted in putting the question, that the commission of twelve be broken, and Hebert liberated. The mob voted with the members, and the motion was carried.

On the morrow, the 28th, the first act of the majority was to protest that the decree had not passed, and that the commission of twelve consequently was still in force. The convention was of this opinion; the motion voted by the intruding rabble was reversed; but at the same time, the majority betrayed their fears, and sought, as usual, a compromise with the populace. Thus, while they preserved the obnoxious commission, they undid its acts, and deprived it of all force by ordering Hebert and the prisoners to be released. Such weakness emboldened but did not conciliate the people; while it utterly discouraged the still wavering supporters of order and the convention. The anarchists in the *commune* found the public assemblies unfit to organise the final act of sedition; and accordingly they appointed a committee of six to combat the convention's committee of twelve. "Try any way," said Danton to the Gironde, "in prudence and policy, or in audacity and revolutionary vigour, we will still surpass you."

The 29th of May was spent by the anarchists in planning; the 30th, in preparing for the insurrection. The ministry, the commission of twelve, remained paralysed, awaiting the blow; whilst the Girondist deputies were driven to conceal themselves, and fled from lodging to lodging, confessing their feebleness, and lamenting their too evident fate!

They had not amongst them one man of action. Three sections armed, and showing firm countenances, had declared against the insurrection; yet none of the Gironde showed himself amongst them. The counsel of Louvet was flight. "There is no more for us to do in Paris," said he; "at the mercy of conspirators and anarchists, when an insurrection of the departments can alone answer or put down that of the capital. Let us fly then each to our own province, for if we be taken and kept as hostages by the Mountain, it will but paralyse our friends!" The leading Girondists scorned Louvet's counsel, and resolved to have insurrection. They would die, they thought, in their curule chairs, like the Roman magistrates of old. Armed, therefore, and prepared for the worst, they made their way to the convention on the morning of the 31st, and could not but remark the joy of the Mountain on beholding them enter.

This same moment was that appointed for the insurrection, which, according to the plan and profession of the movers, was to be distinguished from preceding ones by being quite *morale*. The commissaries of the sections, assuming themselves to be delegates of the people, proceeded to the municipality, deposed it formally, then reinstated it, adjoining themselves as part of its body. Thus constituted, the revolutionary *commune*, which affected to be raised by this mummerly to represent the popular will, and to pacify the convention, mustered the armed guard of the citizens, or sections, rung the tocsin, fired the cannon of alarm, and marched to invest the convention. The three anti-anarchist sections had intrenched themselves in the Palais Royal. It was proclaimed in the faubourg St. Antoine that these sections had mounted the white cockade. The rabble accordingly marched against the Palais Royal. An engagement was expected; but the three sections were without leaders, without a party. They had neither personage nor flag to rally to; for the white cockade was of course an invention. They in consequence waved futile opposition, embraced their brethren of the revolutionary sections, and an opposing voice was no longer heard in the armed crowd of rabble and citizens, that now, many reluctantly, many ignorantly, besieged the convention.

That assembly had, in the mean time, met. The minister of the interior, Garat, and the mayor, Pache, had both thought proper to address it on the disturbed state of the capital, which the surrounding tumult, and the report of the cannon of alarm, sufficiently declared. The left side demanded that the people should be satisfied by the instant abolition of the committee of twelve. The right, on the contrary, moved that Henriot, the new provincial commandant, be called to the bar. Danton seconded the former proposal, and asked, reasonably enough, "Why persist in supporting the commission, when you annul its acts, and let loose those whom it arrests?" The orator's sole argument was the expediency and prudence of submitting for a time to the will of the populace now in insurrection. Deputations succeeded each other at the bar, each rising in its demands. The tumult and the menaces of the crowd without, and the galleries within, increased. At length, Barrère, organ of the Plain, rose, and proposed that the commission of twelve should be broken, and at the same time the armed force be placed at the disposal of the convention. The latter part of the motion was idle, a

mere verbal set-off to the real concession. Ere it could be put to the vote, another and bolder deputation arrived, demanding not merely the suppression, but the arrest and accusation not only of the twelve commissioners, but of the whole of the Gironde. After delivering this address, the mob which bore it broke into the convention, filled the benches of the Mountain, and prepared to vote with it, as had been done on a previous night. There was no need of such aid, however, to pass the motion of Barrère, then before the assembly. The deputies of the Mountain passed, therefore, to the right side, leaving the left occupied by the mob. In this situation a vote first ordered the printing of the last address. Hereupon Vergniaud rose and left the assembly, declaring that it was no longer free. Had all the Girondists followed him it would have proved a wise and decisive step. But not being followed, he was obliged to return; and the proposal of Barrère, breaking the commission of twelve, was put to the vote and carried.

Such was the first result gained by the anarchists. They had forced the majority of the convention to yield, and abandon the offensive. But peace, and a return to order, in this state of things, was impossible. The anarchists, who had raised an insurrection to secure themselves from the Gironde, were, now that they had overcome that host of talented men, obliged to crush them. The continuance of the insurrection could alone enable them to do this; and accordingly the tocsin continued to sound, and the drums to beat to arms, as if the country was in danger. All the population remained under arms, ignorant or terrified, each man awing his neighbour, yet asking his neighbour what all this meant. The majority of these armed citizens, could they have understood each other, might soon have restored peace and order. But all were the dupes of ignorance and fear, the worst qualities that can beset a multitude, and which never could have prevailed so completely and absurdly over any generation, save one reared in the darkness of despotism, and then exposed to the blinding light of sudden and extreme liberty.

The first of June was spent in parley betwixt the committee of public safety, which represented the convention, and that of the municipality, which represented the mob. The latter demanded the exclusion of the Gironde; and the assembly was not likely to pass so iniquitous a decree. Garat at length proposed that the chiefs of the two parties of the Gironde and of the Mountain should sacrifice themselves, for the sake of peace, and both retire. Danton applauded the idea. But Robespierre would not hearken to it. All attempts were vain, and accordingly the leaders of the insurrection surrounded the Tuileries, where the convention then sat, with its most select and ferocious bands, led by Henriot. The order was given to these not to harm or offer violence to the deputies, but to prevent their egress or escape; in fact, to keep them close prisoners till they voted the exclusion of the Girondists.

These victims of proscription were most of them collected in a distant lodging, deeming it vain to brave any longer the fury of the insurgents, yet scorning to fly. Barbaroux, however, resolved to perish at his post, escaped from his friends, and took his seat in the assembly. Buzot made the same endeavour, but was prevented. Their cause, nevertheless, was not left without defenders. Lanjuinais was the first to rush to the tribune, vent his indignation at the conspiracy, and denounce the

audacious conduct of the *commune*, of which he demanded the removal. "We are accused of calumniating Paris. It is false. Paris is pure. Paris is oppressed itself by tyrants greedy of blood and domination." As the only reply they were capable of giving to this, young Robespierre, Julien, and others, rushed and seized Lanjuinais, and endeavoured in vain to drag him down from the tribune, to which he held in their despite. A deputation came to interrupt this scene, and made the usual demand. It came to denounce, *for the last time*, the counter-revolutionists of the Gironde. "The people are tired of deferring their wishes! They give you yet an instant of time to execute them. If you hesitate to act for the people, we declare that the people will act for themselves."

In reply to this insolent menace the convention passed to the order of the day, the last vote that did it honour; it was one of courage and of peril. And yet, even in the face of peril, had it been supported and sustained, there were still hopes that the cause of liberty and order might have survived the insurrection. But Barrère arose, as usual, with a temporary, and, what he deemed, a solitary expedient, and the assembly was induced to quit the vantage ground of dignity and courage. Barrère invited the accused members to resign voluntarily their functions of deputies for peace-sake; and the hitherto firm majority applauded the expedient, though it was nought else than the most pusillanimous capitulation. In reply to Barrère's proposal, Isnard offered his resignation. The impetuous Barbaroux censured his colleague, and scorned to yield. "I have no right," said he, "to quit my post and betray my cause, and that of my constituents, in the hour of danger. I am ready to die here, but not to yield."

A member at this moment sought to leave the palace. He happened to be one of the Mountain, yet was driven back with rudeness by the guard. He returned to complain. Others made the same essay, but were driven back, and their garments torn. The assembly betrayed its sense of insult; the very Jacobins showed themselves hurt. The guards were summoned to the bar, but the guilty were not to be found. Barrère on this rose, and proposed that the whole assembly should walk forth, and ascertain whether it was free or not. This was adopted, and all the members, the very Jacobins joining the procession, from shame to appear accomplices in the insults offered, proceeded out of the hall, led by their president, Hérault Sechelles. The convention issued from the Tuileries by the gate of the Carousel; the sentinels gave way in respect; but Henriot, amidst his cannoneers, signified to them that they must not pass until they had delivered up the twenty obnoxious members. The president turned to the soldiers, and bade them arrest "the rebel." Henriot backed his horse, called to his artillerymen to stand to their pieces, and persisted in defending himself, and barring the way. The soldiers dared not to execute the president's command. The assembly, in procession, here denied egress, re-entered the Tuileries, and re-issued from it on the other side, into the garden, but here they were equally unsuccessful. They tried every gate, marched round the garden, but were everywhere denied a passage. They re-entered their hall of sitting, and there Marat and Couthon instantly exclaimed, "You see how free we are; how full of obedience are the people."

The Plain now began to be alarmed; and when the decree for the arrest of the Gironde, so lately repulsed with indignation, was offered to the reluctant assembly, there were signs of timidity and wavering. "After all," said some, "to vote the arrest of the proscribed will not place them in a worse state than they are in, whilst it will relieve us. Let us not endanger ourselves by our obstinacy." The question was put; and the centre, in lieu of offering opposition, declined altogether to vote, the members declaring that they were no longer free. The unopposed voices of the Mountain then passed the decree, ordering into arrest the leading members of the Gironde and of the commission of twelve. The original list of twenty-two was swelled to thirty, besides the ministers of finance and foreign affairs.

II. THE REIGN OF TERROR.

(2ND JUNE, 1793, TO 27TH JULY, 1794).

The Committee of Public Safety.—The government had fallen into the hands of Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. The Girondists did not perceive that their fall was final, and they made a desperate appeal to the departments. Vergniaud and some others, who pushed their respect for legality to extremes, believed that the moment for justice would arrive for them, and accepted all the consequences of the decree of arrest. Petion, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Buzot, Lanjuinais, &c., escaped easily, for at first they were not closely watched, and it was not long ere civil war broke out between Paris and the exasperated departments. In the south, the centre, and the west, all were arming on behalf of the vanquished of the 2nd of June. Before long, sixty departments and most of the principal towns were in arms against the Jacobins. The appearance of some of the proscribed deputies in the provinces communicated enthusiasm and gave leaders to the revolt, that now became general. The northern departments, with those immediately around Paris, remained alone true to the convention. The former, menaced by the foreign enemy, and occupied by the republican armies, had neither power nor leisure to rise. But Normandy, whither most of the fugitive Gironde had bent their steps, at once declared against the anarchists. The province summoned a representative assembly to meet at Caen; raised an army; appointed general Wimpfen to the command, and pushed forward its advanced posts to Evreux, within a day's journey of the capital. Brittany strove to imitate la Vendée; whilst the victorious insurgents of this region were at the moment marching upon Nantes, in order to procure themselves a stronghold and a seaport, Nantes, though Girondist, prepared to resist the royalists to the last; and, in the middle of June, a gallant and general attack upon the town by the Vendéans was repulsed. Both parties were, however, equally hostile to the convention. Continuing the circuit of France, Bordeaux was naturally indignant at the arrest of its deputies. It instantly despatched a remonstrance to Paris, and began to levy an army to support it. Toulouse followed the example. Marseilles, the hyper-revolutionary Marseilles, had anticipated the crisis. The Jacobins and moderate republicans had come to blows, and the former had succumbed. Lyons presented the same scene, save that the

struggle was more fierce. Lyons, from its manufactory of silk, gold and silver embroidery, and other articles of high luxury, had depended on the rich. It therefore contained an aristocratic and royalist party, which naturally generated the other extreme, a Jacobin club; and this club had its Marat in Chalier. The parties fought; the Jacobins were beaten; their club destroyed; and Chalier, after a time, tried and executed. The partisans of the monarchy had seized the occasion to avenge the death of Louis XVI., and they were found everywhere breathing forth hatred against the revolution. The moderates, accused of aiming at federalism and projecting to organise the provinces separately and independently of the capital, were driven at length to attempt this in their own defence, as well as in that of freedom. Divided and declared as parties now were, it seemed almost inevitable that the Jacobins would be crushed. More than two-thirds of the provinces declared against them, whilst the English and Austrians pressed them from the north and east. The Mountain was, however, the central power, holding immediately in hand the army, the revenue, and the administration. On the standard which they held up were all the old symbols of the revolution, whilst the provincials, separated widely in space, and as widely in ideas, were under the impossibility of concerting either a plan of campaign, or a principle of resistance. The Mountainists were not men of hesitation; they made every Frenchman, from eighteen to twenty-five liable to military service, and levied fourteen armies, amounting to the total of 1,200,000 soldiers. This vast body was supported by multiplied contributions, extorted from all who had means to pay; the remedy for any reluctance to meet their demands was simply death. France became a camp for the army; a prison for the tax payers. Tradesmen and merchants were under the surveillance of clubs, extended by a thousand ramifications throughout all the lower class in the nation. Every one in want received forty sous per day for assisting at the assemblies of his section, and every section had its revolutionary committees and granted its certificates of civism.

In the meanwhile, a young Norman girl showed more heroism than the united party, and came to add, if possible, to the popular effervescence. She was a female of great beauty and courage. Marat had demanded her lover as an enemy of the republic, and caused his assassination; and she determined to rid the country of one whose enormities had risen to such a height, that he was everywhere regarded as the head of that class so emphatically called *buveurs de sang* (the drinkers of blood). Inspired with a deep-rooted hatred against Marat, Charlotte Corday left her home, and on arriving at Paris (July 12, 1793), she went to his house, but was not admitted. On the same evening she wrote to him as follows: "Citizen, I have just now come from Caen. Your love for your country no doubt makes you desirous of being informed of the unhappy transactions in that part of the republic. Grant me an interview for a moment. I have important discoveries to make to you." The following day came, and, with a dagger in her bosom, she proceeded to the house of Marat, who, just on the point of coming out of his bath, immediately gave orders that she should be admitted. The assemblies at Calvados were the first subject of conversation, and Marat heard with eagerness the names of those who were present at them. "All these," he exclaimed, "shall be guillotined." At these words Charlotte plunged her dagger into his

bosom, and he immediately expired, uttering the words "To me, my friend!" Meanwhile the maid remained calm and tranquil, as the priestess before the altar, in the midst of the tumult and confusion. She was afterwards conducted as a prisoner to the Abbaye. A young man, who begged to die in her place, was also condemned to death. Her first care was to implore the forgiveness of her father, for disposing of her life without his knowledge. She then wrote to Barbaroux as follows: "To-morrow, at five o'clock, my trial begins; and on the same day I hope to meet with Brutus and the other patriots in Elysium." She appeared before the revolutionary tribunal with a dignified air, and her replies were firm and noble. She spoke of her deed as a duty she owed to her country. Her defender (Chaveau Lagarde), full of astonishment at her courage, cried out, "You hear the accused herself. She confesses her crime; she admits that she has coolly reflected upon it; she conceals no circumstance of it; and she wishes for no defence. This unshaken calmness; this total abandonment of herself; these appearances of the utmost internal tranquillity, are not natural. Such appearances are not to be explained only by that political fanaticism which armed her hand with the dagger. To you, then, gentlemen of the jury, it belongs to judge what weight this moral view may have in the scale of justice!" His words could make no impression on the minds of the judges. She was condemned and led to the scaffold; retaining her calmness and presence of mind to the last, though pursued by the crowd with yells and shouts of execration. She suffered by the guillotine, July 17, 1793. This stroke of the dagger only added to the power of the Mountain. It cut off one sanguinary wretch, but it had the effect of endearing to the rabble his memory and policy. The blow was considered to have been directed by the Gironde; and a reason or pretext was thus afforded for condemning the imprisoned deputies. Up to this time, speeches in favour of moderation were heard in the assembly. Arrests took place, but no executions. The discussion of the new constitution promised a return to a system of law and order. The general insurrection of the provinces tempered the zeal, if it did not excite the fears, of the leaders in the capital. As the provinces succumbed, however, feelings of irritation and vengeance appeared; the revolutionary monster felt the return of its access of fury, that had for a moment been allayed. The new constitution, one as democratic as could well be formed, was to be proclaimed and inaugurated on the 10th of August. The departments, which in two months had almost all given in their submission to the convention, were requested to send commissaries to Paris, in token of reconciliation. They came, and on the 10th of August Paris enjoyed the spectacle of a third federation, celebrating the birth of the third constitution that had been framed in the short space of four years.

Lyons and Toulon were taken; the Vendéans were defeated, and their country laid waste by moveable divisions, called the *infernal columns*, which exhausted the means of rebellion. The victory of the dominant party was signalised by the most frightful executions and carnage. The very name of Lyons was struck out; and, because the guillotine could not do its work with sufficient rapidity, the victims were cut down by discharges of grape shot. At Nantes, hundreds of persons were tied back to back and thrown into the Loire.

The most remarkable event in the military history of 1793, is the siege of Toulon; not so much for its importance, as from its first bringing to light the talents of Napoleon Buonaparte. He was born in Corsica, of a good family, in 1769, and educated at the artillery school of Brienne. As all the students of these establishments, and, indeed, all intended to hold rank in the army under the old régime, were noble, the officers emigrated at the revolution; Buonaparte and three comrades being the only ones that remained of his regiment. The place of an officer of artillery could not be supplied from the lower and inferior ranks of life, as those of the line were in France; and thus he found himself, at the age of twenty-four, with the rank of major and the chief of his army before Toulon. Two successive generals appointed to conduct the siege were totally ignorant of their profession. The members of the convention present with the army were self-sufficient, and still less capable of conducting a siege. The task fell upon young Buonaparte, who had not only to devise and counsel, but to make it prevail. The latter effected by reports and written plans, that proved his talents to the war committee at home, as his acts proved them to the besieging army. Instead of making a regular attack upon the main fortification, he proposed to get possession of the prominent points commanding the harbour, which would render it untenable to the English fleet. Were this once effected, the motley garrison, he knew, would not hold the town. Although amounting to 14,000, it numbered but 3,000 English. Even the commander, O'Hara, was taken in a sortie. The important posts designated by Buonaparte were captured; and, as the cannon from them reached the fleet, the evacuation of the town was decided on. The English, in departing, set fire to the magazines, and to the French fleet, consisting of nine vessels of the line and four frigates: a melancholy spectacle to the men of Toulon, an exasperating one to their republican conquerors. The circumstances of the siege were, however, as useful to the cause of the latter. It proved an example to awe all towns and parties from mounting the white flag of the Bourbons, or from receiving, under any pretext, the enemies of their country within their walls.

Blood flowed in torrents at Toulon, at Marseilles; at Caen and at Bordeaux the executions were less general, because the repression had been easier. At Paris the revolutionary tribunal sat without intermission, and the scaffold was continually in operation. Marie Antoinette appeared before her judges on the 14th October, 1793. By a refinement of cruelty she had been separated from her son, and the young prince entrusted to the tutelage of a cobbler named Simon, who treated him with barbarous severity. The queen herself was transferred from the Temple to a common malefactor's dungeon in the Conciergerie, where she remained two months. Brought before the tribunal, she heard with dignity and resignation the usual list of crimes laid to her charge, until the depositions of Hebert pronounced new and unheard-of horrors. She replied with firmness and decision, and a just indignation, and she heard her sentence pronounced with perfect calmness. On the following morning, when she ascended the cart which conveyed her to the scaffold, it was observed that grief had distorted her features, and in the damp unwholesome prison she had almost lost one of her eyes. A deep silence reigned, and the people, before so furious, seemed to be filled

with shame and awe. When she reached the top of the scaffold, she threw herself on her knees, exclaiming, "O Lord, enlighten and affect my executioner. Farewell, my children, for ever; I go to your father." Thus perished the lovely Marie Antoinette, in the 38th year of her age.

Next came the turn of the Girondists, in whose names the rebellion in the departments had taken place; they were twenty-one in number, Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Fonfrède, Ducos, Valazé, Lasource, Sillery, Gardien, Carra, Duprat Beauvais, Duchâtel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Duperret, Fauchet (constitutional bishop of Calvados), Boileau, Lehardy, Antiboul, and Vigée. On hearing his sentence of death, Valazé stabbed himself with a dagger, and fell dead. Lasource exclaimed, "I die at a moment when the people have lost their senses; you will die on the day they will recover it." They walked to the place of execution singing the *Marseillaise*, and exhibited in death that firmness which, had it been displayed in the acts of their political life, would at least have saved their memory from reprobation, and most probably have insured them a glorious and successful career. The duke of Orleans, Philip Egalité, who had played so pitiful a part in the revolution, speedily followed them, as did Bailly, the mayor of Paris, to whom the massacre of the Champ de Mars, under the constituent assembly, had not been forgiven, and whom, by a refinement of cruelty, the mob employed, on the day of his execution, in displacing and dragging his gibbet from one place to another. The old man, as he awaited the executioner, was seen to tremble under his many years and the winter's day. "You tremble, Bailly," sneered one of his guards. "'Tis from cold," replied the aged man.

The beautiful and gifted Madame Roland was also guillotined, for women were not protected by their sex, and fell like the rest. When condemned to death, she conducted herself with great firmness, exclaiming at the time of her execution, "Oh, liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, on learning her death, stabbed himself. The Girondists who had escaped were not more fortunate. Grange-neuve, Salles, Guadet, and Barbaroux perished at Bordeaux. Buzot and the philosophical Condorcet put an end to their existence. The body of Petion, who had escaped to the department of Calvados, was found in a field, half devoured by wolves, and it was supposed that he had perished from hunger. Rabaut was executed at Saint Etienne, Valady at Perigueux, Chambon at Lubersac.

Fall of Hebert and of Danton.—The committee of public safety and its judicial instrument pursued a similar course. As the revolutionists were introducing a new order of things, they thought it not beneath their vocation to reform the calendar. They began their reckoning at the time when the republic was proclaimed, and divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, under the names of *vendémiaire*, *brumaire*, and *frimaire*, for the autumn; of *nivôse*, *pluviose*, and *ventôse*, for the winter; of *germinal*, *floréal*, and *prairial*, for the spring; and of *messidor*, *thermidor*, and *fructidor*, for the summer; each month in three decades, which were called *primidi*, *duodi*, *tridi*, *quartidi*, *quintidi*, *sextidi*, *septidi*, *octidi*, *nonidi*, *decadi*, and the five remaining days were dignified with the appellation of *sans culottides*. The progress of the revolutionary movement was singularly logical in the eyes of its chiefs; they had proscribed the indivi-

duals belonging to another epoch, they now were abolishing its remembrance, and the time had arrived to finish with the ancient religion, which partook somewhat of the monarchy. Chaumette, the procureur of the commune, and Hebert, its secretary, set themselves at the head of the project. On the 7th November, 1793, they either terrified or induced Gobel, archbishop of Paris, with other renegade bishops and clergy, including Julien, a protestant minister, to appear at the bar of the convention, and strip themselves of their sacerdotal garments, and declare that they rejected christianity as a religion. The goddess *Reason* was set up to be worshipped, and substantially represented by a female, in the nudity of her innocent charms. This new idol was enthroned in the church of Nôtre Dame. Robespierre, Danton, the convention itself, blushed at such a scene; shame made even them recoil. They affected to stop at deism, although their attempts to separate it from atheism were as unsuccessful as that of the Gironde had been to separate liberty from license.

These absurd scenes were instigated by the dregs of the revolutionists, such as Chaumette, Hebert, Vincent, Momoro, the Prussian Anacharsis, Cloutz, the "orator of the human race," and general Ronsin, and which, being only cried up in Hebert's journal, the *Père Duchesne*, were not destined to be of long duration. These madmen, who sided with the vilest and most violent of the populace, were already raising an outcry against what they termed the *moderates*, and were endeavouring to excite fresh excesses; they had become dangerous by their turbulence, and were fomenting a struggle against the committee of public safety. Robespierre had the wit to perceive that the current was setting in the wrong direction, and, moreover, the courage to resist and turn it right. The revolution, in his opinion, had descended far enough; he wished that it should continue indeed, but on a level, not a downward course. He therefore set his face against the anarchists, thundered against Hebert, and boldly attacked the commune, which he accused of setting up a new and aristocratic religion. "Atheism," said Robespierre, "is aristocratic; it is the natural religion of the lazy and the rich. On the contrary, the belief in a Deity is a popular, a universal belief; moreover, a necessary one. *If God did not exist, we should invent Him.*"

Another party had also formed itself out of the committees, which, believing the revolution terminated, and the republic now out of danger, was repugnant to rigorous measures, and wished to attach the vanquished to the popular cause, instead of exterminating them. It was headed by Danton, who still possessed the greatest revolutionary renown of the day; this man, who had been the principal instigator of the massacres of September, who had never recoiled before the most terrible necessities, had become moved by the execution of the Girondists, which he deemed uncalled-for, and from that moment he had dreamt of the return of the government to moderation. He had imparted his hopes to some trusty friends, such as Philippeaux, Lacroix, and Camille Desmoulins, after which he had retired with his young wife, of whom he was deeply enamoured, to Arcis-sur-Aube, where he contemplated living peacefully. The impetuous Camille Desmoulins divulged his idea, and popularised it in a journal which he had commenced, and called the *Vieux Cordelier*, in opposition to Hebert, and in which he exhibited a suavity and refinement blended with force, a power of writing,

in short, that the most cultivated age cannot exceed. His colleague, Philippeaux, accused generals Ronsin and Rossignol, the favourites of the commune, who had commanded with all brutality in la Vendée. They were put in arrest. The committee of public safety became alarmed; the new moderates attacked their dictatorial power, and their principal measures; they demanded the repression of the Hebertists; the setting at liberty of all suspected persons; the abolition of the revolutionary tribunal; and the establishment of a committee of clemency. They arraigned by name Billaud-Varennes, Saint Just, and Collot d'Herbois, whose inflexibility seemed to them incurable; but they had respected Robespierre, whose moral influence was immense; and when Danton, recalled by them, returned from Arcis-sur-Aube, he had an interview with the "incorruptible," who had remained neutral between the two parties. The two rivals seemed at first to understand each other: Robespierre defended Danton at the Jacobin club, and corrected himself the proofs of his journal. This good understanding, however, did not last long; Billaud, Collot, and Saint Just, who saw themselves threatened, worked upon their colleague, and re-awakened his former jealousy, and obtained from him the sacrifice of the Dantonists, by abandoning to him in return the anarchists of the commune. Robespierre ascended the tribune, and accused the two factions of the moderate and the ultra-revolutionists, who, under different banners, he said, were tending to the same end, viz., the disorganization of the popular government, the ruin of the convention, and the triumph of tyranny. Saint Just expressed himself still more openly. In the evening, the public accuser, Fouquier-Tinville, caused Hebert, Vincent, general Ronsin, Momoro, Chaumette, the apostate archbishop Gobel, and Anacharsis Clootz, to be arrested. The club of the Cordeliers, which was devoted to them, placed a veil over the declaration of the rights of man, and endeavoured to stir up the people in their favour; but their efforts were unheeded. On the 27th of March, 1794, they were taken to the Place of the Revolution and guillotined. Contempt and insult were added to the severity of their sufferings, and they died amid the hootings of the populace.

The Jacobins, although consenting to the destruction of those who outrivalled them in revolutionary zeal, were not without qualms, which the exultation of the moderates increased. Robespierre had been accused of *moderation*. It behoved him, as before, to wash away that stain in blood. Danton was warned of his danger. He confided in his past power and the old popularity of his name, and could not believe in so much audacity. But not long after he was taken, together with Lacroix, Philippeaux, and Camille Desmoulins, and conducted to the Luxembourg. At this news, the convention, which had long been mute, became agitated, and Legendre dared to make a motion in favour of his friends; but Robespierre ascended the tribune: "From the disquietude, which has long been foreign to this assembly," exclaimed he; "from the agitation which the motion of the previous speaker has produced, it is easily seen that a great principle is at stake, and that we have to decide whether some men will this day prevail against the country." The convention was subdued, remained silent, and impeached Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix, general Westermann, Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay, Héroult de Séchelles, and some more obscure men.

When brought before the revolutionary tribunal, the accused defended themselves vigorously, and alarmed the judges by the vehemence and firmness of their answers; it was impossible to impose silence upon them. On his first examination, Danton said, "I am Danton, sufficiently well known in the revolution; my body will soon return to nothingness, and my name be in the Pantheon." He was indignant at the idea of his being even accused. What! Danton and Desmoulins! the one who began the revolution, and the other who accomplished it on the 10th August! Well might it be said, that the revolution, like Saturn, produced its children but to devour them. They, too, passed to the scaffold which they had erected, and to which they had sent so many. Desmoulins died almost unmanned, by the thoughts of a young and loving wife, who underwent a similar fate. Danton, at the foot of the scaffold, was prevented by the executioner from embracing his friend Héroult. "Go, churl, you can't at least prevent our heads from embracing in your sack. One thing consoles me: it is that Robespierre will follow me. Why should I regret to die? I have enjoyed the revolution; have spent, have drank, have debauched. Let us go to slumber." Such were amongst the last, and, with his life, but too consistent, words of Danton. What an epoch, when such men of blood were doomed to endanger themselves in invoking clemency, and perish in the cause of humanity!

Robespierre.—It was not long ere the prophecy of Danton was fulfilled. Threatened by civil and foreign war, the republic had invested the committee of public safety with unlimited power, which they exercised with terrible energy. All the relics of the noble families were now sacrificed. The duc de Chatelet, the marshals of Noailles and Mailly, men of eighty years, too aged to emigrate; the dukes of Bethune and Villeroy, many of the members of the old magistracy; Malesherbes, the defender of Louis, all his family, children and grand-children, perished together. Men were wanting, and the rage of the terrorists vented itself upon women, who perished at this epoch in greater numbers than the other sex. Madame du Barri and the duchesse de Grammont—personages that recall the memory of Louis XV.—survived to die on the scaffold of the revolution. The wives of the condemned were always included in the sentence. One day saw a troop of girls proceed to die, for having made a cockade or carolled an imprudent air; the next, an establishment of nuns or a crowd of poor peasant women from La Vendée, tied and heaped in carts, like calves, and ignorant of their guilt and their fate, stupified with fear, as they went to slaughter. The princess Elizabeth, sister of Louis, made at this time one of a devoted batch, and perished almost unnoticed. The inhabitants of the streets through which these daily processions passed became at length disgusted, and dared to show it by shutting their shops. The scaffold was, in consequence, removed to the opposite extremity of Paris: not, however, relaxing its activity. Nor were such scenes confined to the capital; Carrier was sent on a mission to La Vendée, where he caused thousands of victims, men, women, and children, to be drowned, beheaded, or shot; the ordinary mode of execution being too tardy for him. He housed his victims in the marine stores, tied them in couples, and embarked them in boats prepared for the purpose; they put out laden; a plank was struck out when at a sufficient distance from the shore. Darkness and the tide

concealed the extent of the wholesale murder, which was revealed, however, by the islands of floating carcasses besetting ships as they entered the river, and by the fish proving poisonous because gorged with such unusual food. Such is but a feeble outline of the *Terror*. It is impossible to detail the horrors of the triumvirate of blood, consisting of Robespierre, Saint Just, and Couthon. For four months this committee of public safety was paramount, the sole means of government being death.

Robespierre had reached the summit of power, every eye was fixed upon him; the club of the Jacobins had surnamed him "the good genius of the republic," and the convention trembled at his voice. In the eyes of foreigners, he personified the entire of the revolution; in those of the people he personified all the republican virtues; by some fanatics he was already deemed a messiah, or at least an inspired prophet. This was more than was needed to inflate the ridiculous vanity of this man, and to urge him on to greater blasphemy. The worship of reason had fallen into oblivion since the fall of the Hebertists. He had made the convention decree the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and to institute periodical fêtes dedicated to *Truth*, to *Justice*, to *Modesty*, to *Friendship*, to *Frugality*, to *Good-faith*, to *Glory*, to *Immortality*, to *Misfortune*, &c. On the 8th of June, 1794, the new religion was inaugurated by a brilliant ceremony, and Robespierre in person celebrated what he impiously termed "The Feast of the Supreme Being." Some days before an attempt at assassination, which had only seriously threatened the days of Collot d'Herbois, had given the Jacobins the opportunity of giving vent without measure to their enthusiasm, and to celebrate the virtue, the genius and eloquence of the *great man* of the republic. Robespierre took all this flattery in earnest, and on the 8th of June, the day of the ceremonial, clothed in a splendid costume, plumed and robed, bearing flowers and ears of corn in his hand, in the procession from the Tuileries to the Champ de Mars, he affected to walk alone, far in advance of the convention, as if by this calculated isolation he wished to familiarise the public mind with the idea of his usurpation. Inebriated with triumph, he smiled, and his countenance beamed with joy and satisfaction, and the moderates, on beholding him, hoped he would announce the advent of a milder and more gentle rule. Unfortunately such was not the case, and he was heard to say—"People, let us give up ourselves this day to the transports of a pure joy. To-morrow we will again combat against vice and tyrants." Two days after Couthon presented to the convention the famous law of the 22nd *Prairial*.

The committee of public safety proceeded still farther in the path of extermination, notwithstanding all the violent crisis of foreign war and internal rebellion, which had placed the republic in danger, and which might have served as a pretext for the revolutionary violence, had disappeared. La Vendée had no longer any great armies, the infernal columns of general Turreau had traversed the land in every direction, burning the villages and forests, hunting down the rebels, and putting everything pitilessly to the sword. These implacable measures had aroused all that remained of the Vendéans, but they were incapable of sustaining the struggle; they only fought for their personal existence, without chiefs, for La Rochejaquelein died on the 4th of March, and

Stofflet and Charette were only left, without ammunition, and without a rallying point. In this desperate situation moderation must of needs disarm them, and the successor of Turreau, Vimeux, commenced the work of pacification. In the north, Pichegru had been victorious, and invaded maritime Flanders; Clairfait and the duke of York were defeated at Moeserven, at Courtray, at Turcoing, and at Hoogledede, whilst Jourdan, with the armies of the Moselle and the Ardennes, had forced the passage of the Sambre, and gained over the prince of Coburg the battle of Fleurus, penetrated the Netherlands, and effected at Brussels his junction with the army of the north, whilst the Austrians were driven back beyond the Waal. In the Vosges, the generals Moreau and Michaud had destroyed the Prussians at Neustadt, Edenkoben, and Trippstadt, carried the heights of Kaiserlautern, and invaded the electorate of Trèves, in order to place themselves in communication with the army of Jourdan, which had taken the name of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. In the Alps, the little St. Bernard and Mont-Cenis had been taken; in Sardinia, general Dumerbrin had driven the imperialists from Ponte di Nave, made Ormea and Saorgio capitulate, taken possession of Tenda, and established himself on the other side of the maritime Alps. On the frontiers of the Pyrenees, Dugommier had forced the Spanish camp of Boulou, retaken Collioure and Port Vendres, and Moncey, crossing the Bidassoa, had occupied the valley of Bastan, carried Fontarabia, and transported the theatre of war to the enemy's territory.

Thus the republic was everywhere victorious, and the rigours of the triumvirate had no longer the excuse of reverses. Nevertheless Couthon proposed, on the 22nd *Prairial*, to the convention a terrible law, which suppressed every guarantee of defence, and which placed the whole nation at the absolute discretion of the public accuser. The assembly, which had remained passive since the death of Danton, summoned a remnant of energy to support a motion of adjournment, but the all-powerful voice of Robespierre crushed all resistance, and the revolutionary tribunal sent forth daily cart loads of victims.

All the illustrious prisoners had already perished; it was now the turn of the more obscure ones; and from the 10th of June to the 27th of July, twelve hundred and eighty-five persons were sent to the scaffold. Fortunately the reign of terror was drawing to a close; the triumvirate of Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just disquieted their colleagues, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, whose influence was daily diminishing.

The most influential members of the committee of general safety, Amar, Vadier, and Vouland, had suffered the Hebertists to perish reluctantly, and they saw their authority gradually waning. In the convention the friends of Danton, Tallien, Bourdon, and numerous others, dreaded a new list of proscriptions, at the head of which their names might figure. All these various resentments gradually came into play, and the opposition gained strength in spite of fear. A conspiracy was formed for Robespierre's destruction. Instead of acting with his accustomed decision, he secluded himself from the public for more than a month. On the 8th Thermidor, however, he again appeared in the convention, and violently attacked those who wished to destroy the republic, either by excess or moderation; he had thus proceeded against

Hebert and Danton, and he calculated upon a similar result. The convention, still undecided, neither applauded nor murmured; the Jacobins, who were entirely devoted to him, drowned his speech with frantic acclamations, and the struggle was adjourned to the morrow.

The morrow, 9th Thermidor, proved decisive. The night was spent by both parties in making preparations for the struggle. When the sitting opened, St. Just got possession of the tribune, and, under pretence of reading a report, commenced a denunciation. Tallien interrupted him vehemently, and demanded that the veil should be rent asunder. Billaud Varennes interrupted Tallien, and took the lead against Robespierre. He openly denounced the dictatorial projects of Robespierre. The latter rushed to the tribune to answer. But universal cries of "Down with the tyrant!" drowned his voice, and prevented him from being heard. A fearful tumult prevailed throughout the hall, the president Thuriot rang his bell, and Robespierre, at the foot of the tribune and foaming at the mouth in the frenzy of exertion and despair, cried in vain in terms of the greatest exasperation, "For, the last time, president of assassins, I ask liberty to speak!" In vain he asked to be heard; he turned to all sides of the assembly, and encountered nothing but icy looks. His voice and his strength at last failed him. "The blood of Danton stifles thee," observed a member. "Ha! 'tis Danton you would avenge," replied he, snatching at the least advantage. His arrest was now unanimously decreed. Robespierre the younger now started up, and demanded to be included in the decree. Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas were also added. They were ordered to the bar, and descended with imprecations; but not an officer of the house could be found bold enough to take the dreaded men into arrest. At length some gendarmes were procured to take charge of them.

The convention triumphed within, but the struggle was not over. The council general of the commune had assembled together on the first tidings of the arrest of Robespierre and his colleagues, who were rescued and conveyed to the Hotel de Ville, where they were received with open arms. The mayor Fleuriot proclaimed the insurrection; the club of the Jacobins declared its sittings permanent, and the commander, Henriot, who had at first been arrested, had been liberated by two hundred gunners, and placed himself at the head of the armed force. He arrived in the Place du Carousal, and ordered the guns to be levelled against the hall of the convention. It was a critical moment for the convention. "Citizens," said the president, who had covered himself as a symptom of distress, "this is the moment to die at our posts;" and all the representatives sat down in expectation of the first cannon shot. It was, however, a false alarm: Henriot could not induce his gunners to begin the fire; they were shaken in their firmness by emissaries who penetrated amongst them, and acquainted them with the decree outlawing the Robespierres and their party. The apathy of the populace, the want of spirit in the leaders, who scarcely showed themselves, but remained in secret and irresolute council, contributed to the defection of the gunners, the greater part of whom drew off at length, and abandoned the Hotel de Ville. Thus, about midnight, when the force under the orders of the convention surrounded the hotel and occupied the place, there was scarcely a sign of resistance. Even within the doors, in the mansion

and stronghold of the commune, there was as little opposition. A few gendarmes were able to make their way up the staircase, and to surprise the conspirators.

At the sight of the troops of the convention, which were commanded by Barras, the triumvirate understood they were lost. Robespierre took a pistol, put the muzzle to his mouth, and drew the trigger, intending to blow out his brains; but the ball fractured his lower jaw, and he was thus subjected to protracted suffering, which excited neither sympathy nor compassion. He was conveyed to the committee-room of public safety, the hall of his reign, laid on the table on which he had signed so many death warrants, and left there to await his fate amidst the maledictions of those who surrounded him. Lebas also discharged a pistol against himself, and with surer aim. Robespierre the younger jumped from a third floor window without succeeding in killing himself. Couthon hid himself under a table and wounded himself with a knife, but was afraid to strike. Henriot was thrown out of a window by one of his own comrades, who upbraided him with his cowardice, and survived his fall to crawl into a drain. St. Just awaited his enemies without changing countenance. Their outlawry rendering trial unnecessary, they were seized and hurried to the guillotine (28th July, 1794), where they suffered part of the punishment due to their accumulated crimes. Robespierre never spoke after his capture, despite the host of questions put, and imprecations heaped upon him. He died, as well as St. Just, with the wonted courage of the time in facing death. His brother and Henriot were decapitated also, though already expiring from the effects of their fall. Simon the cobbler, and barbarous tutor of the unfortunate son of Louis XVI., was executed also. Twenty-two heads fell on that day, and this time the acclamations and applause of more respectable citizens were heard mingling with those of the rabble round the fatal scaffold. The reign of terror was at an end. And thus a terrible retribution awaited the several actors in the varying scenes of the revolution: the Royalists, the Constitutionalists, the Girondists, the Mountain, the Terrorists, and the Anarchists.

III. DISSOLUTION OF THE CONVENTION

(27TH JULY, 1794, TO 26TH OCTOBER, 1795.)

Reaction.—The fall of Robespierre was everywhere received with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction. The convention resumed all the power of which it had been divested since the establishment of the revolutionary government, and the committee of public safety, which had so completely dominated over it, and which for nearly a year had only obtained a renewal of its monthly powers as a matter of form, re-entered upon its dependence as before the insurrection of the 31st of May. The Mountain had succumbed in consequence of disunion having broken out in its ranks. Billaud-Varennes, Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, and their colleagues of the committee of general safety, seeing that a reaction was impending, drew their ranks closer, and summoned to their aid the purest men of their party, who had only co-operated passively on the revolutionary dramas, but who feared the counter-revolution; such as

Cambon, Carnot, Prieur, &c. Out of the assembly they rested for support upon the weeded club of the Jacobins, and upon the remnant of the Robespierre faction, which, for want of better, rallied themselves to them. The men, on the other hand, called *moderate* in the language of the day, assumed their new name of *Thermidorians*, as if to cut off all connexion with the past, made themselves masters of the sections which had marched with them against the commune, and were preparing to combat their new adversaries. Being masters of the convention, they immediately abolished the measures which had principally contributed to the maintenance of the triumviral tyranny. They re-organised, on more moderate bases, and with real guarantees, the revolutionary tribunal; they impeached Fouquier Tinville, who had so cruelly abused his redoubtable functions as public accuser, and who was denounced by Freron, in these appropriate words—"I demand that Fouquier Tinville may wear off the remains of his drunken surfeit of blood in hell." Being tried and condemned to the guillotine, the people used his own death-dealing phrase as he went to execution; while he replied with hoarse curses and distorted gesticulations, to their execrations; but his courage failed him at the foot of the scaffold, and he died like a coward. The law of the 22nd *Prairial* was likewise abolished, and the setting at liberty of suspected persons was effected with great precaution. The executive government was modified. Of the twelve members of the committee of public safety, three were to be renewed each month, by which provision Tallien immediately entered, Collot and Billaud ceasing to belong to it. Just vengeance, too, though slow, did not altogether sleep. The judges of the tribunal of blood, and the public accusers, were sent to the scaffold. Steps were taken to bring the pro-consuls Carrier and Lebon to the same fate. Some of the leading members of the committee of general safety were put in arrest. These measures, however wise, and short of just retribution, were sufficient to alarm the terrorists and those implicated in the extreme and violent acts of the revolution. Nor were the moderate and reactionary party out of doors satisfied. So many had the deaths of fathers, mothers, relatives of all kinds to avenge, that truce was impossible betwixt them and their enemies. The sectionary meetings were the chief scenes of these plaints and recriminations. The citizens, recovered from their terror, appeared there to exclaim against those who had terrified them; whilst the rabble and the representatives clamoured that the aristocrats were all let loose to plot once more the downfall of the republic. The press, too, recovered its freedom, and made use of its power in favour of moderation. Such journals as those of Marat and Hebert were no longer tolerated.

The club of the Jacobins had singularly fallen off in importance; the convention had interdicted to it collective petitions, branches, and correspondence; it no longer represented anything except itself, and was only supported in the faubourgs. It was assailed in the very hall of its meeting, by Thermidorian bands, and carried by storm after a courageous defence. The next morning, the convention sent commissaries to close the doors, and the Jacobin club was finally dissolved.

The chiefs of the reactionary movement grew gradually more emboldened. The seventy-three members who had been arrested for having protested against the insurrection of the 31st May were recalled from exile;

the decrees of expulsion which had been issued against the priests and nobles were abolished; the bust of Marat which was in the hall of the assembly was removed, and his body disappeared from the Pantheon, whither it had been transported after the 9th *Thermidor*. The law of the *maximum*, which had so long furnished bread to the people, was abrogated, as were also the penal laws, which, to the advantage of *assignats*, prohibited the traffic in gold and silver. Soon after, also, the proscribed of the 2nd of June, who had escaped from the vengeance of the Mountain, came to resume their places in the convention, and to bring to the *Thermidorians* the aid of their talents, and the prestige of their misfortunes; these were Isnard, Louvet, Lanjuinais, Kervélégan, Larivière, Lepeaux, and Lesage. Almost at the same time a decree of accusation was voted against Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère. The remnant of the disorganised party of the Jacobins bestirred themselves actively in their behalf. The populace, who, during the entire period of the reign of terror, had been fed gratuitously by the committee of public safety, did not submit without murmuring to the suppression of the *maximum*, which suddenly threw them back to their former condition of servitude and misery; for the *assignats*, no longer maintained at their express value by the fear of death, fell to a fifteenth part of their nominal worth, and the repeal of this law of *maximum* was followed by a rapid rise and famine prices.

The approaching trial of Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, rendered it incumbent on the old Mountainists to use the utmost efforts to rouse the people. They succeeded in mustering the sections of the faubourg St. Antoine; and from these, accordingly, in the spring of 1795, petitions began to flow into the convention, the old prelude to disorder. The cry and pretext were also the same as in the old insurrection. Bread was their demand;—bread, and the democratic constitution of 1793. The convention repelled these covert menaces with dignity; the president, Thibaudeau, had the courage to tell several hundreds of turbulent petitioners to return to their labours.

On the 21st of March a new petition was prepared and presented by all the force that the Jacobins could muster. The moderates were, however, prepared on this occasion, and the young Parisians flocked to the Tuileries and Caroussel, armed with sticks and prepared for the combat. Repulsed from the assembly, the furious petitioners insulted the youth in the garden, whom they called aristocrats and traitors. From reproaches they proceed to blows; but fortunately there were no sharp weapons to inflict them. The faubourgs had been long since disarmed of their pikes, and now their rabble were beaten in a bloodless engagement, and smartly castigated by the sticks of their young enemies, who put them to flight.

On the 1st of April the plotters of the faubourgs rose in insurrection, placed the women and children in front of their column, and marched to the convention. The seditious movement being unexpected, there was at first no force to repel it, and the mob entered the Tuileries without opposition, forced the doors of the assembly, and rushed in amongst the members, shouting, "Bread; the liberation of the accused patriots of the constitution of 1793!" For some hours the assembly remained at the mercy of the insurgents, who amidst the tumult received encourage-

ment from the deputies of the Mountain. The executive government in the committees collected a force; and the populace, which had conquered, but knew not how to make use of their conquest, retired before it, and dispersed as after discomfiture. The convention no sooner found itself at liberty in the evening of the tumultuous day, than it proceeded to measures of energy. Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère were condemned to transportation; and seven of those Mountainists who had so lately applauded the insurgents were arrested, and ordered to be sent to the castle of Ham, in Picardy. This defeat had the effect of still further exasperating the popular party, and on the 20th of May another formidable insurrection broke out in Paris. In the name of the people, risen to obtain bread and resume their rights, they demanded the liberation and recall of the deputies lately transported and arrested, the restoration of arms to the faubourgs, the arrest of all emigrants, and of the Parisian journalists, the re-establishment of the *commune* and the sections, and the suspension of the existing committees of government. In the place of the last, four members were named to form a *sovereign commission*. They proceeded to the Tuileries to the sound of the tocsin and the cannon of alarm, and broke into the palace. The assembly had declared itself permanent, and had called the sections to its aid; but before they could arrive, its ordinary guard found itself too feeble to resist its invaders. The president, Boissy d'Anglas, was aimed at in his chair; the deputy Feraud flung himself before the advancing throng, and called on them to tread down in his person the national legislature, ere they violated its hall of sitting. They passed, nevertheless, over his body, filled the room, roared and menaced, the most furious surrounding the president, and preparing to wreak on him their resentment against the convention. Feraud, who had risen, though much bruised and hurt, now rushed to interfere and save the president. He was opposed, and a scuffle took place round the president's chair, in the midst of which a ruffian shot Feraud with his pistol. A shout applauded the deed. They seized the dead body by the hair, dragged it out, decapitated it, and some time after they returned with the head, fixed on a bayonet, which they held up to Boissy. According to some accounts, the president recoiled in horror—to others, he bowed in homage to the gory head of his courageous colleague.

Boissy d'Anglas braved, with unshaken courage, for upwards of six hours, the fury of the mob. The Mountainists of the assembly, deeming their triumph secure, immediately endeavoured to profit by it. All the articles of their insurrectional programme were converted into motions by them, and successively adopted amidst this frightful tumult, after which they appointed an executive commission and a commander of the armed force, and they likewise decreed the re-establishment of the club of the Jacobins. The crowd, which was mingled with them, applauded all their measures, and the remainder of the assembly remained in silence and stupor, when the armed sections arrived in the Place of the Carousel. The deputies, Legendre, Kervélégan, and Auguis at their head, penetrated into the hall, repulsed by the bayonet the surprised insurgents, and restored to the assembly the liberty of its deliberations. All that had been voted during the sanguinary popular invasion was annulled, and fourteen Mountainists, who had been arrested as accomplices of the

movement, were immediately despatched out of Paris under strong escort. The following day the struggle was on the point of recommencing between the anarchists and the members of the sections, who had stationed themselves around the Tuileries; commissaries from the convention were sent amongst the threatening groups, and a collision was avoided. On the 4th *Prairial*, the anarchists rescued the murderer of Feraud, who had been discovered and condemned, as he was proceeding to the scaffold. Then the convention decided upon acting with vigour. By this time some troops of the line had been drafted to the capital. At the head of these and the national guards, general Menou, commanding under Barras, invested the faubourg of St. Antoine, and menaced to bombard it. The female population dreaded this act of retribution. The faubourg submitted, in token of which its section surrendered their formidable cannon. Thus disarmed, they ceased to be dangerous, and the most active focus of anarchical movements lost all its revolutionary influence. It was a decisive day, and the Mountain was never able to rise after this final fall. Six out of the fourteen Mountainists arrested in consequence of these events were arraigned before a military tribunal, and condemned to be shot. They were the representatives Goujou, Bourbotte, Romme, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Soubrany, all exalted Jacobins, but whose past lives had been spotless. They committed suicide, the same knife serving them all to escape from the execution of their sentence. They died exclaiming *Vive la République*, and with a courage worthy of a better fate. The son of Louis XVI., the unfortunate young Louis, died about this time, it was generally believed by poison, after having been treated with the most savage barbarity. The royalists were crushed at Quiberon. The dominant party had free action, and published its constitution.

New Constitution.—The commission which had been employed upon the new constitution had undertaken the task to satisfy the clamours of the democratic party, at that time uncrushed. This commission had been chosen amongst the best informed and most honourable members of the convention, those belonging to the committees of government being excluded. A point upon which all agreed was, that two chambers were necessary. The lower chamber was to consist of 500 members, called the council of five hundred, the upper of 250, called the senate, or council of ancients. As both were to be elected by the people, and as age was the only requisite for a senator, one could prove no real counterpoise to the other. There was greater difference of opinion as to the executive. Three of the commission were monarchic, another for a single president. Two or three councils were proposed. It was finally arranged that there should be five directors, chosen by the two councils, one of them to go out of office each year. Such was the directorial constitution, which was voted without difficulty by the convention.

Military Events.—The convention, victorious over the terrorists at home, were equally so abroad over the coalition. The republican armies, in which the Mountainist generals were numerous, had received with marked disfavour the tidings of the 9th *Thermidor*; but this was not the moment for military insurrection, and they did not slacken their aggressive movements. Towards the close of 1794, the armies of the north and of the Sambre and Meuse, still acting in concert, had driven back the

Austrians beyond the Rhine, and the Anglo-Batavians on the extreme frontier of the united provinces. Winter had set in, and the troops of Pichegru, ill fed and clothed, being in view of a rich country, and until then respected by the war, undertook the conquest of Holland, crossed the rivers and canals on the ice, and spread themselves suddenly through all the provinces. Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam, Leyden, and Utrecht, surrendered without striking a blow. The patriots, excited by the refugees, who had hastened thither, rose against the authority of the stadtholder, who was compelled to take refuge in England. A new form of government was established, and at the commencement of the campaign of 1795, the Batavian republic concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the French republic, to which it ceded Dutch Flanders, Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, and stipulated for the freedom of the navigation of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse.

Europe began to be weary of the war, in spite of the question of principles at issue in the contest. On the first of February, 1795, Tuscany had taken the initiative of conciliation; and although its example had no great weight, it was not the less a favourable augury for the future.

Prussia, deprived of the co-operation of England, which now found the ports of Holland closed, and outflanked on her right by the French armies, opened negotiations at Basle with the commissaries of the convention, and a treaty of peace and of good understanding between the two countries was signed in that town, on the 5th of April, 1795. The impulse once being given, another power, whom family resentments were calculated to range amongst the most inveterate enemies of the republic, inclined towards peace: this was Spain, which Perignon, Augereau, Scherer, and Moncey, had invaded by Roussillon and the valley of Bastan. Figuières, Roses, Bilbao, and all the fortresses were successively falling into their hands, and the republicans were preparing to cross the Ebro, when the suspension of hostilities was announced to them. The cabinet of Madrid acknowledged the French republic, and ceded to it the Spanish portion of the isle of St. Domingo, where the general rising of the negroes had occasioned fearful complications; France restored to Spain all that she had conquered on the frontiers of the Pyrenees (16th July, 1795). The most striking military event was the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon. Having allowed La Vendée to succumb—for it, too, had made its peace with the republic—the British government resolved, on the information of De Puisaye, an emigrant noble, to raise the banner of insurrection in Brittany, where the Chouans, under cover of a pacification, were ready to resume their arms. As the accounts of the emigrants were, however, little to be trusted, and as to send an English force into the province would be idle, unless the French royalists themselves were able to make a respectable stand, it was resolved first to try the influence and power of the latter, arming and equipping a little army of them, and transporting them to Brittany. This was done. They were landed on a peninsula, forming one side of the bay of Quiberon. They took the fort commanding the little isthmus, communicating with the main-land. The Chouans, to the number of 12,000, joined them; and for a few days the expedition seemed to prosper. But Hoche, the republican general in Brittany, had now the disciplined forces of the republic at his disposal; war was everywhere quelled, and not the most

brilliant success of the Chouans could finally avail. Hoche soon drove back their advanced parties, and shut up the emigrant army in the isle of Quiberon. The royalist party in France did its utmost to distract and weaken Puisaye, of whom they were jealous; whilst miserable dissensions betwixt the emigrant officers themselves distracted them from fit measures of defence. Routed several times, the English gunboats still repulsed the republicans, till the latter, guided by deserters from the emigrants, surprised in the night the fort that guarded the isthmus, and in the morning the emigrant army fell into the power of Hoche. They had not time to embark, nor power to resist. Many fell, many were drowned, many slew themselves. The English admiral did all in his power to rescue and to aid the unfortunate emigrants. A great body of them, however, fell into the hands of their enemies. All those taken prisoners were shot. The Thermidorian government at the very time incurring the suspicion of leniency, and a tendency to royalism, durst not have spared them, even if it had the inclination.

The 13th Vendémiaire.—The convention, in the meantime, was drawing to its natural term. All France was weary of its rule; and the exasperation against this imposing assembly, which had played so terrible a part in the great revolutionary drama, was extreme. It was bitterly reproached with all the violences and proscriptions of the triumviral régime; all the responsibility of the sanguinary episodes of the reign of terror were laid to its charge; the most popular journalists stirred up public opinion against it; and it became evident that the forthcoming elections would result in a hostile sense to its principles, and consequently to the republican system. Many people were monarchically inclined, and the ancient royalists, raising their heads, began to intrigue and make partisans. The convention made use of the pretext to pass a decree, that only one-third of their number should be immediately re-elected, the remaining two-thirds to subsist, one half to be renewed in eighteen months, the other at a more distant period; moreover, that the convention was itself to make choice of the two-thirds destined to be of the new legislature. This was in fact to constitute and secure the majority. This arbitrary act excited everywhere protests and menaces against this flagrant violation of electoral liberty. Nevertheless, the majority of the primary assemblies, who had met on the 20th Fructidor, gave in their adhesion to the constitution, and to the decrees. But at Paris the opposition became more violent, and everything seemed to forebode an armed struggle. The section Lepelletier, forming the central and wealthy commercial quarter, in which the most impetuous journalists prevailed, placed itself at the head of the movement, and formed a central committee, which was no other than a kind of insurrectional government. The constitution was accepted by the majority of the sections, but the decrees relative to the re-elections encountered unanimous resistance, and on the 11th *Vendémiaire*, the Parisian electors, anticipating the period fixed for the convocation of the electoral assemblies, met together in the Theatre Français, under the presidency of the duke de Nivernais. The convention seeing the crisis approaching, hastened to dispose everything for their defence; it declared its sittings permanent; sent for troops and artillery from the camp of Sablons; dissolved the electoral college, gave arms to between fifteen and eighteen hundred patriots, who had volunteered their services; and appointed a committee of five members

charged with providing for the public safety (Colombel, Barras, Daunou, Letourneur, and Merlin).

The 12th *Vendémiaire*, general Menou marched against the sectionists, who occupied the convent of the Filles St. Thomas, but he parleyed with them instead of dispersing them, and the emboldened insurgents believed that the convention declined the contest. On the following morning, therefore, they advanced against the Tuileries, to the number of between thirty and forty thousand troops, under the orders of generals Danican, Duhoux, and Lafon. Menou, whose weakness had been the cause of this bold attack, was dismissed from his command, and the assembly looked round for an officer to succeed him. In its distrust of all parties and classes, it was felt prudent to choose the commander out of its own members, although no distinguished officer could there be found. Barras, however, had belonged to the military profession; he had commanded with good fortune in the days of Prairial. He was accordingly appointed. But aware of his inability to meet a force of forty thousand national guards with merely five thousand soldiers, he in turn looked round for some officer more skilled and energetic than himself.

His sagacity found one in the young artillery officer, Buonaparte, then in Paris, and disengaged; and he gladly accepted the task. Buonaparte placed the five thousand men of the conventional army on all the threatened points, surrounded the château with a formidable artillery, and, when the citizens debouched by the rue St. Honoré, received them with a determined fire of grape. Those of the fugitives who did not shrink to their homes, hurried to the other side of the river to join the sections of the faubourg St. Germain in their attack, which had not yet been made. When they did appear, menacing the Pont Royal, Buonaparte was here also to receive them, where his cannon, meeting with no impediments along open quays, long streets, and an unencumbered bridge, worked tenfold havoc, and not only succeeded in routing, but in disheartening the sections. The battle had commenced at half-past four o'clock; by six it was completely quelled, and the following day the most complete tranquillity reigned throughout Paris, which had been so profoundly agitated the day before. The convention did not wish to stain its last victory with blood; it therefore contented itself with dissolving the staff of the national guards, and with disbanding the companies of chasseurs and grenadiers, with ordering the disarmament of the sections Lepelletier and the Theatre Français, and with creating three commissions to try the chiefs of the rebellion. One of them only, Lafon, was condemned to death, because he refused to deny his quality of emigrant, and because he denied the share he had taken in the insurrection. After this, the assembly, in a fit of clemency, decreed, that the punishment of death should be abolished in the French republic, to commence with the general peace; it changed the name of the Place of the Revolution into that of Place of Concord, and granted an amnesty, from which the conspirators of the 13th *Vendémiaire* only were excepted. This was on the 26th October, 1795. The elections were terminated; the two councils of the ancients and of the five hundred were ready to enter upon their legislative career. There was no further business before the assembly, and the president, rising, pronounced the solemn formula: "The national convention declares its mission to be fulfilled, and its session terminated." Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the revolution.

X. THE DIRECTORY.

I. STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EXTREME PARTIES.

(27TH OCTOBER, 1795, TO 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1797).

Situation.—The two councils summoned to succeed the convention constituted themselves on the 27th October, 1795, and the five members of the executive directory, Lareveillière-Lepaux, Rewbell, Barras, Letourneur, and Carnot, were chosen amongst the regicides, as if the better to guarantee the future of the new republican constitution. The situation of France at the moment that this great political change took place was beset with difficulties. The masses, so easily excited during the five or six years that had passed, stood in need of order and peace. The higher classes, so long given up to proscription, made up for lost time by the exaggeration and luxury of their enjoyments, and Paris had reassumed an aspect of cheerfulness, which presented a singular contrast to the gloomy period of the reign of terror. But, beyond the sphere of the rich and the idle of the directorial world, reigned the most profound misery. The people, distracted by famine and the absolute want of work, were crowding around the shops of the bakers, in the hope of a piece of black bread; and the scarcity of provisions gave the government the same anxiety as in the past. Agriculture was languishing, manufacture had ceased, the workshops were deserted, and there was not a sou in the treasury. Each night were printed the *assignats* requisite for the service of the morrow, and they were issued whilst yet moist from the presses of the republic. The five directors, in repairing to the palace of the Luxembourg, which had been assigned them, found not one single article of furniture. The porters lent them an old rickety table, a sheet of paper, and an ink-bottle, to enable them to despatch the first message, announcing their accession. The armies, to maintain which everything had been sacrificed, had no longer either pay, horses, clothing, or military stores; enthusiasm had disappeared, and victory deserted the arms of the republic.

Labours of the Directory.—The executive directory understood the difficulties of the great task they had undertaken, and commenced their reign with ardour. Rewbell had the department of justice, finance, and foreign affairs; Lareveillière occupied himself with education, sciences, arts, and industry; Barras had the direction of the police; Carnot the war department; and Letourneur the marine and colonies. The aspect of affairs soon improved. The circulation of provisions was insured, and at the end of a month the directory relieved itself of the victualling of Paris, which took its unaided course. The immense activity created by the

revolution began to manifest itself in industry and agriculture. A portion of the population quitted the clubs and the streets for the workshops and the fields; and then were experienced the benefits of a revolution which, having destroyed corporations, abolished privileges, and quadrupled the means of civilisation, was destined rapidly to produce prodigious prosperity in France. The directory favoured this industrial movement by salutary institutions. It re-established the public expositions of industry, and perfected the system of education decreed under the convention. The national institute, the primary, central, and normal schools, formed an ensemble of republican institutions.

In its financial projects the directory was not fortunate. For a long period there had scarcely been such a thing as revenue. Whatever was not paid in kind was paid in *assignats*, and these were but of nominal value, 3,000 francs in them being given for a Louis d'or. There were nineteen thousand millions of francs of this paper money in circulation; a quantity that the property of the church and the aristocracy, if quintupled, could not pay; yet a fresh issue of millions was indispensable, in order to supply the thousands requisite for current expenses. After discussing and projecting divers plans, the revolutionary one of a forced loan was found to be the only practicable scheme, and was accordingly decreed.

Gracchus Babœuf.—Politically, the sole aim of the directory was to place itself frankly between the extreme factions, and to strike them in turns, when they should attempt openly to attack the constituted authorities. The counter-revolutionary audacity of the insurgents of *Vendémiaire* had brought about a kind of reaction in favour of the vanquished of *Thermidor* and *Prairial*; they deemed themselves called upon to profit by the defeat of the royalists, and formed a club at the Pantheon, to which they went armed, and discussed the chances of an attack against the executive power. At their head was a man called Babœuf, to which he prefixed the name of Gracchus. He published a journal called the *Tribune of the People*, and was an extreme democrat, ready to hazard everything to insure "the reign of universal happiness," which, according to his formula, was based upon an agrarian law. The directors having been warned against the plot, closed the club of the Pantheon. But this merely inspired the members to form a more secret and organised plan, tending to the great purpose of insurrection. The legion of police, which numbered in its ranks many revolutionists, was gained over by them, and the government was compelled to dissolve it. Deceived a second time, the conspirators, amongst whom figured known terrorists, such as Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Ricord, Drouet, and general Rossignol, established an insurrectional committee of public safety, held frequent meetings at a place which they called "the Temple of Reason," and resolved to march against the convention and the legislative body. Their programme was the constitution of 1793, liberty, equality, universal happiness; their means of action consisted in the support of the old Jacobins, and of the troops of the camp of Grenelle, whom they believed to have gained over. The day fixed for the execution of their plot was the 21st *Floreéal*. The government was acquainted with all their proceedings, and on the evening before the explosion of the conspiracy, Babœuf and his accomplices were arrested in the *Temple of Reason*, and sent before the high court of Vendôme. Still the party did not deem itself lost. On the night of the 13th *Fructidor*, six or seven hundred

Mountainists suddenly attacked the palace of the Luxembourg, which was defended by the directorial guard. They were vigorously repulsed, and then betook themselves towards the camp of Grenelle, to obtain the aid of the troops supposed to be favourable to them. But the commander, Malo, ordered his mounted dragoons to charge them without mercy, and took upwards of a hundred prisoners. They were judged by a military commission, and three ex-conventionalists found amongst them were shot. The directory now pressed the trial of Babœuf. It lasted a long time, and was remarkable for the insolence and mad audacity of the accused. Gracchus Babœuf and one of his brother scribblers were condemned to death, a judgment which they endeavoured to anticipate by suicide. Six or seven were transported; the rest acquitted.

Wars.—Having conquered the remains of the Jacobin faction, the directory were equally victorious over the last chiefs of the Vendean insurrection. General Hoche, who commanded in the west with an army of a hundred thousand men, had ably fulfilled his mission of pacification. Knowing that the masses, alarmed at the immensity of their losses, aspired to live in peace with the republic, he had used every effort to rally them round it by concessions, and to deprive them of their arms, by exchanging them against the cattle which he had seized upon. The country, overrun in all directions by strong columns, made its submission. Stofflet was taken, and shot at Angers. Charette fell into an ambush, and underwent death at Nantes with admirable courage. The Chouans thus yielded to the ascendancy of the republican armies and the consummate ability of their generals; the greater part of their chiefs took refuge in England. The directory was enabled to announce on the 28th Messidor, year IV, to both assemblies, that the civil war was at an end.

On the northern frontiers, Pichegru, whom the conquest of Holland had elevated to the first rank of the generals of the republic, had been gained over by the royalists; he had opened secret negotiations with the prince of Condé, the chief of the armed emigrants, and although they could not come to an understanding, suffered himself to be defeated at Wieblingen, by Clairfait (24th September, 1795), and had compromised the army of Jourdan, which had remained isolated in the presence of superior forces. The republicans were thus forced to return to the left bank of the Rhine. In the Alps the termination of the campaign had been more propitious to France, and general Scherer, who had arrived at the army of Italy with the conquerors of the Pyrenees, had gained over the Austro-Sardinians the battle of Loano, a fitting prelude to the brilliant exploits of 1796.

In 1796, under the auspices of Carnot, who possessed great talents in the conduct of the war department in the directory, the campaign opened brilliantly. Jourdan kept the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; Moreau had replaced, at the army of the Rhine, Pichegru, whose understanding with the enemy was suspected, and who had retired to his estate at Arbois, after having refused the embassy to Sweden. Buonaparte, the young victor of *the day of the sections*, was placed at the head of the army of Italy. We have seen this youth start to distinction at the siege of Toulon and in the day of the sections. Ambition was from the first the impulse of his mind; for all who, in more tranquil times, sigh for greatness, in that stirring period strove for it. He essayed to attract

notice by his pen ; an academic essay and a Jacobin pamphlet did not produce the desired effects. The affair of Toulouse opened his career ; thence he joined the army of Italy, where, employed as an engineer, he had full opportunity of studying a field of warfare destined soon to be that of his reputation. Suspended and put into arrest after Thermidor, he was released on an energetic remonstrance, but left without employment. He betook himself to Paris, where, after some time, he was ordered to La Vendée. But it was not merely active service that could satisfy him, but an ample field ; he refused to serve against the Vendéans, but remained in the capital, making his way in society, and meditating an ambitious marriage, since a campaign such as he sought was denied. The rebellion in the sections of *Vendémiaire* occurred ; Buonaparte, through Barras, took the command against them, and was, as we have seen, successful ; in recompense he was appointed general of the army of the interior—of that, in other words, destined to act as guards to the directory. From this command he was appointed, in March, 1796, to that of the army of Italy. He married in the same month Josephine, the widow of Alexander de Beauharnais, a French nobleman who took part in the revolution, and who, after having been at one time president of the national assembly, and served in the armies of France with distinction, was put to death by the revolutionary tribunal, just previous to the fall of Robespierre, in 1794. Josephine, much older than Napoleon, was a creole of engaging person, and seems to have inspired him with a sincere passion. Napoleon was well received by his old companions in arms, with whom he had passed four years amidst the snows of the Alps, without pay, without clothing, even without shoes, and to whom their young chief had already held out, in perspective, the fertile and smiling plains of Lombardy. This Italian army consisted of about 30,000 effective combatants, and before them was arrayed the Austro-Sardinian army of 60,000 men ; but never had republican soldiers encountered themselves in more favourable conditions for victory, and never had great captain such a phalanx of lieutenants. They comprised Augereau, Massena, Laharpe, Serrurier, Kilmaine, Stengel, Berthier, Lannes, Joubert, Murat, Bessièrès, Suchet, and Victor—all those who were destined to be hereafter the most brilliant illustrations of the empire of Napoleon. The army debouched towards the sources of the Bormida, on the southern side of the maritime Alps, threatening at once Piedmont and Lombardy. During the month of April Buonaparte defeated the Austrians under Beaulieu, at Montenotte and Dego, and the Sardinians at Millesimo and Mondovi. In fifteen days two standards, fifty-five pieces of cannon, fifteen thousand prisoners, ten thousand killed or wounded, testified the reality of his victories. The court of Turin, alarmed at the rapidity of the French, signed at Cherasco an armistice which detached the king of Sardinia from the coalition, which disengaged the army of the Alps under Kellermann, and gave up to the republicans Coni, the chateau of Ceva, Tortona, Alexandria, and Valenza, all the strongholds of the country. Peace was signed in Paris on the 18th May, 1796, and the Piedmontese ceded Savoy, as well as Nice and Tenda. Bonaparte lost no time ; on the 7th of May he passed the Po at Placentia ; on the 10th he again defeated the Austrians at the desperate combat of the bridge of Lodi, and on the 17th he made a triumphal entry into Milan. After this—driving back

before him the remnants of Beaulieu's army, which, in retreating towards the mountains of the Tyrol, had thrown a strong garrison into Mantua—he hastened to establish himself on the Adige, which he knew to be the key to Italy, and which he was going to defend with indomitable tenacity. The Italian population were greatly excited; but the victorious general had too much foresight at once to justify the hopes of liberty to which his conquests had given birth; one defeat might drive him back beyond the Alps, and what then would have been the fate of the roused patriots? The Austrians, with sixty thousand men under Wurmser, came now to the support of their interests in Italy. Their forces divided, and marched along the banks of the Lago di Garda. Buonaparte knew how to profit, at a critical moment, by this circumstance: he attacked the divisions separately, and was victorious at Castiglione, Roveredo, and Bassano, in the months of August and September. Wurmser threw himself into Mantua. The toils and glories of the year were not yet ended. Alvinzi led a new army of sixty thousand men into Italy, and the French, reduced to a mere handful by their own exploits, in vain expected reinforcements from the directory; they experienced also a smart check at Caldiero, and, in number fourteen thousand, found themselves opposed in the neighbourhood of Verona, to forty thousand. Nevertheless, the genius of their young general triumphed again. He availed himself of causeways through the marshes, where a few were a match for many, and the conflict began by a fearful attack on the bridge of Arcola (14th November, 1796). The bridge was defended by a terrible artillery; Augereau, at the head of his men, seized a flag and led the way; but a volley from the enemy's guns bore him back. Bonaparte, seeing that the passage must be carried at any sacrifice, galloped up to the spot, threw himself from his horse, and, with a standard in his own hand, called aloud, "Are you the victors of Lodi? Follow your general." He then dashed forward on the bridge, among a shower of balls; his officers surrounded him; Lannes received his third wound in the attempt to protect his commander; Bonaparte's aide-de-camp fell dead at his feet; he was himself carried away by his own soldiers, and the attempt to surprise the enemy was abandoned. A ford, however, had been discovered, and a mortal strife commenced, to last two days; Massena and Augereau outstripped each other in the boldness of their efforts; the Austrians, half destroyed, were put to flight, and the third army of the emperor of Austria driven out of Italy. In voting thanks to the army, the chambers gave Bonaparte and Augereau the flags they had carried upon the bridge of Arcola, as a memorial for their families. Napoleon now proceeded to organise in Lombardy the Cisalpine republic; to provoke, in a democratic sense, the revision of the Genoese constitution; to weaken all the petty Italian governments, which were seeking, in an underhand manner, to exterminate the French; and finally, to complete his astounding victories by useful negotiations.

Early in 1797, sixty-five thousand men, under Alvinzi and Provera, descended from the mountains to the relief of Mantua, where Wurmser still lay. Buonaparte, now reinforced to 45,000, met Alvinzi at Rivoli (Jan. 14th, 1797), where he overthrew him in a grand engagement, and Provera in the suburbs of Mantua itself, where both the sallies of the garrison and the assaults of the relieving army of 20,000 men were repulsed, and the capitulation of the city secured.

Whilst Buonaparte, by thus destroying every Austrian army that ventured into Italy, was threatening Germany by the south, the generals of the army of the Sambre and Meuse had crossed the Rhine, and were simultaneously marching against Vienna. Moreau had vanquished the enemy at Rastadt (6th July), traversed Wurtemberg, and invaded Bavaria; Jourdan, on his side, had repulsed the imperialists at Friedberg (13th July), occupied Frankfort, and penetrated as far as Wurzburg. The archduke Charles, the most illustrious of the Austrian generals, availed himself of the opportunity, and threw himself with superior forces upon Jourdan. Vigorously assailed at Wurzburg, the latter only succeeded in regaining the left bank of the river through the admirable firmness of Marceau, who nobly perished at the battle of Altenrhesen, and was buried in the entrenched camp of Coblenz. He was held in such respect by both friends and enemies, that the Austrian and French armies joined in honouring the ceremony by volleys of artillery. Moreau, left alone in the presence of the imperialists, found himself in great peril; but he was not dismayed, and slowly effected that masterly retreat by which his skill as a consummate tactician was so exalted. Towards the end of October, after a retrograde march of eighty leagues, he was in safety behind the bridge of Huninguen, and the archduke Charles, who had so gloriously swept the German territory, prepared to depart for the passes of the Tyrol. He was the only eminent warrior whom the court of Vienna had not yet opposed to general Bonaparte, and none was more capable of successfully coping against the skilful impetuosity of the republican chief; but the army of Italy had with it the enthusiasm of past triumphs, and the advantage of numbers. Mantua had capitulated (2nd February, 1797), Bonaparte hastened to take the initiative; he advanced through the mountain districts towards Vienna and Massena with the vanguard; defeated the archduke at the battle of the Tagliamento. Towards the middle of April, he arrived before the gates of Vienna, at the moment when general Hoche, who had replaced Jourdan in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, was preparing likewise to march towards the centre of Austria. The imperial cabinet had no more troops prepared, and their capital was on the point of falling into the hands of the enemy. It was therefore obliged to yield to necessity, and to conclude the truce of Leoben (17th April, 1797). It ceded Belgium to France, and acknowledged the Cisalpine republic. All Italy trembled before the conqueror. The petty sovereigns had exhausted their treasure; the pope paid twenty-one millions of francs, gave up some of his choicest works of art, and deemed himself fortunate to purchase peace by the cession of Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara; the state of Modena had made its revolution, and formed with Reggio, Ferrara, and Bologna, the Transpadane, just as the Milanese and the duchy of Mantua were called the Cispadane republic. Venice, whose malignant oligarchy had excited a sanguinary riot against the French, also incurred the resentment of Bonaparte, and ceased to be an independent power. The general provisionally introduced democratic institutions, and when the period for diplomatic negotiations arrived, he gave up Venice to Austria with regret.

During the year 1796 an armament was prepared at Brest for the invasion of Ireland, which had long been meditated by the French rulers.

The fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line and fifteen frigates, was entrusted to admiral Bouvet; the land forces, amounting to 25,000 men, were commanded by general Hoche. They set sail on the 18th of December, but a violent tempest arose, and the frigate on board of which the general was conveyed being separated from the fleet, they returned to harbour, after losing one ship of the line and two frigates.

18th Fructidor.—The directory stood greatly in need of all the prestige of their military successes to maintain themselves against the reactionaries of the interior. The new constitution of the year III. establishing the directory, the ancients, and the five hundred, had not been entirely the fruit of opinion, but had been imposed on the dissentient sections of Paris by the cannon of Bonaparte; an additional exercise of force was soon required to support it, and the application of coercion was now less excusable in theory. The elections of the year V. proved more favourable to the reaction than to the revolution. Pichegru, who was suspected of treason, was elected to the council of five hundred, and Barbé-Marbois to the council of ancients; Barthélémy, the ambassador in Switzerland, whom the counter-revolutionists adopted as their candidate, entered the executive committee of the directory to replace Letourneur. These were only preliminary aggressions, but they were the forerunners of more serious hostilities, and the executive power was prepared. The counter-revolutionists had for leaders many journalists and some generals without commands; their head quarters were the club of Clichy. They made themselves heard in the electoral assemblies, and in the legislature, where they attacked the government and the policy of the directory, maintained the liberty of the press, demanded the pacification of Europe and the amelioration of the finances, the recall of the emigrants and the priests, and the restoration to catholicism of the outward ceremonies of which the convention had shorn it. A crisis was imminent; the emigrants and priests who had returned from exile no longer dissimulated their hopes: the persecutions against the Jacobins recommenced; the restoration of the monarchy was openly advocated, and the leaders had only adjourned the execution of their projects until after the elections of the following year, because they calculated on then having unanimity in the legislature, and the majority in the government. The directory, thus closely pressed, assumed a defensive attitude. It rallied its partisans in the club of Salm, in which the constitutionalists of 1791, and all those who were sincerely attached to the constitution of the year III. likewise joined; it gathered round the capital, and even approached within the distance of twelve leagues; and prescribed by law the troops of Hoche, in spite of the violent remonstrances of the assemblies of the ancients and five hundred. The armies, which had retained all the ardour of their former republicanism, declared themselves energetically in favour of the directory, and that of Italy sent the fiery Augereau with an address, in which were the following words—"Tremble, royalists; there is but one step from the Adige to the Seine! Tremble, your iniquities are counted; their reward is at the point of our bayonets." All compromise between two parties of such opposite views was henceforward impossible. Two of the directors, Carnot and Barthélémy, aided by some moderate members of the legislature, nevertheless endeavoured to bring it about, but the fruitless attempt only served to

discredit them with their colleagues, and they were treated as enemies. The majority of the directory, consisting of Rewbell, Lareveillière, and Barras, were resolved upon a *coup d'état*, and the moment for action had arrived, since the two assemblies intended to issue a decree of accusation against them, to reconstitute the national guard, and to order the removal of the troops. The 18th Fructidor (6th September), at daybreak, the regiments of the Sambre and Meuse army entered Paris and surrounded the chateau of the Tuileries, with forty pieces of cannon. The fiery Augereau marched at their head; he went straight to the guard of the assemblies and made them lay down their arms, after which he boldly penetrated into the interior, and arrested the principal conspirators. The rest of the opposition deputies, as they came in the morning to their hall of sitting, met with the same reception. The directors, Carnot and Barthélémy, were included by their colleagues in the prescriptions; but Carnot made his escape through the gardens of the Luxembourg; Barthélémy alone was taken.

The minority of the two councils now assembled, approved, of course, of the violence offered to the constitution, both in the persons of deputies and directors; and by a decree declared the elections of one half the departments of France annulled. Seventy of the most distinguished deputies were condemned to transportation; a sentence which, considering the climate of Cayenne, and the ill usage experienced in their voyage, was almost tantamount to death. Nor did the successful dictators make the least difference betwixt royalists and constitutionalists. The prisoners were conveyed to the Temple, where they occupied the apartments of the unfortunate Louis and his queen.

The new dictators were not content with decimating the legislature; they formed another list of proscription, composed of the editors and writers in forty-eight journals. La Harpe and the abbé Sicard were included in it, as well as Fievé, Michaud, and the Bertins. They were condemned to transportation. Their victory was complete, but it opened the door to military usurpation, by calling forth the intervention of troops, and the 18th *Fructidor* was the prelude to the 18th Brumaire.

II. INTESTINE STRUGGLES.

(5TH SEPTEMBER, 1797, TO 10TH NOVEMBER, 1799.)

Situation.—The revolution had undergone more violent shocks than that of the 18th *Fructidor*, but two causes rendered the latter irretrievable—the manners of the time, and the part which had been played by the army. The thirst of luxury and of material enjoyments, which had been kept down under the austere and terrible domination of the convention, showed itself again with all the frenzy of the most extreme reaction; debauchery and corruption were its natural consequences. On the other hand, the army had attached itself to its generals, less perhaps than to the republic, but more than to the government; the directory leaning for support rather upon it than the people, had made its choice among its chiefs, who were the real arbiters of the destinies of the country. Napoleon had signed the treaty of Campo-Formio, which gave to France the protectorate of Piedmont, of Genoa,

of the Cisalpine republic, and which ensured to it Belgium, Luxemburg, Porentruy, Nice, and Savoy; Austria accepted Venice in compensation of its losses in the north and in Italy; negotiations were opened at Rastadt with the empire; the want of peace was so general throughout Europe that England, which had remained alone on the battle-field of the coalition, despatched Lord Malmesbury to Paris to make overtures for that purpose with the French republic. On the 10th of February, 1798, the Papal States were invaded by general Berthier, at the head of eighteen thousand men, and the pope dethroned. Soon after it was the turn of Switzerland to undergo a transformation. A republican army penetrated through the mountains, under the command of general Brune (March, 1798); the Swiss defended themselves obstinately, but were compelled to submit. Switzerland gave itself a constitution, formed after that of the year III, and Geneva was united to France (May, 1798). The directory thus extended everywhere its political influence; it had made itself accepted by all Europe, and established everywhere a network of republics devoted to its cause; at home it had crushed every party, notwithstanding the establishment of certain unpopular taxes and bankruptcy, which had reduced the public debt to one-third. But the prosperity was only fictitious, and had no chances of duration. England was silently preparing a second coalition, and within, the reappearance of the extreme republicans was threatening serious embarrassments to the government. There was, moreover, a man, whose ill-disguised ambition began to inspire the directors with the most legitimate apprehensions: this was the young conqueror of Italy, who, in opposition to them, had concluded the treaty of Campo-Formio, and who on his return to Paris had been received with unprecedented honours by the people, and with all the gorgeousness of republican ceremony, clothed in tunic and toga, with the altar of their country at their feet. They made him pass beneath a canopy of flags conquered by his army; Barras bade the warrior not repose, but undertake the conquest of England; it was known that he was a man who would not long remain in inaction, and his presence inspired distrust. It was proposed to him to realise the scheme of Hoche, who had just died in the flower of his youth, and to attempt the invasion of Ireland, which it was said was only awaiting an auxiliary army to detach itself from England. Napoleon responded by a singular offer, and demanded to be sent to the east. The directory hastened to accede to this demand, for they saw in this marvellous expedition a twofold advantage; they ridded themselves of a troublesome rival, and they had the prospect of disquieting the English in their commerce and their Indian possessions. The preparations were rapidly proceeded with, and the secret was well kept. The British government believed in the imminence of a descent on the coasts of the United Kingdom; it was still believing in it when the French fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with other vessels, amounting in all to forty-five sail, besides 200 transports, on board of which were 20,000 choice troops, had already taken Malta, and was continuing its course towards Egypt. Sir Horatio Nelson, who was sent in pursuit of the French fleet, being wholly ignorant of its destination, sailed for Naples, where he obtained information of the surrender of Malta, and accordingly directed his course towards that island. On his arrival, he had the

mortification to find that Bonaparte was gone, and suspecting that he had sailed to Alexandria, he immediately prepared to follow. He was, however, again disappointed, for on reaching Alexandria he learned that the enemy had not been there. After this the British squadron proceeded to Rhodes, and thence to Sicily, where they had the satisfaction of learning that the enemy had been seen off Candia about a month before, and had gone to Alexandria. Thitherward they pressed all sail, and on the 1st of August descried the French fleet lying in Aboukir bay. Bonaparte had landed his army on the 5th of July, and having made himself master of Alexandria, he drew up his transports within the inner harbour of that city, and proceeded with his army along the banks of the Nile. The French fleet, commanded by admiral Brueys, was drawn up near the shore, in a compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates, and protected in the front by a battery planted on a small island. Nelson decided on an immediate attack that evening, and regardless of the position of the French, led his fleet between them and the shore, so as to place the enemy between two fires. The victory was complete. Nine ships of the line were taken, one was burnt by her captain, and the admiral's ship, *l'Orient*, was blown up in the action, with her commander and the greater part of the crew. The loss of the English was 900 sailors killed; that of the French far greater. While his fleet was thus destroyed, he was himself victorious over the Mamelukes—a body of cavalry which had usurped the government, and installed its Beys in the place of the Turkish Pashas,—and overthrew them in two brilliant actions at the foot of the pyramids (1798).

22nd Floréal.—At the moment of his departure from Toulon, the annual elections to renew a third of the councils had taken place, and the extreme republicans, who had been defeated the year before by the royalists, obtained the majority. The returned deputies formed instantly an opposition, which the directory had but its old mode of answering, viz., annulling the election. This it did not scruple to put in practice, admitting into the legislature merely those candidates that pleased them, and who universally had the fewest votes.

General War.—A second coalition was now formed against France, under the auspices of Great Britain, and was entered into by Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and Naples. Prussia and Spain alone had declared their firm resolution to observe a strict neutrality. The war during the whole of 1799 was an alternation of successes and defeats. Championnet conquered the Roman States and Naples, soon, however, to be lost again. Masséna obtained some successes at Zurich, but Jourdan was repulsed, and Scherer completely routed. The Russians, under Suwarrow, were depriving the French troops of their reputation of superiority; Jourdan was defeated at Stockach, Scherer at Magnano, and Macdonald in the Trebia. In the north, the duke of York landed in Holland, with between forty and fifty thousand Anglo-Russians. The situation of the republic became perilous; the Belgian frontier was seriously threatened; the armies of the enemy were concentrating themselves in Switzerland; Suwarrow, abandoning Italy, had boldly pushed forward across the mountains with twenty thousand men, in the rear of Masséna, who manœuvred around Zurich, and whose defeat might have had incalculable consequences.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte, after completing the conquest of Egypt, traversed the desert of Arabia Petrea, and entered Syria, where his troops vanquished the troops at Nazareth and Mount Tabor, but were totally baffled in seventeen different assaults upon the weak defences of Acre, defended by the spirit and activity of Sir Sidney Smith. Abandoning Syria, Bonaparte returned to Egypt, where he defeated a Turkish army of eighteen thousand men; and then, without leave from his superiors at home, he deserted his troops, left them behind in Egypt, and in a French frigate, escaping the English fleet beyond expectation, he sailed for the shores of France.

18th Brumaire.—Napoleon landed at Fréjus in October, 1799, and found the directory destitute of all support in public opinion. The party dissensions in France, her danger of external foes, and the opportunity which was thereby offered to his ambition, seems to have determined him to quit Egypt. On his arrival in Paris he repaired to the Luxembourg. The directory praised and chid, and showed great fear of him. He was soon made acquainted with the external and internal situation of France. He deplored the loss of those conquests which had gained to him immortal fame; but he further deplored the state of the country, torn into a variety of factions. An army unclothed, unfed, and unpaid; a part of the interior of the republic in rebellion; a host of foes from without pressing it on all sides; the finances in the utmost possible state of derangement; and the resources almost decreased to the last livre. The quick discernment of Bonaparte told him that nothing short of a grand effort could save France from ruin. As the army had been called in to sustain the tenure of office of the directory, so now it in turn was employed to dispossess them. Preparations were made, by consulting the generals, and by gaining the garrison at Paris, for a new transfer of the supreme power, out of hands that held it by a wrongful title, into other hands that seized it by means not less wrongful. On the demand of one of the persons in Bonaparte's confidence, the legislature met at St. Cloud: the council of elders in the great gallery; and that of the five hundred, of whom Lucien Bonaparte was president, in the orangery. Bonaparte entered the council of elders, and, in an animated address, described the dangers that menaced the republic, and conjured them to associate their wisdom with the force which surrounded him. A member using the word "constitution;" Buonaparte exclaimed, "The constitution! It has been trodden under foot, and used as a cloak for all manner of tyranny. Meanwhile, a violent debate was going on in the orangery, several members insisting upon knowing why the place of sitting had been changed. The president endeavoured to allay this storm; but the removal had created great heat, and the cry was "Down with the dictator! No dictator!" At that moment Bonaparte himself entered, bareheaded, followed by four grenadiers, on which several members exclaimed, "Who is that? No sabres here! No armed men!" While others descending into the hall, collared him, calling him "Outlaw," and pushed him towards the door. One member aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which was parried by a grenadier. Disconcerted at this rough treatment, general Lefebvre came to his aid, and Buonaparte retiring, mounted his horse, and addressed the troops outside. His brother Lucien also made a forcible appeal to the military, and the result

was, that a picket of grenadiers entered the hall, and the drums beating the *pas de charge*, cleared it at the point of the bayonet. This truly Cromwellian argument decided the affair, and in the evening it was declared that the directory had ceased to exist; that a provisional consular commission should be appointed, composed of citizens Siéyès, Ducos, and Bonaparte; and that the two councils would name committees of twenty-five members each, to prepare a new constitution. In the interval between the abolition of one constitution and the creation of another, the consuls were invested with a dictatorship. Lucien Bonaparte was made minister of the interior; Talleyrand of foreign affairs; Carnot of war; and Fouché of police. Thus a new and more lasting military government was violently established upon the ruins of the monarchy and every successive party to the revolution, and the dreadful convulsions France had suffered for ten years produced no better fruit than a usurpation.

XI. THE CONSULATE.

(10TH NOVEMBER, 1799, TO 10TH MAY, 1804.)

Constitution of Year VIII.—All France welcomed with transports of joy the tidings of the 18th *Brumaire*. The nation was weary of faction, weary of the vicissitudes of public opinion, and weary of the feebleness of the directory. The want of a central government, vigorously constituted, and directed by a skilful hand, was universally felt. No one foresaw the future which the scene in the orangery had prepared for France; no one saw that the new revolution had been accomplished for the advantage of one individual. The republicans applauded the elevation of a general sprung from their own ranks, and formed in the rude school of the armies of 1793; the royalists, judging the present time by historical comparisons, hoped for a new Monk; the moderates greeted the advent of a wise and peaceful liberty. The partisans of the directory alone exclaimed against the usurpation; they alone were struck; thirty-seven of them were condemned to transportation to Guiana, and twenty-one placed under surveillance in the department of the Charente Inférieure, but public disapprobation compelled the government to reduce, and afterwards to annul, this punishment. The first acts of the consular government were the repeal of the law of hostages for the emigrants, the forced loan, the recall of the proscribed priests, and the sending beyond the frontiers the emigrants who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Calais, and detained for four years under the weight of sentence of death.

The new constitution consisted of an executive composed of three consuls; one bearing the title of chief, and in fact possessing all the authority of a conservative senate, composed of eighty members appointed for life; the first sixty to be nominated by the consuls, and the number to be completed by adding two, annually, for ten years; and a legislative body of 300 members; and a tribunate of 100. Bonaparte was nominated the first consul, for ten years; Cambacères and Lebrun, second and third consuls, for five years. Sieyès, who had taken an active part in bringing about the revolution, and in framing the new constitution, was rewarded by the grant of an estate, with 15,000 francs per annum. Bonaparte sent the scheme of this constitution for acceptance to the primary assemblies in France, and his dictatorship received the adhesion of 3,911,567 votes against 1562; so extensive was his popularity, so profound the disgust of a republic. The consular constitution was promulgated in the last days of 1799, and Bonaparte soon after left the too modest Luxembourg for the Tuileries.

Wars.—One of the first acts of the new consulate was a direct over-

ture from Bonaparte to the king of England for peace; which was replied to by the English minister, who adverted to the origin of the war, and intimated that "the restoration of the ancient line of princes, under whom France had enjoyed so many centuries of prosperity," would afford the best guarantee for the maintenance of peace between the two countries. This was of course construed, as it was meant, a rejection of the offer. He then decided upon vigorously pursuing the war. He put himself at the head of the army of Italy, and by the rapidity of his operations outgeneraled his opponents. Having made himself acquainted with the position of the Austrian army, encamped in a valley at the foot of Mount St. Bernard, he formed the bold design of surprising them by crossing that part of the Alps, which was before considered inaccessible to a regularly equipped army. It was, in truth, a most difficult and daring exploit, exceeding anything that had occurred since the days of Hannibal; but in proportion to the peril of the undertaking, was the glory that awaited it.

The battle of Marengo, which was fought on the 14th of June, 1800, decided the fate of Italy. Moreau, who was at this time commanding the army of the Rhine, gained the battle of Hohenlinden, December 3rd, 1800, and threatened Vienna. These great victories were followed by the conclusion of a treaty with Austria, in its own name, and that of the German empire, but without the concurrence of England, on the 9th of February, 1801.

In this peace, the course of the Rhine was fixed as the limit between France and Germany. Those German princes who had lost their territories beyond the Rhine by the new arrangement, were to be indemnified by additional possessions on the right bank of that river. In Italy the course of the Adige was fixed as the boundary between Austria and the Cisalpine republic; and the former power gave the Briesgau and Ortenau to the duke of Modena. The territories of the grand duke of Tuscany were erected into the kingdom of Etruria, which was given to the hereditary prince of Parma, according to a treaty between France and Spain, the grand duke being to be indemnified in Germany for the loss of his territories. This peace was the prelude to others. On the 29th of September, 1801, Portugal concluded a treaty with France, and Russia and Turkey on the 8th and 9th of October.

Infernal Machine.—Amidst the joy at the return of the first consul to Paris, where he was now employed in organising and consolidating his government, an attempt had been made to assassinate him at the opera. Soon after, on Christmas eve, 1800, while proceeding in his carriage through the narrow street of St. Nicaise, a tremendous explosion took place just after he passed. The glass of the carriage windows was broken: the very houses of the street shattered; and some eighty persons killed or severely injured. This is what is known by the name of the *infernal machine*. Of those in the carriage, Bonaparte alone had presence of mind. Flinging himself forward, he called to the coachman, with an oath, to drive rapidly. There was no need of such exhortation. When he entered the theatre, the first consul was calm. His escape seemed to enhance his popularity. The first suspicion of Bonaparte fell on the anarchists, the dregs of the Jacobins. He caused a number of them to be seized, and exclaimed against the negligence of Fouché, naturally

supposed to befriend them. The latter, however, proved to the satisfaction of his master that the royalists were the inventors of the infernal machine. They were seized and punished, but the pretext against the Jacobins was too opportune to be thrown away; they still remained under the inspection of the police.

Loss of Egypt.—The army which Bonaparte had left behind him in Egypt, under Kleber, could obtain no succours from France, for the navy of England swept the seas. Dessaix agreed to a convention, by which the French troops were to be conveyed back to France with all their effects, on condition of evacuating the country. This convention was not ratified by the British government; they sent Abercrombie to enforce severer conditions, and landing his troops, in spite of a spirited resistance, he lost his life in the moment of a second victory. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command, continually straitened the position of the French, till they capitulated at last, on terms not very different from what had been rejected; they were carried in British vessels to their own country (September, 1801). In these operations, an Indian army, under sir David Baird, had been concerned.

Expedition to St. Domingo.—During the fever of the revolution, the mulattoes of St. Domingo, to assert their own equal rights to liberty, had commenced a civil war against the whites; but both the conflicting parties were ruined by a general rising of the negroes (August, 1791), who rendered the whole of the French portion of the island a scene of massacre and devastation; driving out those who could escape with their lives. In December, 1801, general Le Clerc was sent with forty thousand men to reduce the colony again to obedience, but the yellow fever devastated their ranks, and the project ultimately became a total failure.

Peace of Amiens.—England was also now disposed to enter into negotiations for peace, and the terms of the treaty of Amiens were soon arranged. France retained her acquisitions in Germany and the Netherlands, and her supremacy in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. England consented to resign Malta to the knights of St. John; to make the Ionian islands an independent republic; and to restore all the colonies she had taken from France, except Ceylon and Trinidad. France, on the other hand, guaranteed the existence of the kingdoms of Naples and Portugal. The treaty was signed on the 27th of March, 1802; and for a short time the inhabitants of Europe were flattered with the prospect of continued tranquillity.

The internal administration of the kingdom, or, as it was still termed, the republic, under the superintendence of Napoleon, was wise and beneficial. An amnesty restored to France 150,000 emigrants; order was renewed; and the code of laws then drawn up became a model to Europe. Every department of government received its portion of care; public instruction, the administration of justice, commerce, industry, roads, ports, arsenals, were placed on a better footing, and the legion of honour became the first step towards the creation of nobility. A concordat was concluded with the newly-elected pope for the Gallican church, the articles of which were—the establishment of the free exercise of the catholic religion; a new division of the French dioceses; the bishops to be nominated by the first consul, and to take an oath of

fidelity to the republic. In May, 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte was decreed, in recompence for the eminent services rendered to his country, first consul for ten years, in addition to the ten already allotted; and, in a short interval, this was re-amended into a vote declaring him consul for life.

War and Conspiracy.—His extraordinary successes, the adulations of the army, and his election, intoxicated the chief consul; so much so, indeed, that it was not long before he took an opportunity of openly insulting the English ambassador. During a public levee he abruptly addressed lord Whitworth, the English ambassador: "You are decided on war, it seems—you wish it. After fifteen years' combat, we must yet recommence for fifteen years to come. You force me to it." He then turned to the ambassadors of Spain and Russia: "The English will have war. They are the first to draw the sword. I will be the last to put it in the scabbard. They do not respect treaties, and we must henceforth cover them with a black crape. You may destroy France, but you shall not intimidate her." A renewal of hostilities was the natural result; and to such an extent did Bonaparte carry his animosities against England, that on the ground that two French ships had been captured prior to the formal declaration of war, he issued a decree for the detention of all the English in France; and under this infringement of international law, the number of British subjects detained in France amounted to 11,000, and in Holland to 1,300.

A conspiracy was detected in 1804, for the assassination of Bonaparte, and the overthrow of the consular government. The principals in this plot were general Pichegru, Georges (an enthusiastic loyalist), and Lajolais, a friend of general Moreau, who also was charged with disaffection to the consular government. Pending the trials, Pichegru was found strangled in prison; Georges, and some of his accomplices, were publicly executed; and Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was commuted to banishment to America.

One of the foulest atrocities of modern times was next perpetrated by the order of Bonaparte. The duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was seized in the neutral territory of Baden, and taken first to Strasburg, thence to Paris, and afterwards to the castle of Vincennes, where a military commission met on the night of his arrival to try him, on the charge of having served in the emigrant armies against France, and of being privy to the conspiracy of Georges. It, however, signified little what the charges were; he was predestined for immediate execution; and, in defiance of every barrier of international law, justice, and humanity, he was taken out and shot in the castle ditch, almost immediately after his midnight trial was concluded. A murder worthy of the worst days of the revolution was perpetrated; the heir of Condé had ceased to live; and Bonaparte, endeared by this pledge to the regicides, was assured of their support in maintaining the imperial throne.

The ambition of Bonaparte to obtain this dignity, and his denunciations against England, seemed to occupy all his thoughts; and, truly, these were objects of no little magnitude. At length, on the 1st of May, a motion was made in the tribunate, for conferring on Napoleon Bonaparte the rank of emperor, with hereditary succession in his family. The decree of the tribunate was adopted by the senate, and power given to

Bonaparte, if he had no male issue, to adopt an heir from the children of his brothers. The titles of prince, princess, and imperial highness were conferred on all members of the Bonaparte family. Twenty voted for, seven against Bonaparte's election to the sovereignty in the tribunate. To such numbers were reduced even the mock representation of France. Carnot alone, as a stanch republican, spoke boldly forth his opinion. "Shall freedom, then," said he, "be shown to man, in order that he may never enjoy it? Must it ever be offered to his view, as a fruit, tempting indeed, but fraught with death as the consequence of touching it? Nature is then, indeed, but a stepmother!" The people at large were to be consulted as to the hereditary right implied as belonging to this title; and it is worthy of remark, that whilst the votes for the consulate had been nearly four millions, with a few hundred dissentient voices, the 3,521,675 that declared for the empire were counterbalanced by upwards of two millions that protested. Thus ended the French republic under all its phases. It had lasted eleven years and four months—almost the exact duration of the English commonwealth from the death of Charles I.

XII. THE EMPIRE.

(18TH MAY, 1804, TO 21ST APRIL, 1814.)

The Coronation.—This new monarchy brought with it a court and pomp. The brothers of the emperor were declared French princes; great dignitaries were created, republican generals were transformed into marshals of the empire. Pope Pius VII. now proceeded to Paris, and on the 2nd of December solemnly anointed the new emperor, who himself placed the imperial crown upon his own head, as well as upon that of Josephine. Pius VII. spoke an humble homily on the occasion. Comparing himself to Elias and to Samuel, and Napoleon to Hazael, to Jehu, to David, and to Saul, the pontiff consecrated, in the name of the Deity, whose vice-regent on earth he was, the crown of the new emperor. In return for so much condescension, he had not been able to obtain the restitution of the three legations, and he returned discontented. The Italian republic followed the example of France; and on the 15th of March, 1805, having named their president king of Italy, Napoleon, on the 26th of May, with his own hands, also placed the new crown of the Lombardian kings upon his own head, and was anointed by the archbishop of Milan. He appointed his wife's son, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. During his presence in Italy, the senate of the Ligurian republic demanded and obtained the incorporation of the Genoese state with the French empire, on the 4th of June; and the small republic of Lucca was transformed in the same year into an hereditary principality for Bonaparte's sister, the princess Eliza. He was already, also, preparing thrones to establish his brothers.

Third Coalition.—Abroad, the transition from the republic to the empire was easy, and well received by the friendly or neutral powers. Prussia, Spain, and Austria, hastened to acknowledge Napoleon, and the protest of the count de Lille, dated from Warsaw, found no echo there. The king of Sweden, on the other hand, continued to call the emperor M. Napoleon Bonaparte; Russia was reserved; and Great Britain did not even reply to the official communication notifying the great change. Napoleon, who only aspired to justify his elevation by military triumphs, was little disconcerted by this secret or avowed hostility. War became inevitable. The threatened invasion of Britain had long been the theme of every tongue, and the people of France had been diverted from all other thoughts during the momentous changes which, with a magician's wand, had taken place in that system of government, for the attainment of which the blood of Frenchmen had flowed with such reckless prodigality. A third coalition against France was concluded at Petersburg, between England and Russia, April 11, 1805. Austria joined the

confederacy in August, and Sweden likewise was made a party to it, and received a subsidy. But the emperor Napoleon felt assured, that while he could detach Prussia from the alliance, which he did by promising Hanover to the king, he had no great reason to apprehend any serious injury from the other powers.

In Italy, the archduke Charles was opposed to marshal Massena; at the same time, 25,000 French marched, under St. Cyr, from Naples into upper Italy, after a treaty of neutrality had been concluded between France and Naples. The Austrian army in Germany was commanded by the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack. This army penetrated into Bavaria in September, 1805, and demanded that the elector should either unite his forces with the Austrians, or disband them, upon which the elector joined Napoleon; and a similar course was adopted by the dukes of Wirtemberg and Baden.

Forsaking the camp of Boulogne, where he had been preparing formidable armaments for the projected invasion of England, Napoleon hastened towards Wirtemberg, and issued a declaration of war. The corps of Bernadotte and the Bavarians having marched towards the Danube, through the neutral territory of Anspach, belonging to Prussia, the latter power, which had assembled its armies in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier, renounced its obligations to France, and, by the treaty of Potsdam, concluded on the 3rd of November, during the stay of the emperor Alexander at Berlin, promised to join the enemies of Napoleon. The Prussian armies, in conjunction with the Saxons and Hessians, took up a hostile position, extending between the frontiers of Silesia and the Danube. But the Austrian armies in Suabia had been rapidly turned and defeated by the French, in a series of operations, extending from the 6th to the 13th October; upon which Mack, in the easy capitulation of Ulm, surrendered with 30,000 men, but the archduke Ferdinand, by continual fighting, reached Bohemia. The French now penetrated, through Bavaria and Austria, into Moravia, and after having obtained possession, in November, of the defiles of the Tyrol, and driven back several Russian corps in a series of skirmishes, they occupied Vienna on the 13th of November, and afterwards took possession of Presburg. The next great battle, fought at Austerlitz, on the 2nd of December, decided the war, although it had only lasted two months; and the archduke Charles, having received information of the event in Suabia, retired through the German provinces, after having fought a dreadful battle upon the Adige, which lasted three days. The battle of Austerlitz, in which Napoleon so signally defeated the allies, was well contested by the troops on both sides. The Austro-Russian armies amounted to 80,000 men, commanded by general Kutusoff, and prince Lichtenstein, but the loss of 100 pieces of cannon, and 30,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the side of the allies, was an irresistible proof of the desperate nature of the conflict, as well as of the good fortune of Napoleon. An immense number perished in the lake of Menitz, by the ice giving way. Davoust, Soult, Lannes, Berthier, and Murat, most distinguished themselves among the French marshals. This battle of Austerlitz, or, as it was called, of the three emperors, has remained celebrated in the annals of the empire, for never was a more splendid triumph obtained at smaller sacrifice. "Soldiers," said a proclamation of the emperor, the next day, "I am

satisfied with you; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four days, cut up or routed; those who have escaped your steel, have been drowned in the lake. Forty standards, those of the imperial Russian guard, a hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners, are the results of this evermore celebrated battle. This much-vaunted infantry, superior to ours in numbers, has not been able to resist your clash, and henceforward you will have no more rivals to dread. Thus, in three months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dissolved."

An interview between Napoleon and Francis II. immediately followed, and an armistice was concluded on the 6th of December. By the treaty of peace of Presburg, Austria yielded its Venetian possessions to the kingdom of Italy; the Tyrol and several German countries to Bavaria; Briesgau to Baden; and other Suabian provinces to Wirtemberg. She also recognised the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings, and the elector of Baden as sovereign elector. These, and other concessions, Austria was compelled to make. These victories were, however clouded by losses at sea. France suffered deeply from the naval power of England; the united fleets of France and Spain, under Villeneuve and Gravina, being nearly annihilated by Nelson, in the battle of Trafalgar, which took place on the 21st of October. The French admiral, in despair, committed suicide, and Bonaparte never again attempted to dispute the dominion of the sea with England. On the 15th of December the emperor concluded a treaty with Prussia at Vienna, in which the alliance between both these powers was renewed, and a reciprocal guarantee of the ancient and newly-acquired states exchanged. France pretended to give Hanover to Prussia; and, on the other hand, Prussia yielded to France Anspach, Cleve, and Neufchatel. Prussia was now obliged to act offensively against England, as well by taking possession of Hanover as by excluding English vessels from the ports under her control. Joseph, the elder brother of the emperor, was, by an imperial decree, named king of Naples and Sicily, which had been conquered by marshal Massena, who marched with an army from upper Italy into Naples, on account of a pretended breach of neutrality, occasioned by the landing of the English and Russians. But Ferdinand IV. took refuge in Sicily with his family; and that island, being protected by the English fleet, formed merely a nominal appendage to the crown of Joseph Bonaparte. Talleyrand received the nominal title of prince of Benevento; Bernadotte was proclaimed prince of Ponte Corvo; and Louis, the second brother of the emperor, was proclaimed hereditary and constitutional king of Holland. With the same disregard of political justice, the constitution of the German empire, which had lasted above a thousand years, was overthrown on the 12th of July, 1806, to make way for the Rhenish confederacy, of which the emperor Napoleon was named protector. Francis II., withdrawing from the ancient title of emperor of Germany, contented himself with that of emperor of Austria. At the same time, the remains of republicanism, as the calendar, were abolished, and a new nobility created to adorn the imperial court.

Fourth Coalition.—Prussia, which had remained neutral since the

treaty of Basle, became incensed at the treatment she received from Napoleon, and estimating her own strength by the glory of Frederick II., in the seven years' war, entered upon the struggle with France, single handed, and after peace had been concluded with Austria. The cabinet of Berlin had learnt that in the conference, opened between M. Talleyrand and Lord Yarmouth, the question of despoiling Prussia of Hanover, in order to restore it to England, had been seriously debated. It knew, moreover, that the establishment of the confederation of the Rhine had no other object than that of substituting French preponderance in Germany to Prussian influence and to the Austrian protectorate. It endeavoured, in its turn, to form with Mecklenburg, Saxony, the duchy of Brunswick, Hesse, and the Hanseatic towns, a confederation of the northern states, which might, in case of need, throw itself into the arms of Russia; but Napoleon imperatively enjoined Saxony to refuse its signature, and from that moment matters assumed a warlike aspect. The pacific Fox had died in London, and the Whig administration was succeeded by a Tory government, composed of men formed in the school of Pitt, and who accelerated the rupture between the two countries. England, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden united, and the fourth coalition was formed. Prussia was lost; she had a splendid army of two hundred and forty thousand men, full of enthusiasm, kindled by the warlike harangues of a young and worshipped queen; but she was not a match against the irresistible clash of the imperial masses, and a few days were about to suffice for her destruction. Her ultimatum was a real declaration of war: it demanded that all the French troops should be recalled to the other side of the Rhine, and that no further obstacle should be placed to the formation of the northern league. On the very day that this ultimatum was dated (1st of October), Napoleon, who had foreseen the event, penetrated into Germany with 195,000 men, and on the 14th, at the moment that Davoust, with very inferior forces, overthrew, at Auerstadt, the 60,000 men of the duke of Brunswick, who was killed in the affray, the emperor was crushing, at Jena, the 70,000 combatants of prince Hohenlohe. More than 20,000 Prussians were killed and wounded, and 40,000 taken prisoners, with 300 pieces of cannon. Prince Ferdinand died of his wounds. Never did battle lead to such brilliant results; the Prussian monarchy was overwhelmed with stupor. A panic seized the garrisons; all the principal towns of Prussia, west of the Oder, surrendered to the French soon after the battle; and on the 25th of October Napoleon entered the capital.

He next promulgated the celebrated Berlin decree, or "continental system," by which the British islands were declared in a state of blockade, all articles of British manufacture were interdicted, and all vessels touching at England, or any English colony, excluded from every harbour under the control of France.

Beyond the Vistula, the war between France and Russia was opened on the 25th of December, 1806, by the fight of Czarnowo, in which the French carried the Russian redoubts upon the left bank of the Ukra. On the succeeding morning, Davoust drove field-marshal Kameuskji out of his position; and on the day following the marshal renounced the command-in-chief, in which he was succeeded by Benningsen. This general suddenly transported the theatre of war into eastern Prussia, where the Russians, on the 23rd of January, 1807, attacked the advanced posts of

the prince of Ponte Corvo, who engaged them on the 25th, at Mohrungen, and by his manœuvres covered the flank of the French army, until a junction was formed. After continued fighting from the 1st to the 7th of February, the battle of Eylau took place. The slaughter was dreadful; both parties claimed the victory, and both were glad to pause while they reunited their respective armies.

The next operation of consequence was the siege and bombardment of Dantzic, by general Lefebvre; and general Kalkreuth was compelled to capitulate on the 24th of May, after marshal Lannes had defeated a body of Russians, who had landed at Weichselmunde, with the view of raising the siege. At last, after a series of skirmishes between the different divisions of the hostile armies, the decisive victory of the French over the Russians, at Friedland, on the 14th of June, 1807, led to the peace of Tilsit; which was concluded on the 9th of July, between France and Russia, by Talleyrand and count Kalkreuth, after an interview between the three monarchs, upon the Niemen, and subsequently at Tilsit. In this peace Prussia was shorn of territories containing upwards of one-half of the former population of that kingdom; and from the various districts which fell into the conqueror's hands, were formed two new states: the kingdom of Westphalia and the dukedom of Warsaw. The former was given to Jerome Bonaparte, and the king of Saxony was flattered with the title of duke of Warsaw. Upon the intercession of Russia the dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Oldenburg, and Coburg were reinstated; and France and Russia exchanged reciprocal guarantees of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in this peace. Russia and Prussia were compelled to adhere to the continental blockade, and to close their ports to England. Napoleon returned to Paris to receive the usual tribute of admiration, which always awaited him on the return of his campaigns. The column on the Place Vendôme, for which the cannon of the enemy had furnished the bronze, was erected to perpetuate the memory of his great achievements.

Never had the fortune of man been more brilliant; the whole world was struck with astonishment at victories so rapid, and seemed to bend itself before so colossal a power. But his ambition was boundless; and under the guise of giving freedom to the world, he became its greatest tyrant. No sovereign could be more absolute: he regarded other men as insignificant ciphers, destined to increase the amount of that unity which centred in himself. He talked of the glory of France; but thought only of his own exaltation, and was gratified with the increase of servile adulation. He re-established the imposts, the abuses, and the prodigalities of the ancient monarchy. The aids and monopolies reappeared under the name of united duties. The press was kept under by a merciless censorship; juries were perverted; prefects and other petty despots assumed the place of free administrators of justice; the emperor nominated all the public functionaries, and all were inviolable; the council of state, a dependent and removable body, was the sole arbiter of their responsibility. The election of the deputies was ridiculous, in this pretended representative government, the laws of which were the dicta of the emperor, under the name of decrees, or senatorial edicts. Individual liberty no longer existed: a police, that was a true political inquisition, suspected even silence itself; accused even the thoughts of men, and

extended over Europe a net of iron. All this time, too, the conscription, a dreadful tax upon human life, was levied with unsparing activity ; and the French youth were surrendered to his will by the senate, as a sort of annual contribution.

The empire now only counted four hostile powers in Europe : England, Sweden, Portugal, and Sicily. At Austerlitz, it had subjugated the Austrian monarchy ; at Jena it had dislocated Prussia ; at Friedland it had conquered Russia, without encroaching upon it, but the treaty of Tilsit had gained it over to its cause, and for three or four years it aided in enforcing the obedience of the continent. Napoleon resolved upon striking Sweden and Portugal. Marshal Brune invaded the Swedish possessions, and conquered Stralsund, the isle of Rugen, and Pomerania.

The affairs of Spain now began to occupy the attention of Napoleon ; one of his first objects was, however, to destroy the English influence in Portugal. On the 27th of September, a secret treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau, between the envoy of the prince of peace, Don Manuel Godoy, who governed Spain in the name of the aged Charles IV., and the cabinet of Madrid granted passage to the imperial troops. Portugal, alarmed at the possibility of an invasion, had at first broken with Great Britain, but the presence of an English squadron at the mouth of the Tagus had suddenly altered its disposition, and it resigned itself to the hazards of a struggle with Napoleon. On the 13th of December, a decree, dated from Paris, announced that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign ; and Junot entered Lisbon at the head of twenty-eight thousand men. The prince regent did not even attempt to resist, and embarked with the royal family, their treasures, and a few of the principal nobility, in a British fleet for the Brazils. Everything submitted at the approach of the French ; the independence of Portugal was crushed ; the king of Etruria was to receive northern Lusitania, in exchange for Tuscany ; the prince of peace claimed for his share the kingdom of Algarva ; and the king of Spain, was to be declared protector of these two secondary states, with the pompous title of emperor of both Americas. The remainder of the country was to be left at the disposal of the conqueror. When the time for the partition arrived, it did not take place. Napoleon had weightier matters in hand, and the throne of the Bourbons of Spain was threatened in its turn.

In 1808, the Spanish nobility, tired of the government of the prince of peace, formed a plot to raise Ferdinand VII. to the throne, and free their country from foreign influence. It required no great effort to induce Charles to resign in favour of his son ; but this was an arrangement to which Buonaparte would not consent ; and both father and son now became pensioners of the French conqueror, who invested his brother Joseph, at that time king of Naples, with the sovereignty of Spain and India. The people now rose *en masse* to vindicate their rights, and that struggle commenced in which the patriotic Spaniards were so warmly and successfully supported by the British under Wellington, during the long and arduous military operations which are known in England as the "Peninsular War." The insurrection was general, and though the French troops were for the most part successful, the surrender of Dupont, with 26,000 men, at Baylen (1808), drove Joseph out of Madrid eight days after he had entered it. Junot was

defeated at Vimieira (1808) by the duke of Wellington,—then Sir Arthur Wellesley, and evacuated Portugal. These events attracted the attention of Napoleon; he hastened to acquire the friendship of Alexander of Russia, so as to ensure the quiet of the Germanic border, and poured an enormous force into Spain, under his own command. To the vast power of France fairly in motion against them, the Spanish patriots could oppose no adequate resistance. They were broken on all sides; an English army under Sir John Moore, unequal to the contest alone, retreated from the interior in haste to Corunna, where, finding a battle necessary, they secured their embarkation by a victory in which their commander fell, and set sail for England (1809).

The emperor entered Madrid on the 1st of December, and addressed the Spaniards in a proclamation filled with moderation and skill, such as he excelled in making. He was preparing to complete the pacification of the provinces, when he received untoward tidings from Germany. England, ever indefatigable, had succeeded in forming a fifth coalition.

Fifth Coalition.—Austria, persevering in her efforts against France, took encouragement from the Spanish insurrection and the absence of the veteran troops from Germany, to attempt the re-establishment of her former influence in Germany. The emperor Francis accordingly declared war against France, and his armies, to the number of 550,000 men, advanced into Bavaria, Italy, and the dukedom of Warsaw. Napoleon, who had only eighty thousand beyond the Rhine, immediately gave orders to his old regiments in the Peninsula to return by forced marches upon the Danube, and he charged Berthier provisionally with the command of the army of Germany. These rapid measures baffled the Austrian calculations, and he defeated the archduke Louis so severely at Eckmühl and at Ratisbon, on the 22nd and 23rd of April, that he was compelled to cross the Danube. Vienna was thus opened to the conquerors, and Napoleon took possession of that capital. The archduke Charles was, however, undismayed; he attacked the French in their position at Aspern, on the 26th of May, and the French suffered enormous losses. To cross the Danube in the face of a hundred thousand men under a skilful leader was not an easy task; for two days the passage was disputed, and the villages of Essling and Aspern were five times taken and retaken. Lannes, duke of Montebello, one of the greatest glories of the empire, had both knees shattered by a cannon-ball, and died after frightful sufferings. The battle continued through next day, and Napoleon was compelled to retreat into the isle of Lobau, where his army was placed in a situation of great jeopardy, the flood having carried away the bridge that connected the island in the middle of the river with the right bank of the Danube, and two months elapsed before he was able to repair the disasters of the battle, and again transport his army across the river. Then followed the great battle of Wagram, where the enemy, as at Austerlitz, lost his best troops and his most intrepid generals. It was stoutly contested, part of the French troops gave way before the Austrian right wing, but in the mean time the battle was gained on the left; and the loss of the Austrians was so great that they immediately sought an armistice of the French emperor, which led to the peace of Vienna, signed on the 14th of October, 1809.

By this peace Austria was obliged to resign territories containing three

millions of subjects, Saltzburg Berchtolsgaden, &c., were given to Bavaria; the whole of western Galicia, and a part of eastern Galicia, with the town of Cracow, were united to the dukedom of Warsaw; and other provinces, with part of the kingdom of Italy, were destined to form a new state of the Illyrian provinces; while Austria was absolutely cut off from all communication with the sea, by the loss of her ports on the Adriatic.

The Tyrolese, who had been transferred to the king of Bavaria by the treaty of Presburg, finding that their ancient immunities and privileges had been violated, and that they were crushed by severe taxation, seized the opportunity of the Austrian war to raise the standard of revolt; and in their early operations they expelled the Bavarians from the principal towns. A French army entered the country and laid it waste with fire and sword, and the Tyrolese, animated by an heroic peasant named Hoffer, expelled the invaders once more, and secured a brief interval of tranquillity. The result of the battle of Wagram, however, gave the French and Bavarian forces an opportunity of overwhelming them; they penetrated the mountain fastnesses; desolated the land; executed the leading patriots as rebels; and the land was again subjected to the tyranny of Maximilian Joseph, the puppet of Napoleon. Several efforts were simultaneously made in Germany to shake off the French yoke; but after the overthrow of the Austrians there were no longer any hopes for them, and the emperor of the French possessed an almost unlimited power over the northern part of continental Europe.

During Napoleon's residence at Vienna, he abolished the temporal power of the pope, and united the remaining territories of the states of the church with France, to which he had previously united Piedmont, Liguria, Tuscany, and Parma, besides Savoy and Nice. A pension was assigned to his holiness, and the city of Rome was declared an imperial and free city. The pope was conducted to Fontainebleau, where Napoleon concluded a second concordat with him, in which, though the pope did not resume his temporal jurisdiction, he obtained the right to keep ambassadors at foreign courts, to receive ambassadors, and to appoint to certain bishoprics.

One of the consequences of the peace of Vienna, was the dissolution of the marriage between Napoleon and Josephine, which took place in December, 1809; and his second marriage, with the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria, in April, 1810. And when Napoleon declared the papal territory a province of France, and Rome a city of the empire, he determined that the heir apparent of France should bear the title of king of Rome, and that the emperor of France should be crowned in Rome within the first ten years of his government. At this time an expedition from England, under lord Chatham, sailed to the Scheldt; but, instead of boldly arriving at Antwerp, it began with Walcheren and Flushing, and turned every way to the triumph of Napoleon.

The exertions of the Spanish against French encroachments were aided by the regular armies of Great Britain. While a guerilla warfare was sustained in the interior, Wellington, making Lisbon his basis, and receiving continual supplies by sea, carried on a stubborn contest, ever varying in scene, with the ablest lieutenants of the emperor. The first

year of his command saw Soult discomfited at Oporto, and Victor repulsed at Talavera (1809): but the strength of the French armies being increased, the British slowly retired before Massena (1810), giving him a smart check at Busaco, and defying his utmost efforts in the fortified lines of Torres Vedras. Compelled at length by want to retreat, he surrendered the command to Marmont, and the year 1811 was distinguished by the victories of Graham at Barossa, and of Beresford at Albuera, and by the sieges of two strong fortresses, Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo, by the British, and their relief by the French. Those two strong places were carried by storm next year (1812), and Marmont was overthrown and severely wounded in the battle of Salamanca. The British advancing as far as Burgos, were compelled again to retire before the numbers of the French, and as events elsewhere diminished their numbers, Wellington resumed the offensive, and totally defeated king Joseph at Vittoria (1813); then, driving marshal Soult before him, he gained ground continually, fighting his way through the Pyrenees, and at last entering France itself (1813). The campaigns in this quarter were closed by the victory over Soult at Toulouse (1814).

War with Russia.—The good understanding that had prevailed between Napoleon and Alexander since the peace of Tilsit was gradually disturbed by adverse circumstances. The continental system, which cut off all commercial relations with Great Britain, deprived Russia of a market for its produce; and an affront offered to the duke of Oldenburg, a near relation to the emperor Alexander, was considered by the emperor as an insult to himself. At length Russia and Sweden made common cause with Great Britain, in opposing Napoleon's darling "continental system," while the latter was preparing an expedition to Russia on a most gigantic scale. On the 13th of March, 1812, the senate passed a decree by which the national guard of the empire was divided into three bans, in order to provide for the defence of France until the return of the army which was about to leave the country, and one hundred regiments of the first ban were placed at the disposal of the minister of war. War commenced (1812) by the assembling of 800,000 men upon the frontiers of Russia, and with 400,000 Napoleon led the invasion into that vast and wild empire. On the 9th of May Napoleon quitted Paris with the empress for Dresden. At this town he had given rendezvous to his allies, and never certainly did Europe see such a court: the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, were amongst those who waited on Napoleon. Kings and princes of inferior rank crowded his antechambers and saloons, and stooped before the mighty emperor of yesterday. On the 29th of May he left the capital of Saxony, and a month after a proclamation dated from his imperial quarters of Wilkouski, said, "Soldiers, the second Polish war has commenced; the first terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia has sworn eternal alliance with France, and eternal war to England; now she violates her oaths. Russia is carried away by fatality; her fate shall be fulfilled! Does she believe us degenerated? Are we no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? We are placed between dishonour and war, our choice cannot, therefore, be doubtful. Let us march forward! Let us cross the Niemen! Let us carry the war upon the enemy's territory! The second Polish war will be glorious to French arms, like the first; but the peace that we

shall conclude will bring with it its own guarantee, and will put an end to that proud influence which Russia has exercised for fifty years over the affairs of Europe." On the 24th of June the French army crossed the frontier river Niemen, and directed its march to the capital of Lithuania. As the French advanced, the Russians retired, wasting the country in their retreat. Napoleon then, with his main body, marched upon Moscow, while a large division of his forces menaced the road to St. Petersburg. But the main force of the invaders advanced to Smolensko, which was justly regarded as the bulwark of Moscow. This strongly fortified position was taken by storm on the 17th of August, after a brief but bloody struggle, the Russian general Barclay de Tolly, firing the town on his retreat. But Moscow was not to be abandoned without another effort. Kutusoff, who now assumed the command of the Russians, fixed upon a position near the village of Borodino, and there firmly awaited the invading host. Nearly seventy thousand men fell in this furious and sanguinary conflict, and as the French were joined by new reinforcements after the battle, Napoleon entered Moscow, and took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the czars. The citizens, however, under the direction, or with the sanction, of the governor Rostopchin, not only determined to abandon their beloved metropolis, but to consign it to the flames; and scarcely had the French troops congratulated themselves on having secured winter quarters in that cold and inhospitable region, ere the conflagration burst forth in every direction; and notwithstanding every device was tried to subdue the flames, they ceased not until more than three-fourths of the city were a mass of smoking embers.

In this unexpected and embarrassing position, Napoleon gave orders for a retreat. All the horrors that the imagination can conceive were now felt by the helpless fugitives, who so lately were the boasted conquerors of southern Europe. The winter had set in unusually early, and brave as the French soldiers were, the climate of Russia was an enemy too powerful for them to contend with. Thousands upon thousands perished with cold and hunger; thousands upon thousands fell beneath the swords of their relentless pursuers, who, maddened by the recollection that their hearths and homes had been polluted by these invaders, and that their ancient city lay smouldering in the dust, heeded not their cries for mercy. The cold of the winter was unusually severe, and the bravest veterans lay dead by the road-side, or fled at the *hurrah* of the dreaded Cossacks. The wreck of the mighty army retreated through Prussia and Poland, into Saxony; while Napoleon, bent on providing for his own personal safety, and anxious to devise some new plan by which the progress of the enraged enemy might be impeded, hastened to Paris with all the speed that post-horses could effect, leaving Murat to lead the broken remnants of his troops back to Poland.

Sixth Coalition.—The prolonged absence of Napoleon had raised throughout France the secret hopes of his enemies. At Paris he had been believed to be dead for a short time, and a bold conspirator, general Mallet, had attempted a bold stroke against his government, which could not succeed, as the empire was too strong to be overthrown by some obscure men. (23rd October, 1812.) Mallet, and some of his accomplices, were put to death, and the fidelity of the masses was not shaken;

but the immensity of the disasters experienced in the campaign of Russia struck all minds with stupor; the emperor was received with a gloomy sadness, painfully contrasting with the enthusiasm of former returns. Nevertheless, the senate resigned itself to every sacrifice with its accustomed docility. On the 11th of January, a senatorial decree placed at the disposal of the minister of war, the hundred troops of the first ban of the national guard already organised, ordered the levy of a hundred thousand men of the classes of the four preceding years, and called to arms a hundred and fifty thousand conscripts of 1814, without reckoning the contingent of 1813. Eighty thousand national guards of the first ban, ninety thousand men of the conscription of 1814, and ten thousand mounted guards of honour, who were to clothe, to equip, and to mount themselves at their own expense, were moreover sent to the defence of the frontiers of the west and the south. These were extreme measures which carried mourning into families so cruelly decimated by the reverses of 1812, but reinforcements were needed everywhere. The reverses in Spain were about to lead to the entire deliverance of the Peninsula. In Italy, Murat, forgetful of his origin, was preparing to make common cause with the enemies of France. In Germany, all the sovereigns were on foot; whilst the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg armed in favour of the protector of the confederation. Prussia, although militarily occupied by the French troops, signed a treaty of alliance with Russia at Breslau; Sweden promised, in return for Norway, its active participation in the coalition; and Austria, which was prevented by family ties, from openly declaring herself, entered into secret engagements with the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Napoleon, desirous of effacing by new successes the remembrance of the campaign of Moscow, left Saint Cloud on the 15th of April, arrived at Erfurth on the 25th, and gave orders to prince Eugene and marshal Ney to advance in the direction of Leipzig. He himself began to move at the head of eighty thousand conscripts, to effect his junction with his generals, and came into collision at Lutzen with a hundred and fifty thousand Prussians and Russians, under Blucher and count Witzenstein (2nd May). The affray was terrible, and the new levies did their duty nobly. The enemy was vanquished with a loss of twenty-five thousand men; but could not be pursued for want of cavalry. The battle of Lutzen produced a great sensation in Germany; those of Bautzen and Wurtchen, which followed closely (19th and 21st of May), decided the cabinet of Vienna to offer itself as mediators, and plenipotentiaries were sent by both sides to the congress of Prague. Austria demanded the abandonment of the duchy of Warsaw to the three powers, of Illyria to herself, the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy, and the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine. But Bonaparte could not, would not yield; and Austria was flung into the alliance of his enemies. Francis II. declared war against France; the Austrian generalissimo, prince Schwartzenberg, manœuvred with the Russians and Prussians to crush the French in Dresden, where Napoleon had commenced a series of operations against his several foes which at first were successful. But the tide of fortune turned; different divisions of his army were successively defeated, and he collected his scattered forces for one tremendous effort, which was to decide the fate of Europe. Retiring to

Leipzig, he there made a stand, and under the walls of that ancient city he sustained a terrible defeat, October 18, the Saxon troops in his service having deserted in a body to the allies during the engagement. Compelled to evacuate Leipzig he retreated upon the Rhine, followed by the allied troops; and after a severe struggle at Hanau, October 30, in which the Bavarians, under the command of general Wrede, took a decisive part against the French, they were defeated, and multitudes were made prisoners. Bernadotte undertook the task of expelling the French from Saxony. The sovereign governments in the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand dukedom of Frankfurt and Berg, and the countries of the princes of Irenburg and Vonder Leyen were now overturned; the elector of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, and the duke of Oldenburg, returned to their own country; the Hanoverians again acknowledged their old paternal government; and the Russian administration was reintroduced into the provinces between the Rhine and the Elbe. Considerable masses of troops, partly volunteers and partly drafted from the Prussian militia, enthusiastically followed the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians across the Rhine. The flame of independence spread to Holland, the yoke of France was spurned, and the hereditary claims of the house of Orange were rapturously acknowledged.

While the allies were thus effecting the humiliation of Napoleon, by following up their successes to the very gates of Paris, Wellington's army advanced slowly but steadily towards Bayonne. As he advanced, the old partisans of the Bourbons began to revive; the exiled family was proclaimed, and the white flag floated on the walls of Bordeaux. Napoleon had the advantage over Blucher at Brienne, on the 29th of January, 1814, but was forced to treat at La Rochière, where the allies had concentrated their forces. He now retired between the Loire and the Marne, with the view of covering Paris; and it was not without difficulty that Blucher succeeded in penetrating the French line. On the 30th of March, two hundred thousand men arrived under the walls of the capital. The empress and her son had left it; the defence was wanting in initiative and concert; they were still fighting on the heights, however, during the whole day; but the capitulation could be no longer delayed, and Napoleon, who was approaching with fifty thousand men, learnt the sad tidings at Fontainebleau. On the 31st of March, 1814, the allies entered Paris, in the midst of a numerous population and profound silence. The senate soon after met; this body, so long humble and submissive before the master, hastened to repudiate him, and to declare him fallen from the throne. A council was held between the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, prince Schwarzenberg, M. de Talleyrand, the duke of Dalberg, and baron Louis, at which the fate of the emperor was finally decided upon; the allies demanded an absolute abdication. Napoleon had already resigned the crown conditionally in favour of his son, and on the 13th of April he finally abdicated without conditions. The allied sovereigns had announced that they acknowledged the rights of France only to the territory embraced within its ancient limits, under its kings; and, finally, that they would acknowledge and guarantee the government which the French nation should adopt. They therefore invited the senate to establish a provisional government for the administration of the country and the preparation of a

constitution. The provisional government, composed of Talleyrand, de Beurnonville, de Jaucourt, de Dalberg, and the abbé Montesquiou, called to the throne Louis XVIII., and the Bourbons were once more in possession of the sovereignty of France. France was at the mercy of its enemies, who, together with the capital, occupied all the departments of the east. Marshal Soult was defeated by the duke of Wellington at the battle of Toulouse; and the count d'Artois was compelled to sign a disastrous convention. On the 20th of April Napoleon departed for the isle of Elba, the sovereignty of which had been ceded to him, with the title of ex-emperor, and a pension of two millions of livres and four hundred men of his guard. The empress Maria Louisa obtained the duchies of Placentia, Parma, and Guastalla, with the power of transmitting them to her son, after her death. A pension of two millions four hundred thousand francs was stipulated for the members of the imperial family, and a suitable establishment out of France for the prince Eugene. Thus finished the empire and commenced the restoration.

XIII. THE RESTORATION.

(12TH APRIL, 1814, TO 29TH JULY, 1830.)

First Restoration. — Louis XVIII., after the peace of Tilsit, had taken refuge in England, where he was honourably received, and Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, a seat belonging to the marquis of Buckingham, was assigned as his residence, where he remained till the fall of Napoleon called him from his retreat to reascend the throne of his ancestors. He was accompanied from London to Dover by George IV., at that time prince regent, and conducted to Calais by the duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. On the 3rd of May he made his entry into Paris. Wearied with the imperial yoke, and with continual war, France hailed the return of peace with acclamations of joy and hope. The senators, in conjunction with some others, formed a chamber of peers. At the same time was convened the legislative body of the empire, which formed the chamber of deputies; and Louis, who had declared his determination to adopt a liberal constitution, granted the charter, which, notwithstanding some omissions and imperfections, contained numerous guarantees for liberty. The new constitutional charter was presented to the nation by the king on the 4th of June. It contained the principles of a limited monarchy: as, the equality of all Frenchmen in the eye of the law; the equal obligation of all to contribute to the expenses of the state; the equal right of all Frenchmen to all offices; personal liberty; the free exercise of religion, and the liberty of the press; the security of property; oblivion of the past; and the suppression of the conscription. The person of the king, in whom was vested the executive power, the command of the forces of the kingdom, the right of declaring war and making peace, of appointing officers, and proposing and publishing the laws, was declared to be inviolable; the legislative power was vested in him, in conjunction with the two chambers; laws relating to imposts and taxes were required to be presented first to the chamber of deputies; and the legislature was required to grant the civil list of the king for the period of his reign. The king convoked the chambers, named the peers, hereditary or personal, prorogued the chambers, and dissolved the chamber of deputies, but was required to summon a new one within three months. The chamber of deputies was to be comprised of deputies chosen by the electoral colleges, one-fifth part to be renewed yearly; to be eligible as a deputy, it was necessary to be forty years old, and pay 1,000 francs direct taxes. On the 14th of May Louis created the new ministry, and on the 3rd of August a new council of state. The royal orders of the Holy Ghost, of military merit, the order of St. Louis, and that of St. Michael were revived; the legion of honour received a new decoration (the portrait of Henry IV.) and a new organisation, and the order of the silver lily was founded.

There were still, however, many prejudices in favour of the abdicated emperor to overcome, and many restless spirits to soothe. It was soon perceived that a great difference of opinion prevailed among the members of the royal family and among the ministers. The honours conferred on the old nobility and the emigrants who had returned with the court, excited great discontent; and the national pride was offended by the public declaration of the king, that he owed his crown to the prince regent of Great Britain. The army, so long used to war and the rewards which awaited a successful career, was in a state of the highest irritation; the remembrance of him by whom they had so often been led to victory was yet fresh, when they saw their corps dissolved, their dotations, their pay, and their pensions diminished, their importance and their influence destroyed, and they themselves compelled to change their favourite badges for others, on which they had formerly trampled. The holders of the national domains feared to lose them. The people were discontented with the burden of the taxes, the alleviation of which had been promised to them. The republicans, in small numbers, it is true, were again showing themselves, and they numbered in their ranks Carnot and Barras. The constitutionalists had ranged themselves under the orders of general Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, de Broglie, and Benjamin Constant. The imperialists met in the saloons of queen Hortensia, the daughter of the empress Josephine. They had adopted a rallying sign, the violet, the emblem of hope, and kept up a most active correspondence with the isle of Elba. The ex-emperor held his eyes fixed upon France; he inwardly applauded the capital errors of the government of the Bourbons; and knew day by day the state of public opinion. When he deemed the discontent to have reached a sufficient height, he decided upon his departure. On the 26th of February, 1815, he embarked on board the brig *Inconstant*, armed with twenty-six pieces of cannon, taking with him about a thousand men, including the four hundred grenadiers of his guard. "Soldiers," he said, "We are going to France; we are going to Paris." He was responded to by frantic acclamations. The expedition succeeded in avoiding the English cruisers, and on the 1st March it landed in the gulf of Juan. Scarcely disembarked, Napoleon displayed his wonted activity; he issued proclamations to the army and the people, and advanced upon Grenoble. "Soldiers," he exclaimed, on seeing a battalion issuing from the town to draw up before his small army, "if there is one among you desirous of killing his emperor, he may do so; behold him!" This voice, so well known and so often dreaded, had an irresistible effect; the royalist detachment fraternised with the new comers, and Grenoble surrendered. The cause of the emperor was gained.

The news of his landing was instantly conveyed to Paris, and large bodies of troops were sent to arrest his progress and make him prisoner. But Louis was surrounded by traitors; the army regretted the loss of their chief, who had so often led them to victory; and doubted not that his return would efface their late disgrace, and restore them to that proud preeminence from which they had fallen. At his approach the armies that had been sent to oppose him openly declared in his favour, and he pursued his journey to Paris, augmenting his numbers at every step, till all resistance on the part of the king was deemed useless. On reaching the capital he was received by the inconstant multitude with acclamations

as loud as those which so recently had greeted the arrival of Louis. The unfortunate king retired first to Lille, and then to Ghent.

The Hundred Days.—Napoleon immediately annulled most of the royal ordinances, dissolved the two chambers, and named a new ministry. He declared that he should content himself with the limits of France, as settled by the peace of Paris, and that he would establish his government on liberal principles. The congress of Vienna refused to listen to him; his autograph letter to the sovereigns was not acknowledged, and he was denounced as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world. The allied powers further declared that they were firmly resolved to employ all means and unite all their efforts to maintain the treaty of Paris. For this purpose, Austria, Russia, Britain, and Prussia, concluded a new treaty, on the basis of that of March 1, 1814, whereby each power agreed to bring 150,000 men into the field against Napoleon; who, on his part, was indefatigable in making preparations for war. He had announced his firm resolve to establish a constitutional monarchy, and the masses were anxiously awaiting the realisation of his promises. The publication of the additional act to the constitution of the empire (22nd April) did not satisfy public opinion; it had been expected that the meeting of the *Champ de Mars*, which had been summoned, would have been charged with the discussion of the new institutions, and that the present should not renew a state of things which had become so unpopular during the past. The act emanating from the imperial will was regarded as a fresh step towards despotism, and the ardour of the patriots became slackened. Nevertheless, the constitution was accepted by upwards of fifteen hundred thousand votes, the opposition only counting four or five thousand negative votes. The solemn assembly of the *Champ de Mars* took place on the 1st of June; it was an imposing ceremony. The emperor took the constitutional oath, amid enthusiastic acclamations from the midst of the army, which was grouped around the throne, resounded through the vast space of the *Champ de Mars*. Three days after, the chamber of representatives constituted itself under the presidency of count Lanjuinais, and union appeared to revive between it and the emperor.

In the mean time, the preparations for war were made by all the allied powers. The English, whose army, under the command of the duke of Wellington, was at this time in the Netherlands, resolved not to leave the man they had once conquered, in quiet possession of the throne of France, and every engine was put in motion to reassemble the troops. Napoleon left Paris on the 12th of June with a hundred and ten thousand men, whom he led towards the Netherlands, hoping to arrive before fresh troops could come to the aid of the English and Prussians, and thus defeat them and get possession of Brussels.

The army under the immediate direction of the French emperor, including the corps of Grouchy, amounted to upwards of 150,000 men, with 350 pieces of cannon. In an order of the day, issued the 14th of June, he said, "The moment has arrived for every Frenchman, who has a heart, to conquer or perish." The allied troops in Flanders were very quiet in their cantonments. The Prusso-Saxon army formed the left, the Anglo-Belgian army the right. The former was 115,000 strong, commanded by the veteran Blücher; the latter about 80,000, commanded by the duke of Wellington, whose head-

quarters were at Brussels; those of Blucher were at Namur, about sixteen leagues distant.

On the 15th of June, the memorable campaign of 1815 was begun, by Napoleon driving in the advanced posts of the Prussians on the river Sambre; whilst marshal Ney crossed the river at Marchiennes, repulsed the Prussians, and drove back a Belgian brigade to Quatre Bras. In the evening at eleven o'clock, the duke of Wellington, who, together with the duke of Brunswick and the principal officers then in Brussels, were participating in the festivities of a ball, given by the duchess of Richmond, received a despatch from marshal Blucher informing him that Bonaparte was on his march to Brussels, at the head of 150,000 men. The dance was suspended, and orders issued for assembling the troops. On the 16th was fought the battle of Ligny, in which Blucher was defeated, and forced to retreat to Wavre, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. On the same day the duke of Wellington had directed his whole army to advance on Quatre Bras, with the intention of succouring Blucher, but was himself attacked by a large body of cavalry and infantry, before his own cavalry had joined. In the mean time, the English, under sir Thomas Picton, with the Belgians, under the duke of Brunswick, had to sustain the impetuous attacks of the French, commanded by marshal Ney; who was eventually repulsed, though with considerable loss. In this action fell the gallant duke of Brunswick, who was universally and deservedly lamented. The whole of the 17th was employed in preparation for the eventful battle that ensued.

The retreat of Blucher's army to Wavre rendered it necessary for Wellington to make a corresponding retrograde movement, in order to keep up a communication with the Prussians, and to occupy a position in front of the village of Waterloo. Confronting the position of the allies was a chain of heights, separated by a ravine, half a mile in breadth. Here Napoleon arrayed his forces, and having rode through his lines, and given his last orders, he placed himself on the heights of Rossomme, where he had a complete view of the two armies.

About a quarter before eleven o'clock the battle began by a fierce attack on the British division posted at Hougomont. It was taken and retaken several times, the English guards bravely defending and eventually remaining in possession of it. At the same time, the French kept an incessant cannonade against the whole line, and made repeated charges with heavy masses of cuirassiers, supported by close columns of infantry, which, except in one instance, when the farm of La Haye Sainte was forced, were uniformly repulsed. Charges and countercharges of cavalry and infantry followed with astonishing pertinacity. The brave sir Thomas Picton was shot at the head of his division; a grand charge of British cavalry then ensued, which in a moment swept everything before it; but attacked in its turn by masses of cuirassiers and Polish lancers, it was driven back, and in the desperate encounter sir William Ponsonby and other gallant officers were slain. Soon after this, it is said, the duke felt himself so hard pressed, that he was heard to say, "Would to God that night or Blucher would come." As the shades of evening approached, it appeared almost doubtful whether the troops could much longer sustain the unequal conflict; but at this critical moment the Prussian cannon was heard on the left. Bonaparte immediately

despatched a force to hold them in check, while he brought forward the imperial guards, sustained by the best regiments of horse and foot, amid shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, and flourishes of martial music. At this moment the duke of Wellington brought forward his whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery, and promptly ordered his men to "charge!" This was so unexpected by the enemy, and so admirably performed by the British troops, that the French fled as though the whole army were panic-stricken. Napoleon, perceiving the recoil of his columns on all sides, exclaimed, "It is all over!" and retreated with all possible speed. The French left the field in the utmost confusion and dismay, abandoning above one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. They were pursued by the victors till long after dark, when the British, exhausted by fatigue, halted; the Prussians, therefore, continued the pursuit, and nothing could be more complete than the discomfiture of the routed army; not more than 40,000 men, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces out of this numerous artillery, made their retreat through Charleroi. The loss of the allies was great; that of the British and Hanoverians alone amounted to 13,000. Two generals and four colonels were among the killed, nine generals and five colonels were wounded; among them was lord Uxbridge, who had fought gallantly, and was wounded by almost the last shot that was fired by the enemy.

Bonaparte returned to Paris in the gloominess of despair, and admitted that his army was no more. The partisans of Louis looked forward to the restoration of the Bourbons; another party desired a republic; while the Bonapartists showed their anxiety to receive Napoleon's abdication, and to make Maria Louisa empress-regent during her son's minority. Meanwhile the representatives of the nation declared their sittings permanent, and some of them having boldly asserted that the unconditional abdication of Bonaparte could alone save the state, the declaration was received with applause, and the fallen emperor was persuaded once more to descend from his usurped throne.

A commission was appointed to repair to the allied armies with proposals of peace; but the victors had formed a resolution not to treat but under the walls of Paris. The duke of Wellington then addressed a proclamation to the French people, stating that he had entered the country not as an enemy, except to the usurper, with whom there could be neither peace nor terms, but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed. Wellington and Blucher continued their march to Paris with little opposition, and on the 30th it was invested. The heights about the city were strongly fortified, and it was defended by 50,000 troops of the line besides national guards and volunteers. On the 3rd of July, marshal Davoust, the French commander, concluded a convention with the generals-in-chief of the allied armies, which stipulated that Paris should be evacuated in three days by the French troops; all the fortified posts and barriers given up; and no individual prosecuted for his political opinions and conduct.

Bonaparte, in the mean time, had reached the port of Rochefort in safety, from whence he anxiously hoped to escape to America; but, finding it impossible to elude the British cruisers, he went on board the *Bellerophon*, one of the vessels blockading the coast, and surrendered himself to Captain Maitland.

But his proposal was not listened to. The allied powers, aware of his restless and intriguing disposition, had determined upon the island of St. Helena as his future residence, and that there he should be kept under the strictest guard. The Bellerophon proceeded to Torbay; Napoleon was transferred to the Northumberland, commanded by admiral sir G. Cockburn, and attended by some of his most attached friends and domestics, he, in due course reached his ultimate destination; but not without violently protesting against the injustice of his banishment, after having thrown himself upon the hospitality of the British nation.

Second Restoration.—The provisional government now retired, and on the 6th of July, Louis XVIII. made his public entry into Paris, where he was hailed by his fickle subjects with cries of *Vive le Roi!* The military, however, though beaten into submission, were still stubborn; and it required some time and address to make them acknowledge the sovereignty of the Bourbons.

A congress was held at Vienna. and several treaties between the allied powers and France were finally adopted (November 20). The additions made to the French territory by the treaty of 1814 were now rescinded; seventeen of the frontier fortified towns and cities of France were to be garrisoned by the allies for five years; 150,000 troops, as an army of occupation, under the duke of Wellington, were to be maintained for the same time; and a sum of 900,000,000 francs was to be paid as an indemnity to the allies. It was further agreed that all the works of art, which had been plundered by the French from other countries, should be restored.

The new government of Louis XVIII., under the presidency of the duke of Richelieu, the bosom friend of the emperor Alexander, was composed of the most influential men of the day: the duke of Otranto, M. Talleyrand, marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr, count Jaucourt, and baron Louis. The chamber of representatives was dissolved; a list of proscriptions was drawn up, which comprised a host of illustrious names, such as the prince of Moskowa, Labédoyère, Mouton-Duvernay, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavallette, &c., and a further list with the names of the duke of Dalmatia, Carnot, Excelsmans, Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, &c. The former were to be sent before the military tribunal, the latter to be placed under the surveillance of the high police. The chamber of peers, thus violently diminished by twenty-nine members, was recruited from the ranks of the old noblesse, and was made hereditary, contrary to the charter of 1814. At the same time the press of the victorious party organised against the imperialists a vast crusade, and assassinations were renewed in the south. The first chamber of deputies was ultra-royalist, and vindictive and prompt to condemn. Colonel Labédoyère, who had been one of the first to go over to Napoleon, was brought before a court-martial and shot. Lavalette, who was sentenced to the same fate, escaped from prison in his wife's clothes, and by the assistance of some English officers, got out of the country undiscovered. Marshal Ney, who had promised Louis to bring Napoleon, "like a wild beast in a cage, to Paris," cruelly expiated the error of his defection, was arrested, brought to trial, and, his colleagues and companions in arms having declared themselves incompetent to form a court-martial whereby to judge him, the affair was carried to the court of peers, by whom he was condemned, notwithstanding the eloquent defence by Messieurs

Berryer and Dupin, who in vain pleaded the article of amnesty made at the capitulation of Paris. He was shot, December 7, 1815.

Circumstances were most adverse to the vanquished party. Whilst the coalition were overwhelming France with imposts, and were mutilating its frontiers, the ultra-royalists had invaded the electoral colleges, and named everywhere the most devoted partisans of reaction. The government, driven to extremities by the threatening attitude of the absolutists of the interior, and the exigencies of the allies, gave in their resignation; the duke of Richelieu alone remained, charged with the formation of a new cabinet. When the organisation of the constitutional power was completed, the reactionists proceeded more boldly than ever, and seemed to outvie each other in stigmatising and punishing the men and things of the past. Severe laws were adopted against all persons guilty of having uttered seditious cries against the king and the royal family, or of having displayed any other flag than the tricolour. Individual safety was suspended, censure of the press re-established, every kind of repressive measure, in short, was voted by the two chambers with a degree of fury. The dismissals of public functionaries were innumerable, the duke of Feltre drew up fourteen categories of suspected persons, and weeded the army rolls most unmercifully; the minister of police, Decazes, renewed almost entirely the persons connected with his department; the minister of the interior, M. de Viénot-Vaublanc, removed all persons of moderate opinions; the minister of marine, Viscount Dubouchage, blindly distributed the high naval commands to aged members of the noblesse and gentry, who had never been brought up to the profession. It was with difficulty that the independence of the magistracy, and its irremovability, were respected. And as the discontent of the party thus persecuted revealed itself, the Bonapartists and the liberals were arousing themselves throughout the kingdom and were boldly plotting threatening conspiracies, legal repression came in aid of this system of arbitrary persecution. The rebellion of Didier, in Grenoble, was quelled with brutal energy by general Donnadieu. At Paris, the bookseller Babœuf, and several editors of public journals, were condemned to transportation, whilst a currier and a mason, who had formed the project of undermining the palace of the Tuileries, perished on the scaffold.

Greatly alarmed by the discovery of these plots, the chambers went still further in the march of reaction, and were evidently tending to the overthrow of the charter, to the ruin of the imperial centralisation, and to giving the preponderance to the rich landed proprietors and the clergy, who had been dispossessed by the revolutionary crisis of 1789. This systematic aim was clearly indicated in the discussion of the electoral law. The government presented the draft of a law which would have secured to it an immense influence in the choice of representatives; the commission of the chamber of deputies caused its own to be adopted, which, under a semblance of democracy, concentrated the elections in the hands of the great landed proprietors, and annulled irretrievably the necessary action of government. On this the ministry became alarmed, and made an appeal to the moderation of the chamber of peers, which resisted the two rival projects. But this was only an unsatisfactory adjournment of the question, and the cabinet, knowing that the difficulty

would recur in the next session, had recourse to a decisive measure. A dissolution was resolved upon. The ordinance of dissolution appeared on the 5th of September, 1816, and, in order that there should be no mistaking the sense of this violent resolution, the king declared in it, contrary to his solemn promises, that not a single article of the charter should be revived. The ultra-royalists were not prepared for this vigorous act; they were dispersed after the close of the session throughout the provinces, where they received here and there popular ovations, and were preparing for the inevitable struggle of the approaching elections. The ordinance of the 5th of September surprised them amidst their golden dreams, and excited a general outburst of fury and indignation. Louis XVIII. had to undergo strange scenes with his family; the absolutist press inveighed against the government, and M. de Chateaubriand published his famous pamphlet, entitled "Monarchy according to the Charter," the success of which had been unparalleled. Nevertheless, the masses took no part in these noisy manifestations of disappointment, and the elections nearly all terminated in favour of the government. The new chambers, with the exception of about a hundred members who were there, as if to exhibit, by their useless protests, the defeat of their party, was composed of sincere constitutionalists, and the session of 1816 to 1817, which was opened on the 4th of November, passed off calmly. It discussed the electoral law; fixed at forty years and at a thousand francs of taxation, the age and the qualification of the elected; and at three hundred francs of taxation and thirty years, the age and qualification of the elector. It prescribed the annual renewal of the national representation by the re-election of a fifth of its members, and adopted some transitory laws relative to individual liberty and the liberty of the press. This moderation in the acts of the government was very opportune, for the situation of the kingdom was far from prosperous. Europe had reduced the army of occupation to one hundred and twenty thousand men, but the burden was still a heavy one, and the budget showed a serious deficiency. Moreover, the superabundance of rain had destroyed the harvest; and a malignant distemper had made cruel ravages amongst the cattle; the inhabitants of the country, who were left without resources, lent their ears to sedition, and the workmen of Lyons were sounding the tocsin. (8th June.) Shortly after the elections for a renewal of a fifth of the chamber, in accordance with a law of the 5th of February, took place, and the choice of the electors fell upon men removed from all exclusive opinions, in spite of the threatening predictions of the royalists. The chamber voted the law relative to recruiting, which, whilst it regularised the organisation of the army, reassured families still alarmed at the recollection of the arbitrary levies of the emperor. Louis XVIII., on his part, concluded a new concordat with the pope, which extended the number of bishoprics to the departments; and at the same time, as if to reassure the constitutionalists upon the consequences of this concession, he deprived the count of Artois of the uncontrolled power with which he had invested him over the national guard; he suppressed its grand staff, placed it under the authority of the minister of the interior and of the civil functionaries, and abolished the law suppressive of individual liberty whilst maintaining the censure of the press. This was unquestionably the best period of the restoration;

France gradually recovered from the serious ordeal she had passed through: the public credit, for a moment shaken, consolidated itself; and industry revived again in the fields and the workshops. Finally, negotiations were opened with the foreign powers on the subject of the entire evacuation of the French territory by the foreign troops, and on the 25th of April, 1818, at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle a convention was concluded between the duke of Wellington and the duke of Richelieu, stipulating for the entire evacuation on condition of the payment of the expenses of the war, and of the individual claims of the subjects of foreign powers on the French government and nation. Here French diplomacy was successful; and ultimately a very small proportion of the real claims was accepted as a liquidation of the whole.

The union between the various powers of the state did not last long. The second renewal of a fifth portion of the chambers opened the doors of the assembly to pure liberals, such as Lafayette, Manuel, and Benjamin Constant, and the duke of Richelieu feared the return of the revolutionaries. Dissensions broke out in the cabinet, in which M. Decazes counterbalanced the influence of the prime minister. The favourite of the king prevailed over the friend of the emperor Alexander, and the duke of Richelieu resigned his post, and was succeeded as president of the ministry by M. Dessolles. Much acrimonious discussion took place in the chambers; and the sessions of 1819 and 1820 were agitated by the most violent conflicts. M. Decazes became president of the ministry on the 19th of November, 1819. He had already proposed several bills calculated to gain over the moderate of both sides to the ministry, when an event occurred which overthrew his government. On the 13th of February, 1820, just as he had left the opera-house and was stepping into his carriage, the duke de Berri, second son of the count d'Artois, was stabbed with a knife by a fanatic called Louvel, who with him hoped to destroy all chance of posterity for the Bourbon dynasty. A cry of indignation arose throughout France at the fatal news, and the exasperation of the royalists knew no bounds. One of the journals accused the president of the council of complicity, and a man was found bold enough to bring this odious inculpation to the tribune of the chamber. But, though the entire assembly repudiated this base attack, M. Decazes was not able to resist the storm; he resigned, and the duke of Richelieu succeeded him. A new law of election was carried, amid the most violent opposition on the part of the *doctrinaires* (members who defended a consistent maintenance of the principles of the charter) and the liberals. Many officers of the government, by their writings, and in their places as deputies, opposed the new system; so that with every new ministry there were numerous dismissals, and many names were seen erased from the army rolls for political opinions. It was evident, indeed, that many conspirators were secretly employed in attempts to excite the troops to a revolt; and some were tried, found guilty, and suffered the penalty due to treason. The king opened the session of 1823 with a speech announcing the march of 100,000 French troops to Spain. He was alarmed for the safety of France by the revolutionary movements of his neighbours; and this army, which was commanded by the duke of Angoulême, was sent expressly to restore the royal authority. The invaders encountered no effective opposition, the cortes fled before them to Cadiz; and when

king Ferdinand approached that city, they permitted him to resume his despotic sway.

During the last few years of the reign of Louis XVIII. he was much enfeebled by disease, and, consequently, unable to act with the energy necessary for establishing a firm, but at the same time, a conciliatory government. He died on the 16th of September, 1824, nine years subsequent to his restoration.

Charles X.—On the accession of Charles X., brother of the deceased king, he declared his intention of confirming the charter, appointed the dauphin (duke of Angoulême) as member of the ministerial council, and suppressed the censorship of the public journals. Villèle was his prime minister. In May, 1826, the splendid coronation of Charles took place at Rheims, according to ancient custom, with the addition, however, of the oath of the king to govern according to the charter.

On Lafayette's return from America, in 1825, the citizens of Havre having received him with some demonstrations of joy, the government manifested their resentment by ordering out the *gendarmes*, who charged the multitude with drawn sabres. The influence of the jesuits was seen in the persecution of the *Constitutionnel* and *Courrier Français*, two of the best liberal journals. Villèle, who had discernment enough to see to what this fanaticism would lead, and who was at the same time obnoxious to the liberals, on account of his anti-constitutional principles, and his operations in the funds, became less secure. The parties assumed a more hostile attitude towards each other. The royalists and the supporters of the jesuits became more open in the expression of their real sentiments; the liberals became stronger and bolder; and the government assumed a tone ill calculated to conciliate its avowed opponents.

On the opening of the session, Dec. 12, 1826, Dumas, minister of foreign affairs, informed the chamber that all the continental powers had endeavoured to prevent the interference of Spain in the affairs of Portugal, that France had co-operated with them, had withdrawn her ambassador from Madrid, and had entered into arrangements with England to leave Portugal and Spain to settle their affairs in their own way. Several unpopular measures brought forward by the ministers were, after violent discussions, rejected; among which was a proposed law concerning the liberty of the press. The withdrawal of this by an ordinance was regarded as a popular triumph. This event was followed by the disbanding of the national guard of Paris, a body of 45,000 men, who at a review in the Champ de Mars, had joined the cries of hatred against the ministry. This was a highly unpopular measure; and Lafitte, Benjamin Constant, and some other members talked of impeaching the ministers; but Villèle took credit to himself for having ventured on a step which he knew to be unpopular, but considered necessary. Every proceeding, however, served to show that the ministerial party was gradually losing ground, and that no trifling concession to their opponents would avail. While Charles was much more resolutely opposed to the prevalence of democratic principles than his brother, and yielded to the counsels of priests, who were intent on the restoration of the church to the power it possessed some centuries before, the people were taught to believe, and actually dreaded, that a plot was forming to deprive them of the constitutional privileges which they had gained after

so long a struggle. Thus the nation became gradually alienated from the court, and the court from the nation, while every opportunity was seized by the turbulent spirits of the time to widen the breach, and, if possible, to overturn the monarchy. A new ministry was forced upon the king by the popular party; they professed moderate principles, it is true; but they had neither the abilities nor the influence necessary for steering a safe course between the extremes of royal prerogative on one side, and popular encroachment on the other. The consequence was, that while the ultra-royalists were deeply offended by their liberal measures, the revolutionary party hated them as drivellers and *incapables*. In this state of opposite feeling, Charles suddenly dismissed them, and entrusted the formation of a new cabinet to prince Polignac.

On August 9th, 1829, the following appointments were announced: prince Polignac, minister for foreign affairs; M. Courvoisier, keeper of the seals and minister of justice; count Bourmont, minister of war; count de Bourdonayes, minister of the interior; baron de Montbel, minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction; and count Chabrol de Coursol, minister of finance. To these were afterwards added, M. de Haussey, minister of marine and the colonies, in lieu of admiral count Rigny, who declined the offered portfolio. The ministry was decidedly ultra-royalist; and never, perhaps, had an administration, in any country, to encounter such a storm of virulence and invective as that which assailed the cabinet of Polignac. On looking dispassionately at their first measures, they appear dignified, moderate, and even conciliatory; but nothing could convince the opponents of the rectitude of the intentions of either Charles or his favourite ministers. And when it was seen that the king not only favoured the jesuits and monastic orders, but that he showed a marked dislike to those who had acquired eminence in the revolution, or under Napoleon, and that the rigid court etiquette of former days was revived, they were ready to believe the most absurd rumours of his intended designs, not merely to crush the rising spirit of liberty, but to rule over France with the most absolute despotism.

Though he knew not the signs of the times, he did not, however, forget that Frenchmen were notorious for their love of military glory. War was therefore declared against Algiers, on account of insults some time before offered to the French flag, and also to resent a personal indignity committed on the French consul by the dey, who struck him while at a public audience. An armament was accordingly prepared with extraordinary care, and the success which attended it corresponded with exertions made to ensure it. On the 10th of May, the army, consisting of 37,577 infantry and 4,000 horse, embarked at Toulon, and the fleet, consisting of 97 vessels, of which eleven were ships of the line, and twenty-four frigates, set sail. On June 14th the army began to disembark at Sidi Temajh, on the coast of Africa. The city of Algiers was taken, after a slight resistance, the dey was sent prisoner to Italy, and his vast treasures remained at the disposal of the conquerors. The maritime powers of Europe were naturally jealous at the establishment of French garrisons and colonies in northern Africa; and to allay their suspicions it was announced that the occupation of Algiers would be merely temporary; but the French nation became so infatuated with their conquest, that to the present hour Algeria is looked upon by them

BOURBON DYNASTY.

A.D. 1589 TO 1792.



Henry IV., 1589-1610.



Louis XIII., 1610-1643.



Louis XIV., 1643-1715



Louis XV., 1715-1774.



Louis XVI., 1774-1792.

REVOLUTION.

A.D. 1798 TO 1804.



Napoleon, 1804-1814.



Louis XVIII., 1814-1824.



Charles X., 1824-1830.

as a most important acquisition, although it causes an enormous annual waste of blood and treasure, without conferring the slightest advantage either on Africa or France. Resolved to take advantage of the moral effect which the conquest of Algiers might produce, on the 17th of May appeared in the *Moniteur* the royal ordinance dissolving the chambers: at the same time new elections were ordered, and the two chambers convoked for August 3rd. The *Moniteur* of June 15th contained a proclamation of the king, in which he called upon all Frenchmen to do their duty in the colleges, to rely upon his constitutional intentions, &c. The elections for the new chamber took place in the latter end of June and in July. Though the success of the army in Algiers became known during the electoral struggle at home, and though all parties exulted in the success of the French arms, the ministry appeared to gain no popularity by it. All the returns of the new elections indicated a strong majority against the new ministry, so that, in the beginning of July, intelligent men spoke of a change in the administration as a natural consequence. A crisis was evidently approaching.

A blind infatuation seems to have possessed prince Polignac and his colleagues. They preferred to attack the charter, violate the social contract, and expose France to a civil war, rather than to yield. During this time, the king and queen of Naples visited Paris, and many festivals took place, strongly in contrast with the state of political affairs. The king also ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of the kingdom for the victory of his army in Africa, the news of which reached Paris four days after the capture of Algiers.

Ardently as some of the fierce and unruly demagogues of Paris desired to see the monarchy overthrown, the majority of the commercial classes and landed proprietors in France dreaded the renewal of civil commotions; they knew there was an active republican party in the country, which, though not very numerous, was unscrupulous and energetic; and they had an apprehension that, if the revolutionary party gained the ascendancy, it would lead to a renewal of the dreadful enormities which were committed during the reign of terror, when the Jacobins were in power. But, at the same time, they were hostile to the restoration of the ancient despotism, which they had been taught to believe was the determination of king Charles and the Polignac ministry to revive.

Had Charles X. dismissed his obnoxious ministers, and formed a cabinet of moderate men, the crisis, would, in all probability, have passed over without danger, and the prerogatives of a constitutional monarch would have been secured to him. Instead of which the minister made a "report to the king" (July 26th), setting forth the dangers of a free press, and calling upon the king to suspend the liberty of the press. This report was accompanied by three ordinances, which virtually subverted the constitutional privileges of the charter. The first dissolved the newly-elected chamber of deputies before it assembled; the second changed the law of elections, and disfranchised the great body of electors; and the third subjected the press to new and severe restrictions, which would have completely annihilated its liberties. Astonishment and indignation seized the people of Paris, as soon as the news reached the different quarters of the city, but no tumult occurred; but whilst the ministers were congratulating themselves on the apparent tranquillity of the citizens, the latter had been

actively employed in summoning the deputies of their party within reach; or concocting measures for a vigorous resistance. The principal journalists prepared and printed a spirited protest against the restrictions of the press, declaring their right to publish, as usual, and enforcing that right upon the ground that property in a journal differed in no respect from any other kind of property, and that it could only be attacked by regular judicial proceedings for a breach of the law. The liberal papers, notwithstanding, were all suppressed, and only those which were known to be favourable to the government allowed to appear.

It was impossible that this state of things could long exist. The deputies, representing the electors of the city, and some from other parts of the kingdom who were then in Paris, in all thirty-two, assembled at the house of the deputy, M. Lafitte, the banker, to take the subject into serious consideration, and decide on some immediate course of action. A number of constitutional peers also met at the duke de Choiseul's. At each of the meetings it was resolved not to submit; the peers signed a protest, and sent it by a deputation to the king, who refused to receive it. The rejection strengthened the resolution of the deputies, and forty couriers were sent with despatches to towns and villages within a hundred miles of the metropolis, representing the outrageous conduct of government, and urging the inhabitants to co-operate with the Parisians in a determined stand for the liberties of France.

In the mean time the Government was on the alert, and sent a general officer to Grenelle, and another to Angers, for military purposes. The military command of Paris was intrusted to marshal Marmont, duke of Ragusa. Troops were ordered in from the barracks within fifty miles around, and the guards in the city were doubled. Towards the evening, bodies of *gendarmerie* were stationed about the *Bourse* and on the Boulevards. In consequence of the bank refusing to discount bills, the manufacturers perceived it had not confidence in the government, and they immediately discharged their workmen. These artisans congregated in the different streets, and reported what had happened to listening crowds. An ordinance was now issued declaring, among other things of a restricting kind, that "every individual keeping a reading-room, coffee-house, &c., who shall give to be read journals, or other writings, printed contrary to the ordinance of the king of the 25th instant, relative to the press, shall be prosecuted as guilty of the misdemeanors which the journals or writings may constitute, and his establishment shall be provisionally closed." This ordinance showed a great ignorance of character, for a newspaper with a Frenchman's coffee is rendered by habit almost as indispensable as his morning's meal. Nevertheless, the officers of police cleared the coffee-houses, reading-rooms, &c., and shut them up. By their interference also the theatres were closed. A sullen discontent was seen in every countenance, and occasionally was heard the cry of *Vive la charte!* yet, during all this time, it would seem, the ministers had no idea of the mischief that was brooding.

On Tuesday the 27th, in the forenoon, the police and a large force of gendarmes, mounted and on foot, appeared before the office of the *National*, a popular journal. They found the door fast closed; and, being refused entrance, broke in, seized the types, and carried the editor to prison. They then proceeded to the office of the *Temps*, another popular

newspaper, and, though the doorway was barricaded, and a determined resistance was offered by the printer, they forced and seized the printed paper and the types. This was the signal for a general resistance to the ordinances. All work was now abandoned, every manufactory was closed, and detachments of artisans with large sticks traversed the streets. Troops of gendarmes patrolled the streets at full gallop, to disperse the accumulating crowds. The people were silent, and at an early hour the shops throughout Paris were closed. Troops of the royal guard and soldiers of the line came pouring in. The people looked sullen and determined. The chief points of rendezvous were the Palais Royal, the Palais de Justice, and the Bourse. There were simultaneous cries of *Vive la charte!* "Down with the absolute king!" but no conversation, no exchange of words with each other. The king was at the Tuileries. In the Place du Carrousel there were stationed several thousands of the military, with a great number of cannon. At the Place Vendôme a strong guard of infantry was stationed around the column, to guard the ensigns of royalty upon it from being defaced; and there were crowds of people upon the spot who menaced the troops. Several smart skirmishes between the citizens and the soldiers occurred in the evening, in which the latter were generally successful, so that Marmont sent a note to the king, congratulating him on the suppression of the riots. But when night closed in, the citizens destroyed every lamp, thus securing the protection of darkness for their preparations to renew the struggle in the morning.

On Wednesday, at an early hour, all Paris was in arms; the shops were closely shut, and the windows fastened and barred, as if the inhabitants fully anticipated an approaching calamity. The tocsin sounded, and the people flocked in from the different faubourgs and different quarters of the city. The press had been in active operation during the night; handbills were profusely distributed, containing vehement philippics against Charles and his ministers, and summoning every man to arm for his country, and to aid in ejecting the Bourbons. Nor had the citizens in general been idle, during that eventful night; they were ready and organised for a decisive contest; they were in possession of the arsenal and powder magazine; they had procured arms from the shops of the gunsmiths and the police stations; they had thrown up rude barricades across the principal streets to prevent the attacks of cavalry, and had selected leaders competent to direct their exertions. A red flag was hoisted in the several buildings amidst the shouts of the people. Tricoloured flags were promenaded in the streets, and tricoloured cockades and heart-knots were worn by all classes. All Paris, in short, was in a state of insurrection, and every movement of the people portended a terrible conflict.

A deputation of the most influential men in Paris waited upon marshal Marmont, and represented to him the deplorable state of the capital; stating, at the same time, that they made him personally responsible, in the name of the assembled deputies of France, for its present alarming situation, and for the fatal consequences which must inevitably ensue. The marshal replied, "The honour of a soldier is obedience; but, gentlemen," said he, "what are the conditions you propose?" To this M. Lafitte made answer—"The revocation of the illegal ordinances of the 25th of July, the dismissal of the ministers, and the revocation of the

chambers of the 3rd of August." The marshal replied, that though as a citizen he might even participate in the opinions of the deputies, as a soldier, he had only to carry his orders into execution; but that if they wished to have a conference with M. de Polignac, he was close at hand, and he would go and ask him if he would receive them. A quarter of an hour passed, when the marshal returned with his manner much changed, and told the deputies that M. de Polignac had declared to him that the conditions proposed rendered any conference useless. "We have then, civil war," said M. Lafitte. The marshal bowed, and the deputies retired.

As soon as Polignac's answer was made known, all the stifled feelings of resentment burst forth, and the people rushed eagerly forward to oppose the troops wherever a favourable opportunity presented itself. With a disinclination to take any decisive steps, it was noon before marshal Marmont determined to clear the streets by military force; and he then unwisely divided his troops into four columns, which he sent in different directions, thereby destroying the great advantage they possessed of being able to act in concert. The drums of the national guard soon beat to arms, and the struggle began in earnest.

Every step taken by the columns was marked by a series of murderous conflicts; they were assailed by musketry from the barricades, from the windows and tops of houses, from the corners of streets, and from the narrow alleys and passages which abound in Paris. The hottest engagement took place in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Palais Royal, where the military had assembled in great force, and the people resisted them with desperate determination. At the Place de Grève they fiercely contended with the Swiss guards, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. In the Rue Montmartre an attack was made by the duke of Ragusa in person, but the obstacles which everywhere presented themselves to the troops were so formidable, and the disinclination of the troops of the line to engage with the citizens so apparent, that the insurgents were enabled to seize many important posts: and when evening closed, the troops, defeated in every direction, returned to their barracks, weary, hungry, and dispirited: for while they had been the whole day without food, every family in Paris vied with each other in supplying their fellow citizens with refreshment.

As soon as the firing ceased, the people made preparations for the next day by strengthening the barricades, and increasing their number. Excellent materials were at hand in the paving-stones, which were dug up and piled across the street in walls breast high, and four or five feet thick, about fifty paces distant from each other. Besides these defences, hundreds of fine trees were cut down for blockades; in short, nothing was left undone that ingenuity could devise, or perseverance accomplish, towards making an energetic and determined stand against the military on the morrow.

Thursday morning had scarcely dawned when the tocsin sounded "To arms!" and the people began to assemble rapidly and in great crowds. The military, whose guardhouses had been destroyed, were chiefly quartered at the Louvre and the Tuileries, the Swiss and the royal guards being posted in the houses of the Rue St. Honoré and the adjacent streets. At the same time the students of the polytechnic

school joined the citizens, nearly to a man ; they then separated, proceeding singly to different parts to take the command of the people, and nobly repaid the confidence that was reposed in them, by the coolness and courage they displayed. The garden of the Tuileries was closed. In the Place du Carrousel were three squadrons of lancers of the garde royale, a battalion of the third regiment of the guards, and six pieces of cannon. The royal guards had hardly made themselves masters of the hotel de Ville, when they were assailed on all sides with a shower of bullets from the windows of the houses in the place de Grève, and in the streets abutting on the quay. The royal guards resisted vigorously, but were ultimately compelled to retreat along the quay ; their firing by files and platoons succeeding each other with astonishing rapidity. They were soon joined by fresh troops, including one hundred cuirassiers of the guards, and four pieces of artillery, each of them escorted by a dozen of artillerymen on horseback. With this reinforcement they again advanced on the Hôtel de Ville, and a frightful firing began on all sides. The artillery debouching from the quay, and their pieces charged with canister shot, swept the Place de Grève in a terrific manner. They succeeded in driving the citizens into the Rues de Matriot and du Mouton, and entered for the second time that day into their position at the Hôtel de Ville ; but their possession of it did not continue long, for they were soon again attacked with a perseverance and courage that was almost irresistible.

On the 29th, general Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the national guards, by the liberal deputies, and was received with enthusiasm by the Parisians. A youth of twenty years of age, belonging to the polytechnic school led the attack in the Louvre, from which the Swiss guards retreated to the Tuileries. This place was also taken by the people with one of these youths at their head. The Luxembourg had already fallen into their hands. Many of the soldiers solemnly vowed they would not continue to act against the people ; others were disheartened and discomfited ; and two whole regiments went over in a body to the side of the Parisians. At length all the royal troops left the capital, by the way of the Champs Elysées, and in their retreat were fired upon by the people. At night the city was partially illuminated, and perfect tranquillity prevailed, while strong patrols silently paraded the streets, and passed gently from barricade to barricade.

A deputation from Charles X., at St. Cloud, arrived at the Hôtel de Ville early in the morning. At eleven o'clock, the deputies and peers then in Paris assembled in their respective halls, and established regular communications [with each other. The duke de Mortemart was introduced to the chamber of deputies, and delivered four ordinances signed the previous day by the king. One of them recalled the fatal ordinances of the 25th ; another convoked the chambers on the 3rd ; the third appointed the duke de Mortemart president of the council ; and the fourth appointed count Gerard minister of war, and M. Casimir Perier minister of finance. The reading of these ordinances was listened to with the greatest attention. But at the termination no observation was made—the most profound silence was for a time observed—and then the deputies passed to other business. The manner in which the duke and his communications were received by the deputies, was an announcement that Charles X. had ceased to reign.

On the 31st of July, the deputies published a proclamation, declaring that they had invited the duke of Orleans to become lieutenant-general of the kingdom. At noon of the same day, Louis Philippe d'Orleans issued a proclamation, declaring that he had hastened to Paris, wearing the "glorious colours" of France, to accept the invitation of the assembled deputies to become lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A proclamation of the same date appointed provisional commissaries for the different departments of government.

The king, with his family, had fled to St. Cloud. They now proceeded to Rambouillet, a small place, six leagues of Versailles. Three commissioners were sent from Paris to treat with him; who, on their return, informed the authorities that the king wished to leave France by way of Cherbourg; to restore the crown jewels which he had taken with him from Paris, &c. These concessions were produced by the advance of the national guard towards Rambouillet. On the morning of August 2nd, the abdication of Charles X. and the dauphin, Louis Antoine, was placed in the hands of the lieutenant-general; the abdication, however, was made in favour of the duke of Bordeaux. A letter of the king, bearing that date, appointed the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and ordered him to proclaim the duke of Bordeaux king, under the title of Henry V.

The abdication of Charles was announced to the peers and the deputies by the lieutenant-general, on the 3rd of August, and Casimir Perier was at the same time chosen president of the chamber. On the 6th, the chamber of deputies declared the throne of France vacant, *de jure* and *de facto*, and discussed the provisions of the charter. On the 7th, new changes were adopted in it; and it was voted to invite the duke of Orleans to become king of the French, on condition of his accepting these changes. On the 8th, the chambers went in a body to the duke, and offered him the crown, which he accepted; and on the 9th, he took the prescribed constitutional oath.

The spirit of order manifested by the people during the struggle in Paris, which prevented all outrage and plundering, was still further shown in the unmolested retreat of Charles X., who took passage to England in two American vessels. He embarked at Cherbourg, arrived off Spithead on the 17th of August, landed at Poole on the 23rd, for a short time took up his residence at Lulworth castle, and then removed to Holyrood-house, the scene of his former exile. There he remained about a twelvemonth; afterwards retired to the Austrian dominions; and died in his 80th year, at Goritz, in Illyria, November 4th, 1837.

The revolution of July, 1830, thus drove one dynasty from the throne of France, and selected another in its place. In theory, it sanctioned the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and dealt a fatal blow to the ancient notions of passive obedience; but in practice, it disappointed the "movement party," who looked to see a monarchy shorn of its prerogatives and surrounded by republican institutions.

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

VOLUME THIRD.

LONDON :
JOHN CASSELL, 335, STRAND, AND LUDGATE-HILL ;
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS OF LOUIS PHILIPPE WITH FOREIGN POWERS—DIFFICULTIES ON THE KING'S POSITION—MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE—BELGIAN AFFAIRS—TRIAL OF THE EX-MINISTERS.

THE first thing to which the new king directed his attention, was the justification of the revolution in the eyes of foreign governments; and, as a consequence, the recognition of his election to the throne. No country hailed the new régime with as much delight as England; for though her people shouted with triumph over the downfall of Napoleon's military despotism, they sympathised with France under her forced subjection to the imbecile and worn-out rule of the Bourbons. This unhappy race showed but too plainly, by their conduct in power, how little wisdom their misfortunes had taught them, and therefore had no claim upon men's pity. The vigour which the French had shown in resisting breaches of the law, their moderation in victory, and their adoption of a form of government so nearly resembling our own, had gained them the applause and sympathy of all parties. Louis Philippe, also, from his long residence in Great Britain, was, naturally enough, supposed to have acquired as much knowledge of our institutions, and taste for our manners, as would induce him to seek our alliance and support our policy, instead of throwing France, as Charles X. had done, into the arms of Russian despotism.

Austria looked upon all revolutions with dislike and distrust, and could scarcely bring herself to recognise a monarchy raised by barricades. She feared, too, the influence which the event might exercise upon her Italian possessions, the inhabitants of which were groaning under the most debasing tyranny; and if she acknowledged the sovereignty of the people in France, how could she ignore it in Germany? Prussia shared in these feelings. As to Russia, she could fear little from popular commotion, or the spread of revolutionary ideas, as despotism was part of her people's religion; but she felt bitterly chagrined that the negotiations she had set on foot with Charles X., to share Turkey and Egypt between them, should be thus rudely and suddenly broken off, and was well aware, that the successes of the three days would furnish a dangerous example to the Poles.

Here, then, were three great powers, whom Louis Philippe had to reassure and conciliate. The only way of doing this was, by checking the course of the revolution, by making it, as far as possible, a change

of dynasty, and nothing more. But this was a difficult and dangerous task. It was not easy to calm down the wild excitement of a murderous battle, to lay the fierce spirits of disorder, fantastic projects, and enthusiastic hopes, which civil discord and successful insurrection always call up. The working classes expected prompt and efficient remedies for all their wants and miseries: plenty of wages and little work, and the realisation of all the idle dreams with which the demagogues of the clubs had inspired them. The students, and the youth generally, wanted war and propagandism, as in the glorious days of the convention, when Jemappes and Valmy were fought and won. The socialists wanted workshops, joint-stock, and universal brotherhood; and the republicans murmured loudly at the re-establishment of a monarchy. Each of these parties was fully persuaded that the part which it took in the revolution was quite enough to entitle it to a full concession of all its demands. To satisfy them all would have been impossible; to have appeased the complaints of any one of them would have been dangerous; and the king appears to have been determined in the beginning, upon following steadily a course of constitutional government, which would have advanced the best interests of the country, without pandering to the prejudices of factions. But the fates were against him.

The first measure passed in the chamber under the new régime, was a law to assure the position of military officers. The malecontents thought this was ominous, and declared that this solicitude about the army boded no good to the newly-acquired liberties of the nation. The second was a wise reform, copied from one of those jealous but salutary precautions taken by our own constitution to restrict the influence of the crown in our representative assembly—it was a law respecting the re-election of the deputies who might be promoted to public offices. But in the present excited state of the public mind few considered it of much importance. The working classes were undoubtedly in a state of great distress. The suspension of business consequent on the convulsions of July had left thousands of them without money or food. Besides, the royalists, the party who had been defeated and overthrown were men of opulence, of luxurious tastes, and mode of life, and their reverse of fortune had proved a serious injury to their tradesmen, and then of course to the artisans. Large bodies of *ouvriers* daily paraded the streets in formidable array, threatening to commit acts of violence, and particularly to break the machinery in the workshops and factories if they were not supplied with food or labour. All this misery was in short one of those natural consequences of any derangement of the social machinery, however short, which time and patience only can remove or rectify.

Public attention was called away from these murmurs and discontents by the occurrence of one of those splendid military *fêtes* in which the French, perhaps more than any people in the world, delight. On the 29th of August the king reviewed the national guard on the Champ de Mars. The armed bourgeoisie who had overthrown the Bourbon dynasty were about to give in their allegiance to the monarch of their choice. Nothing was wanting to make the ceremonial gorgeous and imposing. The aged Lafayette, who had fought by the side of Washington, had outlived the horrors of the reign of terror, the glories of the empire, and was still the idol of a proverbially fickle people, distributed the new colours

to the several legions, and received their oaths of fidelity in the king's name. Everything was propitious. The very sun seemed to hail the inauguration of a new and happier era by shining all day long in unclouded splendour, and the enthusiasm which had animated the combatants of the barricades during the three days, seemed to break out afresh in the thunders of applause which greeted the king upon every side; all promised well.

But an event occurred soon after, which clouded these bright prospects, and gave a shock to the moral influence of the new order of things from which it never recovered, and its importance in this point of view will justify our entering rather largely into the details connected with it. Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé, the son of the leader of the emigrés, and the last of the most illustrious house amongst the nobility of Europe, was quietly seeking repose on his estate at Chantilly, after twenty-five years of exile and wandering, when the news of the July revolution burst, like a thunderclap upon him. He was an old and worn-out man, and the misfortunes of his family, the downfall of his order, and the anxieties of a life spent in trial and turmoil, were bowing him down with sorrow to the grave. Long retired from the broils of politics, all he sought was to end his days in peace. But this was denied him. He had retained in old age some of the fire of passion of a youth of licence and gaiety, and had formed a strong attachment for the wife of baron Feucheres, a man whose frank and easy temper gave ample opportunity, and in fact, tacit permission to adulterous intercourse. This woman was of doubtful origin; even the name of her parents was unknown. At the earliest period to which her history could be traced, she filled some subordinate position in Covent-garden theatre, more recently had lived at lived at Turnham-green upon the wages of dishonour, and had ended by captivating and marrying the baron de Feucheres. Her old arts and habits did not desert her in her new position, and the influence which she acquired over the prince de Condé soon became unbounded. She obtained from him at different times large grants of lands and money; and even had hopes of being left heiress of all his property at his death. But her cunning and prudence had not deserted her in her triumphs and prosperity. She feared, and with good foundation, that the remaining scions of that proud house to which Louis de Bourbon belonged, in whose veins the best blood of France was running, nobler than the royalty which first ennobled it, would never recognise a bequest so full of dishonour, and that they would dispute her claims by every means in their power. She therefore determined to avoid following the example of the boy in the fable, who by grasping too much of the sweetmeats, was unable to withdraw his hand from the jar which contained them. She looked about for some one to share her legacy, whose name and rank and standing would conceal her own part in the transaction from public notice. She fixed upon the duc d'Aumale, the infant son of Louis Philippe, and prayed Condé to make him his heir, hoping thus to secure for herself a reasonable division in the spoil, and the protection of a powerful family. The children of Mammon are ever wise. The proposal of the baroness to use her influence with the prince to induce him to adopt the young duke as his heir was received with favour at the Palais Royal, and the queen so far forgot her position as to write a letter

of thanks to a woman who had led a dishonoured life and did not repent it. From that hour the prince of Condé's existence was rendered miserable by Madame de Feucheres' importunity; night and day, she ceased not to harass and worry him to bequeath his property to d'Aumale and make a handsome provision for herself. Louis Philippe went so far as to have a form of will drawn up by an able lawyer, Dupin Ainé, so that all might be ready for the duke de Bourbon's signature. The latter disliked all the Orleans family extremely. True to the traditions of the old régime, he who had fought in the ranks of the emigration, could never look with favour upon the son of Philippe Egalité, the regicide, a soldier who had defended the cause of the terrorists at Valmy and Jemappes. It may then be readily imagined how distasteful to him was the measure which his paramour was forcing upon him. But the poor, sickly, weak-minded old man had neither the strength nor the courage to resist. After many moans, and sighs and tears, and full of gloomy forebodings, carried so far as to prompt him to exclaim on one occasion that once his will was made his life would be in danger, he yielded. He made the duc d'Aumale his universal legatee, and secured to the baroness de Feucheres a bequest in money and lands of ten million francs (£40,000). All this occurred previous to the revolution of 1830.

When the news of the latter event reached Chantilly, the anguish and alarm of the prince was extreme. He seemed to be contemplating leaving France, and for several days his horses stood saddled and ready for flight. The news of Louis Philippe's accession, and the embarkation of the royal family, appeared in some measure to reassure him; but after a few days his dejection and anxiety appeared to return. His manner towards Madame de Feucheres was observed to be marked with terror, and he was visibly agitated whenever her name was mentioned in his presence. A visit from the queen, for the purpose of presenting him with the star of the legion of honour, and of inducing him to appear in the chamber of peers, caused him to make up his mind to quit France. Money was prepared for the journey. The road was decided upon, and everything arranged with his steward, in the strictest secrecy. He retired to rest on the night before his intended flight in perfect health, but in a melancholy mood. On the morrow, his valet found his door bolted, and on the alarm being raised and its being forced open, the last of the Condés was found dead, hanging by a handkerchief tied tightly round his throat from the bar of the window. He was an old man and very feeble; above all, he was awkward in tying anything. He could not tie his own cravat. A sabre wound in the shoulder had so far disabled him as to prevent his raising his hand to his head, and yet the fatal knot was securely, and even neatly, fastened. A slight effort would have enabled him to place his foot on a support, and thus the instinct of self-preservation, always doubly strong in the last moment, would have saved him. His face, unlike those of persons who die by strangulation, was pale, and his features composed. All these facts were so many grounds for the presumption that he had not committed suicide.

Madame de Feucheres was observed to be for some days in a state of great agitation. She had been speculating on the stock exchange, and was a considerable gainer. She obliged one of her women to sleep in her room by night, and the abbé Briant in her library, as if she were

haunted by the fear of some apparition. She shortly afterwards went to court, and was received with marked favour, and in the meantime the whole of the property of the deceased prince was taken possession of by the agents of the government in the name of Louis Philippe, as guardian and next of kin to the duc d'Aumale.

Horrible suspicions arose in men's minds, and were received amongst the lower classes, with ferocious eagerness. Whether the prince de Condé died by his own hand, or that of an assassin, was a question debated in the clubs, the cafés, and the salons, with all the rancour of party animosity and hatred. Cogent arguments, to be sure, were urged to show the improbability of the Orleans family being guilty of aught so base as allowing covetousness to get the better of honour and religion, but the masses of the people are not in the habit of weighing evidence. It is enough for them if there are probabilities in favour of their prejudices, against men in possession of power, which they think unlawfully acquired and wrongfully held. The death of the prince de Condé, then, left a terrible impression upon the minds of the public, and imposed an arduous task upon the supporters and adherents of the new dynasty.

Another cause of popular dissatisfaction was found in the policy pursued by the government with regard to the Belgian revolution. Belgium had been annexed to Holland by the congress of Vienna, in 1815, with a singular disregard of national tastes, prejudices, and antipathies. There was neither community of religion, nor of language, nor origin, nor temperament, nor of historical recollections, to afford a reasonable hope that the union would prove either agreeable or lasting. It was not long before cause of discontent upon one side, oppression on the other, and recrimination on both, were accumulated in scores, and gave rise to great fears on the part of the diplomatists that disturbances might take place which would endanger the peace of Europe. Their apprehensions were not groundless. The news of the revolution in Paris brought matters to a crisis, and precipitated an armed insurrection. In August, 1830, an event in the streets of Brussels roused the passions of the discontented, and prepared the way for a more serious struggle. The prince of Orange, the son of the Dutch king, came from Holland, proposing by his presence to appease the troubles which distracted the country. He found the streets barricaded, the citizens under arms, the tricolour flag waving from the church spires, and the windows of the houses, and from every side he was greeted with shouts "*Vive la liberté!*" "*Down with Van Maanen!*" (the Dutch minister). He retreated abruptly, leaving everything in a worse state than before. On the 23rd of September the Dutch troops, nine or ten thousand strong, entered Brussels late in the evening, with matches lighted and drums beating. They found every preparation for a lengthened and desperate combat. The tocsin was ringing from every steeple, and discharges of musketry were poured from the windows and barricades by an unseen enemy. Losing heart, they retreated *en masse* to the park, and there entrenched themselves, with their artillery. Here they sustained, during three days, the attacks of the Belgians, who were supported and relieved by crowds of volunteers from the neighbouring towns, while the Walloon poachers, all practised marksmen, posted in the adjacent houses, carried death into their ranks with every shot from their long guns. The

royalist artillery, in the mean time, cannonaded the city incessantly, laying it in ruins, and burying numbers of helpless women and children in the cellars in which they had sought shelter. The Dutch, however, at length retreated, carrying their dead away in carts, and leaving the park slippery with gore and ploughed up with shot. Whatever might be the ultimate issue of the struggle, all hope of reconciliation was now at an end. The other European powers determined to interfere, and settle the matter by diplomacy.

A conference was therefore held at London, in which the five great powers were represented: Great Britain, by lord Aberdeen; Russia, by count Mastasewicz; Prussia, by count Bulow; and France, by Talleyrand. While they were sitting, the Belgians were driving the Dutch from post to post, and subjecting them to terrible reverses, and at last the five plenipotentiaries came to the conclusion, that it would be most conducive to the prosperity of Belgium itself, and to the maintenance of the peace of Europe, to restore it to its independence, and make it a distinct and separate kingdom. The prosperity and happiness which that country has since enjoyed, afford abundant proof of the wisdom of this resolution.

The Belgians were, of course, delighted, and the king of Holland in vain protested, and refused to acknowledge the right of the conference to decide between him and his revolted subjects. His remonstrances were, however, disregarded, and after some further fighting, in which severe losses were suffered on both sides, the Belgian chambers proceeded to choose a new king. They were already aware that a monarchical form of government was the only one which the foreign states would sanction. There were two candidates for the vacant throne: the duke of Leuchtenberg, and the due de Nemours, Louis Philippe's son. The latter was elected by a majority of one vote; but hardly had the sitting broken up, when the news was received from London, that the conference had decided that no French prince should be eligible for election to the throne; and, in support of this decision, a refusal was given by the French king to permit his son to accept the offer of the Belgians. The crown was therefore given to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, a relative of the English royal family.

Louis Philippe's policy, throughout the whole of this transaction was exceedingly distasteful to the French nation. The spirit of the revolution of 1789 was profoundly aggressive, and the desire of foreign conquest and wide-spread dominion had ever since haunted the minds of the people like a "fevered dream." The genius of Napoleon had gratified the national vanity, by making the French name feared all over Europe, and the light-hearted race who submitted to his despotism and fought under his eagles, deemed themselves well recompensed for the lavish expenditure of their blood and treasure, by the glory which covered their achievements, and the wide extension of French territory. Experience, dearly bought amidst the sands of Egypt, the snows of Russia, on the heights of Leipsic, at the Nile, and Trafalgar, and, last of all, at Waterloo, had taught them that Providence had not given to France the mission to absorb other nations into one great system of centralisation, and that, despite the greatness of her resources, and the matchless valour and skill of her soldiers, she must be content to confine herself within the limits marked out for her by nature, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the sea. But still,

the French could not relinquish the idea that, on the remaining side, the proper boundary of their territory was the Rhine; that Belgium ought, as in the days of the Grand Monarch, of right to belong to them. They were therefore desirous that the government should assist the Belgians in throwing off the Dutch yoke, and then annex the kingdom to France; justifying the proposed step by appeals to history, and by pointing out the identity of language, and manners, and religion. But this was a scheme which could only be carried out by force of arms, and in defiance of the other European powers; and it was very doubtful whether it would at all better the condition of Belgium to free herself from the Dutch, only to become a French province. It was easy for Louis Philippe to defend his reluctance to deprive her of her newly-acquired independence, but when his refusal to allow the duc de Nemours to become their king proved to the world how desirous he was to win the good graces of England and of the other foreign powers, the national pride was wounded to the quick, and a howl of indignation arose upon every side. Pamphleteers, newspapers, and opposition deputies assailed the government with the fiercest acrimony, and accused them of lowering France in the eyes of the world, and pandering to the intrigues of foreign diplomatists.

About the same time, the insurrection broke out in Poland. The aristocracy rose at the head of the peasantry, seized upon Warsaw, defeated the Russians in several pitched battles by sheer bravery, fighting with desperate intrepidity against fearful odds in numbers and discipline, and were only put down after a series of exploits unparalleled in the annals of warfare. The rest of Europe looked coldly on, or contented itself with barren expressions of sympathy. The restless military spirit of the French saw in the movement a fresh opportunity for winning new laurels, and, at the same time, requiting the Russians for the fearful disasters of 1812, and the insults and degradations of 1814. "Aid for Poland!" was the cry of all who were discontented with the present state of things. It was in vain that the ministry endeavoured to show the impossibility of affording effectual help at a distance of one hundred leagues, with a neutral territory between, to an inland country; and to demonstrate the inadvisability of engaging in a war at such a critical period with two, or at least one, of the most powerful nations of continental Europe. They were accused of wishing to purchase peace at any price, even by base subservience to the interests of despotism, and of putting a nation of gallant men, and of cavaliers, under the heel of a sordid and money-loving bourgeoisie. They were accused of falsehood to the principles of the revolution, and of desire to restore the old régime, with all its inertness, and hatred to the cause of liberty.

After these came another cause of discontent. The ministers of Charles X., MM. de Peyronnet, de Guernon Ranville, and de Chanletauze had been arrested at Tours, and brought back to Paris. They were imprisoned in Vincennes, where M. de Polignac was soon after sent to join them. It was agreed by all that they had incurred a fearful responsibility by the part they took in the events of July; and, in obedience to the popular voice, a commission was appointed by the chamber of deputies to examine them, in accordance with the strange custom, which in France seeks to condemn the accused out of his own mouth. The people were violently exasperated against them, and

the crowd assailed them with threats and abuse on their way from the prison. But Louis Philippe was anxious not to wound the monarchical prejudices and sensibilities of foreign nations, and his disposition was naturally too humane to wish that the first judicial act of his government, should be the sacrifice of political offenders to popular vengeance. To turn over these men, whatever their crimes or faults, to the executioner, would have been, indeed, to give bloody pledges of devotion to the revolution, and would have alarmed all the aristocracies of Europe. He would not, therefore, even trust to the contingencies of a trial, but resolved upon proposing to the chambers the abolition of the penalty of death, and in this way prepared the public mind for an act of clemency; and, as a still further measure of security, to entrust the passing of the sentence to the peers, most of whom were friends of the ex-ministers. On the 17th of August the abolition of the penalty of death for political offences was proposed in the chamber of deputies, and was received with favour and even applause; and M. de Keratry was ordered to draw up an address to the king, that his majesty might take the initiative in a measure of such magnanimous clemency. The aged Lafayette warmly supported its adoption, by calling up mournful reminiscences of the first revolution, when so many good men were sacrificed to political bigotry.

The king gave the deputation which represented the address a cordial reception. "The wish you express," said he, "had long existed in my heart." But it was feared, and not without reason, that this measure might seem in the eyes of the populace to promise impunity to the signers of the ordonnance, the men who had brought so much mischief upon society, and so much misery upon individuals. On the following day, therefore, Guizot made an announcement in the chamber which served the double purpose of soothing dissatisfaction, and of fulfilling a great national duty. "Messieurs," said he, "the king has longed impatiently like yourselves to sanction, by a legislative measure, the great act of national gratitude which the country owes to the victims of our revolution." He then stated that the three days had cost more than 500 orphans their fathers, more than 500 widows their husbands, more than 500 old men the affection and support of their children; that 311 citizens would remain mutilated and incapable of resuming their occupations; and that 3564 wounded would have to endure a temporary incapacity. Such is the terrible price which the people so often has to pay for the crimes and follies of government! It was proposed, therefore, to grant to the widows of those killed in the struggle an annual pension for life of 500 francs, or £20; and to the children 250 francs a year, until they reached the age of seven years, and to be educated at the expense of the state. The *Hôtel des Invalides* was opened for the admission of those who were maimed or mutilated.

When it became generally known that the penalty of death for political offences were abolished, and that the ex-ministers were to be tried by the chamber of peers, there was great commotion amongst the socialists and red republicans. They alleged that there was an obvious deference paid to the rank of the offenders, in taking such pains to save them from the fate often reserved for less guilty but humbler culprits, and that the government was proving false to the revolution and paying

court to the aristocracy. The faubourgs forthwith began to pour out their crowds of *sans culottes*, the sure harbingers of political storms. On the 18th of October three large bodies of men set out from the Panthéon, and marched along the Rue St. Honoré, towards the Palais Royal, singing the *Parisienne*, and *Marseillaise*, and carrying a flag inscribed, "*Death to the Ministers!*" The rappel was immediately beaten; the national guards hastened to the spot and the gates of the garden being shut, the crowd retreated, and took the road to Vincennes, still loudly shouting, "*Mort aux Ministres!*" Upon the arrival at the fortress, the governor came out and addressed them, and threatened that if they advanced any farther he would blow up the keep. They then returned to the Palais Royal, more turbulent and clamorous than ever. A cabinet council was sitting inside, but the national guard stood firm, and the rioters at last dispersed.

Though no practical results followed from this demonstration, it left a vague feeling of uneasiness in the public mind, and gave rise to fierce recriminations between the republican party and the royalists. It was alleged on one side that the democracy had waded knee-deep in blood in 1793, and that its old tastes and tendencies had not yet deserted it, since it clamoured for the lives of four helpless prisoners; and it was retorted by the other, that no more favour was due to those who murdered by deputy on a great scale, than to the bravo who stabbed his solitary victim in the dark; and that if it were, the people alone who had been the sufferers, were competent to remit the penalty attaching to the offence, and that their decision should not have been anticipated by a decree of a chamber which only represented the bourgeoisie. These discussions were carried on with that frightful acrimony which in France makes political opponents, almost invariably, personal enemies. In the mean time before the agitation had yet subsided, Odillon Barrot, the prefect of the Seine issued a proclamation denouncing the instigators of the disturbances, and characterizing the presentation of the address to the king by the chambers as "inopportune."

Louis Philippe was greatly annoyed by this—the more so, as he had long disliked Barrot, a shrewd, plain lawyer, brusque in his manner, and rather too straightforward in his language to make a good courtier. It was therefore determined that he should be dismissed. But this was easier to resolve than to act upon. Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure, the *garde de sceaux*, or keeper of the seals, were his intimate friends, and would in any case refuse to act without him. Upon hearing, therefore, of what was in contemplation, they declared themselves ready to resign. What was to be done? M. Sebastiani offered his services to endeavour to induce Odillon Barrot to resign voluntarily. But this was vehemently opposed by many of the ministry.

There was a council held soon to arrange the matter finally, at which a scene occurred which well illustrates the state of things in the government of France at that period, and shows beyond doubt that monarchy even then, existed but in name. The king arrived at the place of meeting with a face radiant with satisfaction. He informed them that the dismissal of the obnoxious prefect had been resolved upon, and that Lafayette had consented to it. "M. de Lafayette, sire!" exclaimed Dupont de l'Eure in unfeigned astonishment—"Your majesty is surely mistaken." "I had it from his lips, monsieur." "Permit me, sire, to believe that

there is some mistake on your part. M. de Lafayette held very different language to me, and I do not think the general is capable of contradicting himself in that manner." The blood rushed to the king's face. "However," continued Dupont de l'Eure, "since M. Odillon Barrot retires, let me repeat my request that your majesty will accept my resignation." "But you said quite the contrary to me this morning," replied the king. "I, sire! this time I affirm you are in error." "What, monsieur, you give me the lie! Every one shall know how you have affronted me." "Sire," said Dupont de l'Eure, bridling up like a grand seigneur of the olden time, "when the king shall have said yes, and Dupont de l'Eure shall have said no, I know not which of the two France will believe." A scene of great confusion ensued, but by the mediation of the duke d'Orleans the matter was finally arranged and a reconciliation effected. The *garde de sceaux* consented to remain in office, but De Broglie, Guizot, Perier, Dupin, &c., were determined not to remain in office with him. These latter, with their followers, constituted a school of politicians and philosophers, which went by the name of *doctrinaires*. They were mostly men of literary tastes, some of them authors of eminence, as Guizot, and were remarkable for their liberal but moderate politics, taking the English constitution as a good governmental model, and adopting the politico-economical system of Say and Adam Smith with all its consequences. They were the leading men of France in an intellectual point of view, and though of course possessing considerable eminence as parliamentary orators, they were by no means generally popular. The military section, the old soldiers of the empire, and the younger ones who lived upon its reminiscences, as they could not understand nor sympathise with their *spirituel* tastes, despised them as book-worms and dreamers. The men of commerce disliked them for their pride and haughtiness, and the socialists and many of the republicans denounced them for holding what they alleged to be the cruel and inhuman maxim of political economy, *laissez aller, laissez faire*. Guizot was the head and soul of the *doctrinaires*. He was in a great measure a self-made man, that is to say, he was sprung from the people, and had risen to power and celebrity by his pen, by the depth of his learning and the vigour of his style. But his disposition was haughty, distant, and reserved. He might make men fear and admire him, but they could never love him, and the small party which he gathered round him, was composed of those who rather agreed with him in opinion, than followed him from love.

The *doctrinaires* then, were by no means on friendly terms with Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure. They were as anxious to get rid of them as the king was to get rid of Odillon Barrot, and as soon as it became evident that they were not to go, Guizot and his party retired in a body. Reconciliation became hopeless. It became necessary to form a new cabinet. M. Lafitte, the banker, in this extremity, proved himself Louis Philippe's good genius. He took upon himself to form the nucleus of a council ministry, and was successful. He was himself president of the and minister of finance; Maison, minister of foreign affairs; Dupont de l'Eure, minister of justice; Montalivet, minister of the interior; Gerard, of war; Sebastian of marine; Merilhou, of public works.

The "interpellations" in the chamber, upon the first appearance of the

new ministry, were as "lively" as the most excitable Parisian could desire. The feelings of the deputies towards them were as varied as the parties in the nation which they represented. The journals were delighted at the downfall of the doctrinaires, and, singular as it may seem, the newspapers in France are a very powerful political body. But as the chamber was opposed to the new ministry, the struggle in the chamber was commenced by an indirect attack upon them. M. Tracy proposed that the recognisances required of journals should be abolished. This was opposed by M. Guizot, on the ground that the recognisances were guarantees of the respectability of the proprietors; and the motion was rejected, as well as one which had for its object the abolition of the stamp duty. The chamber appeared to have declared war against the journals, and the press, in return, heaped abuse upon the deputies. On the 9th of November it was expected that the late ministry would reply to some of these attacks, and every one came prepared for a fiery debate. It was on this occasion that M. Guizot made one of his finest speeches; and as we read it over, even at this distance of time, we marvel not less at the vigour and terseness of the language in which he clothed his thoughts, than the remarkable manner in which subsequent events have verified his assertions. After replying to the imputation that he and his party had proved false to the principles of the revolution, in endeavouring to preserve and uphold monarchical institutions, he continued, "I honour a republic, messieurs, it is a form of government which rests on noble principles, and rears up noble sentiments and generous thoughts in the soul. And, if it were permitted me, I would here repeat the words which Tacitus puts in the mouth of old Galba: 'If the republic could be re-established, we were worthy it should begin with us.' But France is not republican, it would be necessary to do violence to her connexions to introduce that form of government into her territory. I respect theories, because they are the elaborated productions of human reason; I honour the passions, because they play a great and goodly part in humanity; but it is not with forces of this kind that governments are established." The emotion which this speech produced was intense.

The great stumblingblock of the government now was the trial of the prince de Polignac and his colleagues; but sure of the support of Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure, Louis Philippe did not doubt that it would be easily got over. A temporary coolness arose, in consequence of king's erasing some of the strongest passages from a warlike and stirring address, which the ministers had prepared to be communicated by him to the chamber, upon the disputes arising out of the Belgian affairs; but upon their threatening to resign in case the erasures were not restored, he readily gave way. Every preparation was now made for this momentous trial. The chamber of peers had been constituted a sort of judicial court, resembling our house of lords, and four of the members, MM. Pasquier, De Bastard, Seguier, and Pontecourt, were appointed to arrange the preliminary proceedings. On the 10th of December, the ex ministers were transferred from Vincennes to the prison of Petit Luxembourg, under a strong military guard, rather as a precaution against popular violence, than against any attempt at escape. But there was no appearance of any disturbance or commotion, and the subject seemed, for the moment, no longer to occupy the people's minds. Every means was, in

the mean while taken to secure the lives of the prisoners from being perilled by an adverse verdict. Men who were known to entertain extreme views on the subject, were purposely removed from the jury, and M. de Bastard pleased the court, and uttered the sentiments of the peers when he stated, in a report which he drew up upon the form of procedure, "that the penal code was inapplicable to the trial of the case," thus leaving unlimited jurisdiction in the hands of the tribunal. On the 15th of December, the trial began. The hall was crowded long before the judges took their seats. When the prisoners were brought, every eye was bent upon them, and almost every look was hostile. All were anxious to see how the chief actors in this hideous tragedy bore themselves, now that they had reached the closing scene. There was scarcely one in the room who had not reason to rue the day when the ordonnances were issued, and to cry for justice upon the murderers of their kinsmen. But the prisoners blenched not. They looked upon themselves as the representatives of the old régime, and last champions of the rights of an ancient line of kings, and true to the instincts of the aristocracy, to which they belonged, they scorned to show any want of self-possession before the plebeian crowd. M. Pasquier examined them. He had doubtless received his instructions, and he carried them out with fidelity. Every question was so framed, that the answer might be truthful, and yet not inculpatory of the accused. They were, in fact, plainly invited to free themselves, by casting blame on Charles X., and representing themselves as unwilling agents. But this they steadfastly refused to do. The men who scrupled not to mow down the citizens for three days with grape-shot, had broken the laws of the kingdom, and set at nought the constitution, stood upon their honour to their absent and exiled master. Such are the anomalies of human nature.

The examination of the witnesses came next, and this was the most exciting and most mournful part of the proceedings. They were there in great numbers; men who had fought through the whole of the three days, and seen their fathers, sons, and brothers fall by their side. They told of the gathering of the crowds—of the hoarse murmuring that pre-saged the storm—of the arming for the fight—of the erection of the barricades—of the fearful charges of cavalry, and the rolling fire of the infantry, the stones hurled from the housetops, the shots fired from the windows, the continued roar of the cannon, the shrieks of women wailing for their children because they were not, the wild shouts of men drunk with blood, and maddened with the fury of the combat, the smoke, the dust, the anarchy and confusion of civil war in a crowded city. All this, and more, was described with agonising minuteness by those who had too much reason to remember it well. M. Arago's testimony was, however, the most damning of all. He deposed to prince de Polignac having said, "If the troops join the people, why then the troops must be fired on." Martignac, the prince's advocate, sought to rest some doubt on the truth of this, but in vain, and a thrill of horror and indignation ran through the assembly upon hearing it. There was of course but little difficulty in tracing the disturbances to their authors. This part of the case was therefore soon proved.

But now a dissension arose between the lawyers on both sides, as to whether the accused had in any way acted illegally or not. They

were charged with having broken the charter. They denied it, and appealed to the charter itself in support of their denial. The 14th article gave the king the power of making the rules and ordinances necessary for the security of the state; and the counsel for the defendants maintained that the king had done this and nothing more, and that the most that could be said was, that they had made a false estimate of the importance of the circumstances which seemed to call for the exercise of this extraordinary power. To this the other side replied, that the 15th article expressly provided for the exercise of the legislative power by the king and chambers conjointly. The truth of the matter seemed to be, that the charter had been carelessly drawn up and loosely worded, and now afforded materials for the singular spectacle of lawyers wrangling upon the existence or non-existence of the most important bulwark of civil liberty, the fundamental principle of all free government. But it must not for a moment be supposed that the revolution and the bloodshed which accompanied it were due to the contradictions or inconsistencies of the charter. Assuredly, when Charles X. issued the ordonnances, and when M. de Polignac supported and enforced them, neither thought of justifying his conduct by an appeal to the articles of the constitution. They were but obeying the instincts of despotism, and relied on the sword, the last argument of kings, for the assertion of their claims. Nor did the people, when they rose in defence of their rights, believe themselves acting in defence of the 15th article. They fought at the bidding of the principle which, though it may be less active in some men than in others, still exists in all, which tells them that all power is delegated for the good, and not for the injury of the people; and that when it is diverted from its purpose the compact is broken, and the right is to be resumed.

The French people might justly have exclaimed, "If the charter did not secure us our liberties in the clearest and most unequivocal manner, it is no fault of ours. It was not we who drew it up, but the diplomatists; and let it say what it will, in matters of this kind we are the sole and supreme judge in our own cause. You have committed a crime against freedom; you have appealed to the sword to justify you; the decision is against you, and now await your sentence." But this play upon words in the decision of a case affecting the highest interests of the nation, proves in a striking manner that if laws are not written in people's hearts, and handed down in their traditions and institutions, familiar in their mouths as household words, it is in vain to seek to bind kings, who have drunk in a love of irresponsible power with their mother's milk, by vague canons inscribed upon parchment.

It was said also by the prosecutors that the king was not responsible, but the ministers. To this it was replied that the king had nevertheless been visited with terrible punishment, and that his chastisement atoned for the sins of all; but the counsel for the crown contended that without the signatures of the ministry the king could have done nothing, and that evenhanded justice did not allow of substitution,—that each should answer for his own offences. Stirring addresses were delivered by the advocates on either side. The bourgeoisie, victorious in the field, had come to measure their strength with the old aristocracy, in the forum. As each successive orator addressed the tribunal, the in-

terest of the audience deepened, until at last their feelings were wound up to the highest pitch of excitement. The magnitude of the events under discussion, the rank and character of the accused, the uncertainty as to the fate that awaited them, the known desire of the government to save them, the known desire of the mob to destroy them, all combined to give eclat to the proceedings. The trial was one of the most important in European history. The ablest men of France were ranged against each other on either side for attack or defence, or were placed on the tribune to decide. It was a great intellectual tournament in political lists. The whole nation waited breathlessly for the result.

The last of the speakers was addressing the court, when a great tumult was heard without. Thousands of men, the dregs of the faubourgs were assembling from all quarters, and crowding towards the chamber with angry threats and gestures. The alarm spread through the city. General Lafayette was warned; the rappel was beaten, and the national guard was called out. Rumours of pillage were spread abroad, and ere long penetrated to the peers. The sitting was broken up, in confusion, notwithstanding the assurance of the military authorities that all necessary precautions had been taken for the preservation of the peace. The chamber of deputies assembled in the evening in perturbation and alarm. Evil rumours were abroad, and the very air seemed thick with plots.

There then existed in Paris materials sufficient to cause a formidable insurrection, if not a revolution. There were the *sansculottes* or the rabble, eager for disturbance, and making political *emeutes* a cover for plunder, violence, and bloodshed. There were the Bonapartists, living on the souvenirs of the empire, and longing for its restoration. And last of all there were the republicans, a powerful and united body, who were writhing with chagrin at the disappointment of their hopes in July, and burning with the desire to retrieve their defeat by dethroning the monarchy. Their adherents were everywhere,—in the chambers, in the army and in the national guard—the artillery of which was composed almost entirely of them, and it was openly announced that if any disturbance broke out they would deliver the cannon to the rioters. The army had been so disheartened and demoralised by the events of the Three Days, that it could not be safely counted upon.

Each of these parties thought the trial of the ex-ministers a favourable opportunity for a *coup de main*, and now that it was approaching a close, the utmost agitation prevailed. The government took prompt measures to put down any attempt at disturbance. It felt the importance of the crisis, and endeavoured to prove itself equal to it. When the day arrived for the peers to give their judgment, thousands of armed men were ranged in all the squares and public places, ready for immediate action. There were more than thirty thousand men on the left bank of the Seine. Such was the state of things on the eve of the first day of the trial. On the morrow, the 21st of December, the accused were again led in, and after some further addresses from the advocates on either side the peers retired to deliberate. The prisoners were brought out of the court, and placed in a close carriage, and having been surrounded by a troop of cavalry, were hurried full speed along the outskirts of the city to Vincennes. It had been wisely resolved to place the unfortunate men out of the reach of popular violence. The rage of the populace was

great when it was known that they were gone. Immense crowds perambulated the streets, shouting, "Death to the ministers!" and endeavouring in various places to break through the ranks of the national guard, who however stood firm. But at length the impression began to spread that the sudden flight was a device of the government to shield the accused from all punishment, and that the trial was but a mockery, and great fears were entertained that bloodshed would ensue. By the firmness and coolness of MM. Arago and Lafayette, nothing ensued beyond a few broils. When night fell, however, fires were lighted and the troops bivouacked in the streets. The peers were deliberating in the Reubens Gallery, and a short time after dark, they had agreed upon their verdict, which all Paris was awaiting in intense anxiety. When they entered the hall of audience it was almost entirely empty. Fear had driven every one to their homes. M. Pasquier read the sentence, condemning all the accused to perpetual imprisonment, and M. de Polignac to civil death. When it was made known to the prisoners at Vincennes they treated it with indifference. But not so the Parisians. When the journals had spread the news of the decision, the agitation again began, and displayed a more alarming character than before. A black flag was unfurled in the Place du Pantheon. Dense crowds gathered round the Palais Royal and the Palais du Luxembourg. The drums of the national guard beat to arms all over the city, but its members were worn out by fatigue and watching, so that but few answered the summons. In this extremity the students of the Ecole Polytechnique, and of the other schools and colleges, who had fought so bravely in July, resolved to turn out in defence of order and property. They, therefore, assembled, passed an address, which was published with the sanction of M. Odillon Barrot, and having formed themselves into civil battalions, in conjunction with the twelfth legion of the national guard, set out on their march through the city, calling on the people to retire to their homes, and exhorting them to obey the law. Those of the Ecole Polytechnique wore their uniform, and being thus recognised, were soon followed by large bands of workmen who placed themselves under their orders. A deputation went to the palace, and presented themselves to the king, who received them very graciously, and delighted them by the unaffected simplicity of his manners, which was Louis Philippe's great characteristic. Before evening order was fully restored. The efforts of the turbulent were of no avail, and the city was illuminated throughout the night.

A vote of thanks to the national guard for its conduct during the crisis, was proposed by M. Dupin Aîné in the chamber of deputies, and M. Lafitte, the president of the council, called for one for the students also. But the latter had, in the proclamations issued by them to the people, laid down some political conditions, touching reform in the government, as the price of their assistance, and many of the deputies expressed great dissatisfaction at, what they considered, the presumption of schoolboys. The students therefore refused to receive the vote of thanks, and thus a matter of but trifling importance in itself, the excitable nature of the French soon magnified into a political conflict, and the affair was debated in the journals with as much acrimony, as if it involved the dearest interests of the nation.

The crisis thus passed over, even more favourably than the most sanguine supporters of the government had ventured to hope. But an episode now occurred, which damped the rejoicing caused by the triumph. Lafayette was a *gentilhomme*, a scion of the old aristocracy, who had in early life given in his adherence to the people and to liberty, when neither was much valued in France. When young, and gay, and handsome, he had torn himself away from the pleasures and frivolities of the court, and fought in the cause of America, under Washington's orders, throughout the war of independence. Returning home at its close, he did not forget the lessons he had learned on a free soil, but devoted his life and energies to their propagation. During the whole of the terrible scenes of the first revolution he was the fast friend of liberty and order and constitutional monarchy, and only withdrew from the political arena when the strife became one of bloodthirsty cruelty. He had been the commander of the first national guard, and had vainly endeavoured to protect the unfortunate Louis XVI., and his still more unfortunate queen. Grown old in the service of the people, he had, after the revolution of July been appointed commandant-general of the national guard, and was responsible to no one for the use he made of his power. In this position, his great popularity and great influence had enabled him to be of signal service to the monarchy; and not least during the agitation which had just subsided. Candid, simple, and openhearted, but vain, the old general had, on the 19th of December, issued an order of the day, in which he declared that his comrades would still find him what he had been at the age of twenty, "The man of liberty and of public order, loving his popularity much better than his life, but determined to sacrifice both, rather than neglect a duty or suffer a crime."

But it was felt, and rightly we think, that the power which he possessed, as irresponsible commander of so large an armed force, was too great to be intrusted in the hands of any single man, and it was therefore proposed in the chamber of deputies, on the 24th of December, that the office of commandant-general of the national guard should be abolished. Several amendments were proposed, with the view of making an exception in Lafayette's favour, but they were all rejected, until Lafitte moved that the king should be left free to confer the honorary command upon him by a new ordonnance. This proposal was adopted. Lafayette was absent from the chamber when this resolution was passed; and as he had been led to believe that his tenure of office would last for his life, he was greatly chagrined, and immediately sent in his resignation to the king, but, with the true pride of the old noblesse, took care not to betray the depth of his wounded feelings. Louis Philippe wrote to him immediately, in reply, expressing the deepest regret at the determination he had come to, stating that as he had not had time to read the newspapers, he was not previously aware of what had occurred. Lafayette attended a council held at the Palais Royal on the afternoon of the same day, and there the king censured his ministers for their want of tact, and expressed his regret at the jealous spirit evinced by the chamber, and begged of him to retain at least the command of the national guards of Paris. But Lafayette was not to be cajoled. He firmly refused to withdraw his resignation; declared his belief that the government had entered upon evil courses, and had forgotten the principles of the revolution. Louis Philippe pub-

lished a proclamation addressed to the national guard deploring the old general's resolution, and speaking of him in terms of the highest praise; but all was not sufficient to allay the surprise and vexation which the news occasioned. Dupont de l'Eure forthwith resigned his functions as minister of justice. It was accepted with alacrity; but, in losing the support of these two men, the monarchy of July had lost powerful friends; and, what was worse, diminished its moral influence amongst the middle classes. The command of the national guard was conferred upon general Lobau, and there was now no obnoxious person in the ministry but Odillon Barrot, and the doctrinaires felt convinced that his claws were clipped, when unaided by Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure.

CHAPTER II.

THE BUDGET FOR 1831—INTERNAL REFORMS—THE SAINT SIMONIANS — THE ABBE DE LAMENNAIS—RIOTS IN PARIS—ELECTORAL LAW—FOREIGN AFFAIRS—RETIREMENT OF LAFITTE AND ACCESSION OF CASIMIR PERIER TO OFFICE—DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER.

IN the beginning of 1831 the king, while declaring his intention to avoid all cause of quarrel with foreign nations, and to pursue a middle course among contending factions at home, began to make vigorous preparations, nevertheless, for putting the kingdom in a state of defence. The army was increased; the garrisons fortified, provisioned, and reinforced. These measures of course could not be carried on without considerable expense, and consequently the budget, when brought forward by M. Lafitte, amounted to 1,167,000,000 francs, or three hundred millions more than under the restoration. This excited a tremendous outcry. The legitimatists pointed triumphantly to these figures, and asked the republicans what had they gained by their revolution; whilst the war party, who advocated intervention in the affairs of Poland and Italy, sneeringly declared that it was as expensive to sit at home in inglorious ease, as to be constantly in action. In the first seven months of 1830 there had been an excess of income over the expenditure; in the last five months, on the contrary, there had been a large and increasing deficit. Much of this might no doubt be justly ascribed to the shock given to credit by the events of July, and the temporary suspension of trade consequent upon a bloody revolution, as well as to the uncertainty and distrust which naturally prevailed before the new government had firmly established itself. But partisans do not reason; they declaim.

In the mean time the chambers proceeded to make some very necessary reforms. It was enacted that the number of counsellors and judges in the courts of assize should be reduced from five to three, and that a majority of seven votes in the juries should be sufficient to acquit or convict an accused person. By the code of criminal procedure it was provided that the judges should, in certain cases, have a share in determining the fact also. Every Englishman knows how important a bulwark of personal liberty is the great, and now well-established, principle of British law, that none but the jury shall pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, and that the judge has but to follow the letter of the law in carrying out their verdict. Those who remember the vigorous assertion of this principle made by lord Erskine, and more recently by lord Brougham, in cases of libel, will readily understand the importance of the measure now brought forward in the chamber of

deputies, which corrected this abuse, and distinctly defined the province both of judge and juror.

Napoleon had abolished trial by jury in Corsica, his native country, and it had never afterwards been restored. By the exertions of Dupont de l'Eure, however, the evil was now rectified, and the institutions of the country in every respect assimilated to those of France.

The attention of the chambers was next directed to the important question of municipal reform. As has been stated in a previous volume, before the revolution of 1789, France was divided into provinces, governed by *intendants* having but little connexion with one another, different codes of law, and but little direct communication with the supreme power of the state. One of the first acts of the national assembly was the assimilation of the institutions of all these, and the complete centralisation of the supreme power in Paris. This was perhaps necessary in the days when there was nothing but anarchy at home, and war abroad, and when the very existence of the state hung upon the united action of all its powers and resources. But now, when wars and convulsions were at an end, it was evident that this was no longer necessary, and the chambers proceeded to restore the direction of their affairs to the communes of the provinces. After a long discussion, a law was passed, the provisions of which may be summed up as follows:—The municipal councillors were to be chosen by a body of electors composed of the citizens paying the greatest amount of direct taxes in each commune, being equal to a tenth of the population in all communes of a thousand souls and under. This number was to increase at the rate of five for every hundred inhabitants above one thousand and under five thousand; of four for every hundred above five thousand and under fifteen thousand; and beyond this at the rate of three per hundred. The pecuniary qualification was dispensed with in the case of those, who might reasonably be supposed to possess in virtue of their position, superior education and intelligence, such as physicians, barristers, notaries, justices, officers of the national guard, functionaries enjoying retiring pensions, &c.; but all these should have actually resided in the commune for a certain number of years before they could vote at elections. The municipal councils were to be elected for six years, and to consist of members not under twenty-five years of age, one half of whom were to retire every three years. The mayor and his assessors were to be chosen from amongst the municipal councillors, but in the chief town of each arrondissement, and in communes of three thousand inhabitants and upwards, the nomination was to rest with the king; and in those whose population was less, with the prefect. This latter clause was the great error in the law. This interference with the election of the mayor, on the part of the supreme government, was most objectionable, and in England would never be tolerated. But strange to say, irascible and excitable as the French are, they suffer wrongs and indignities to which the more phlegmatic Englishman would never submit. The baneful effects of this influence of the government over the mayors and prefects has been deplorably manifest in the recent elections of Louis Napoleon's "legislative assembly," as well as in his own.

The mayors and their adjoints were nominated for three years, but were liable to be set aside by royal ordinance or suspended by the pre-

fect. To the prefect and sub-prefect was committed the right of summoning every extraordinary meeting of the municipal council, which in such cases was bound to confine itself to the consideration of the special object for what it had been convened. Of course there was not a line of this to which there were not a thousand objectors. The democrats and socialists complained of the undue influence given to the rich, of the injustice of excluding a poor farmer or artisan from a share in the management of the affairs of his own village, and the legitimatists were horrified that the priest was not to have a vote at the elections, or be eligible to be placed on the council.

But there was a deep under-current of opinion flowing silently all the while, and making its way amongst the poorer classes in every part of France, and these clamours were but the feathers and straws on its surface. A moral revolution was at work, strange and fantastic in its outward manifestations, but still powerful, which was destined to inflict tremendous evils on the country, and will doubtless do more to retard her real progress in the march of science and civilisation and social order, than the tyranny of the Bourbons or the wars of Napoleon. Vast numbers of well-meaning men, and many of them, it is useless to deny it, profound thinkers, had beheld with horror and indignation, the misery and abandonment of the labouring classes. They saw a minority of the nation clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day, sitting in the tents of power, filling the learned professions and the legislature, and holding the capital of the country in their hands and its labour, as it seemed to them, at its mercy; while the great mass of the people, instead of labouring to live, as God had ordered, were living wretchedly to labour. On one side were ease and luxury and refinement, and on the other cold, hardship, ignorance, and crime. The utmost that a capitalist or rich man had in most instances to fear, was the loss of an opportunity or the failure of a scheme for gaining more; but the working man was dependent on the whim or caprice of one whose sympathies tastes and prejudices were all against him, and was in daily dread lest the loss of his scanty earnings should imperil the lives of his wife and family. There appeared to be abundance of money in the world for all, and abundance of the substantial comforts, and even luxuries which it represents; but by some strange complexity or involution in social affairs, the good things of this life had been accumulated in the hands of the few, and to the many were left the labour and sorrow.

These men then came to the conclusion that this inequality was due to some radical vices in the constitution of society; that it would not be sufficient to reform or amend institutions already existing; it was necessary that the whole should be pulled down and remodelled, and they determined upon undertaking the task with the fullest confidence in their own ability to establish liberty, equality, and fraternity; in short to abolish all distinctions in wealth and rank, and make everybody happy, by an infallible process. They forgot that the inequalities of men's condition are due to the differences of their mental and moral constitution, and that the world, though capable of making vast progress and achieving prodigious results, can ever become a "happy family," until all can be brought to hope and think and fear, and sorrow and

rejoice together, till all selfish desires are banished, till idleness is a thing unknown, and industry no longer an admired virtue. The universal test of capacity, the universal stimulus to great efforts, and good purposes is competition. Failure in the great race is visited with inevitable penalties. Man has not created either the punishments or the rewards. They are of God, who causes the rain to descend upon the wicked and the good, and the sun to shine upon the just and upon the unjust.

But it may thus be seen, at all events, that at the bottom of all socialist schemes, whether Simonism, Fourierism, Hobbism, or aught else, has a great philanthropic principle, that of universal love. It is in the application of this principle to the existing state of society that the projectors err. They began in France. Their great chief was St. Simon, the founder of the sect known as St. Simonians. His theories were as wild as they were erroneous. He divided mankind into two classes, the workers and the idlers, and the former into three classes, artists, philosophers, and men of labour and traffic. The next thing was to connect these three; and his scheme was to open a subscription before the tomb of Newton, to which every one was to be called upon to contribute according to his or her means or inclination, and each contributor was to name three mathematicians, three physicians, three chemists, three physiologists, three men of letters, three painters, and three musicians. These twenty-one persons, so selected, were to form a council, to be called "The Council of Newton," and presided over by a mathematician, and to them was to be committed the gigantic task of organising and directing towards a common end all the nations of the globe.

It may be seen that in all this he gives the precedence to the *savans*, the men of intellect; but he soon changed his mind, and came to the conclusion that they were a body without internal life or energy; that they, as all the world, received their impulses from the men of labour and hard-handed industry, who took the initiative in all things, and were every day becoming more powerful. He therefore adopted as his motto, "*Tout par, et pour l'industrie*," and declared that the reign of idleness was at an end, and the reign of labour was now to begin. The king of this new mode of government was to be he whom the men of labour considered best amongst them, and his ministers were to be those who should be deemed fittest to prepare the budget, and take charge of the finances. In the distribution of the elective franchise, care was to be taken to substitute the influence of the cultivator of the soil for that of the landlord, who lived upon the proceeds of the labour of others. But St. Simon now remembered that the labourer could never supply the moral and intellectual necessities of mankind, and he therefore appealed to the artists; and then combining these three ideas, he formed a system which he called the "New Christianity," having for its object the amelioration of the physical condition of mankind.

In all this there was much that was beautiful; but the whole scheme was fanciful, and, of course, impracticable. It would be, of course, as reasonable to hope that men would all grow to be of one height, as to expect them to live in harmony, according a symmetrical system of brother man's making, let the principles on which it was founded be ever so sound.

As the result of all investigations, he laid down the following rules, which

were in future to govern society:—Universal association, based upon love; and consequently no more hostile competition.

To each according to his capacity, and to each capacity according to its works; and consequently no more hereditary possession.

Organisation of industry; and consequently no more war.

These doctrines, of course, would, if carried out, destroy the whole framework of society, as it at present exists; but for this very reason they possessed a singular attraction for men of sanguine temperament and restless imagination, a greater number of whom may perhaps be found in France than in any country in the world. St. Simon himself had all the requisites of the founder of a new sect whether in religion, politics, or philosophy,—evident disinterestedness, unbounded self-reliance, and a passionate conviction of the truth of what he taught. He belonged to one of the noblest houses of France. He was heir to the name and arms of the famous duke of St. Simon, the historian of the reign of Louis XIV., and the last of the old race of *grands seigneurs*, and yet he denounced all privileges derived from birth with fierce energy, and lavished his fortune in the propagation of his doctrines, so that he died in indigence.

The revolution of July gave them a great impulse. It seemed to have unsettled everything, and given a fair opportunity of bringing forward all that was wild, fantastic, strange, or plausible, whether in politics or in religion. Thousands of young men of high talents and great enthusiasm, enrolled themselves in the ranks of St. Simonism to fight in the crusade against all that men held most sacred—property and family. They established a newspaper called the *Globe*, for the purpose of disseminating their views, and before very long they found themselves preaching the most odious species of communism—that which dissolves the marriage tie, and subjects the holiest relations of life to be dissolved by the waning of inclination or the caprice of the moment. To follow them through the wilderness of extravagant doctrines into which they were afterwards led, would, in our narrow space, be impossible. We have given this brief sketch, merely to put the reader in possession of some of the causes which were evermore agitating the masses of the people, and placing the government and society in continued danger and perplexity. We do not mean to say that *all* the developments of St. Simonism found favour in the eyes of the populace, but the principles upon which it was based, specious in appearance, inviting to the aggrieved, the disappointed, and the distressed, and advocated through the columns of the *Globe*, and in the clubs by such men as Augustin Thierry, Olinde Rodriguez, Enfantin, Bazard, Buchez, and Armand Carrel, could not fail to produce a powerful effect upon the public mind. Thousands of converts were made amongst all classes, who were unanimous in the opinion that society, as then constituted, was hateful and oppressive, and ought to be abolished; though probably not ten were agreed as to what they would erect on the ruins.

Side by side with the St. Simonians were the democrats, mooting the rights of man, and clamouring for a republic, one and indivisible, and the Bonapartists promising liberty in the name of the empire. Religion, in this general war of opinion, was not left untouched. The abbé de Lamennais, a man of great learning, great enthusiasm, and great tenacity of purpose, and possessing a spirit as heroic as his body was feeble, had undertaken the task of regenerating the church. Through the columns of the *Avenir*,

a paper which he had established, he assailed the doctrine of Gallicanism, or independence of the French church, as propounded by Bossuet, and defended by a host of others; alleging that it had led to no better result than the establishment of a royal tyranny, in the place of the legitimate authority of the pope. He delivered with great vehemence of language, but in strains of the highest eloquence, backed up by a display of learning acquired in years of indefatigable study, that the church was entirely independent of the state, and responsible to the pope alone; and repudiating with scorn the doctrine which the Gallicans had always preached, and which had led to consequences so fatal to the monarchy, that kings reigned by divine right, he applauded popular resistance to despotic force, and declared the people to be the only seat of power. One would think that an inconvenient analogy between spiritual and temporal power would here suggest itself to his hearers, and that they would at once exclaim, that whatever could be urged against the authority of the kings might, by parity of reasoning, be urged against that of the priests also. But so dazzled were all parties by the vigour of his onslaughts upon a principle detested by the body of the people, and by the strange spectacle of a churchman calling upon ultramontaniam to range itself under the popular banner, and fight in the cause of freedom against feudalism and kingcraft, that this was never thought of. The *Avenir* was seized by the government, and prosecuted, but the editor was acquitted by the jury, and came out, as is mostly the case, more popular than ever, and more determined upon following up the course upon which he had entered. He was long followed by persecution, but what could persecution avail against enthusiasm that dared everything, and courage that waxed bolder under opposition.

Such was the state of the moral world in France at this period. A notice of men's opinions, however brief and imperfect it may be, is necessary to enable us to understand their actions. Political events are but a reflex of the mighty workings going on within the soul.

The legitimatists, or supporters of the Bourbon dynasty, were at this time growing every day more hopeful, and at the same time more boastful. Their journals prognosticated the speedy restoration of the duke of Bordeaux, the youthful grandson of Charles X., to the throne of his ancestors, as Henry V. Trees of liberty were in some places pulled down in the night; in others the white flag was hoisted on the church towers; and it was strenuously maintained that Louis Philippe intended resigning the crown to its rightful owner, and had deputed the duke de Montemart as ambassador to Russia, to inform the Czar of his intention. The 14th of February was the anniversary of the death of the duke de Berri, and the royalists determined upon having a solemn celebration of the event in the church of St. Roch. As it was clear that it was to be a political demonstration, the minister of the interior expressed to the archbishop of Paris his fear that it would cause a riot, and the curé, therefore, refused to hold the service. Thus baffled, it was determined it should take place in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Here no such obstacle existed. The curé was an old man, who had not feared to accompany Marie Antoinette to the scaffold in the days of terror, and he was not now to be daunted from testifying his devotion, in old age, to the cause he had upheld in his youth. A brilliant crowd thronged to the place at the appointed hour, all the descendants of the old noblesse, the rank and

fashion of Paris, who still adhered to the fallen fortunes of the legitimacy. The service began and proceeded quietly. A collection was made for the benefit of the soldiers of the royal guard, who had remained faithful to Charles X., and had been wounded during the three days. In the midst of all, a young man emerged from the crowd, and placed on a catafalque in the centre of the church, a lithographic portrait of the duc de Bordeaux. A crown of immortals was placed around it, and some military men hung their decorations upon it.

In the mean time the news was spread amongst the crowd, who had assembled from curiosity outside, that the legitimatists were making a political demonstration, and that they were testifying openly their respect for the very persons whom the people had fought and died to expel. A mob collected from the faubourgs and every part of the city, and though the congregation managed to get away in safety, proceeded to make an assault upon the church. The prefect hastened to the spot with the municipal guards, ordered the iron gates to be closed, and called upon the crowd to disperse. At this moment a young man dressed in black was seen standing apart and looking scornfully on the multitude. "He's a Jesuit! Down with him! Throw him into the river!" was instantly the cry; and they forthwith seized him and hurried him to the bridge in the neighbourhood. The prefect rushed forward to save him, and a fight commenced that lasted for more than an hour along the quays, making the streets resound with the smashing of doors and frightful yells of baffled rage. The pretended "Jesuit," managed to escape in the confusion, but not so the church. It was taken by storm, and in a few minutes utterly wrecked. Never was there a more complete demonstration of the utter contempt of the priesthood and catholicism which pervades the great mass of the French people. The altar and the pulpit were torn down and broken to pieces; the rich hangings and paintings were trampled underfoot. The sacred vestments were dragged forth from the vestry, and worn by miscreants who danced the *carmagnole* around the church, amidst the laughter and yells of their associates. They heaped curses on the priests, blasphemed, and howled out obscene jests upon the relations existing between the clergy and their fair penitents who came there to be shriven, as they pulled down the confessionals. Having smashed the windows and destroyed everything valuable, they took their departure, and immediately afterwards served the parsonage in the same manner.

During all this time, by some unaccountable supineness or neglect on the part of the authorities, no force arrived sufficient to quell the disturbance, and night closed upon this hideous scene of lawless violence. It was rumoured that in the morning an attack would be made upon the Palais Royal, and vigorous preparations were made to repel it. Large bodies of troops and national guards were concentrated in the neighbourhood during the night, and when the crowd began to assemble again, a little after daybreak, they found all the approaches strongly guarded. Any attempt in this quarter was therefore useless; but mischief was afoot, and would take some course. The cry was raised—"To the archbishop's palace!" and away they went in the twinkling of an eye. The drums of the national guard beat to arms, and a detachment of the 12th legion, under the command of the well-known scholar and philosopher,

M. Arago, hastened to the rescue. On reaching the bridge, on the road from the Pantheon to the Cité, count de Clonard, the adjutant of the battalion, in brandishing his sabre, accidentally struck a man in the crowd and mortally wounded him. He was instantly raised and placed upon men's shoulders, and, in the well-known revolutionary fashion, carried through the streets amidst loud cries of "Vengeance on the assassin." Count de Clonard made his escape in the confusion, but M. Arago, having accompanied the wounded man to the hospital of the Hôtel Dieu, was seized upon as the murderer when he came out of the building, and hurried towards the river. He owed his life to his great personal strength and presence of mind.

There was now nothing to prevent the attack upon the archbishop's palace, and consequently it was in a few minutes completely wrecked,—the furniture, mirrors, and windows broken, the books torn up and thrown out into the street, and rare paintings and manuscripts burnt, in a spirit of the most ruthless vandalism, and all amidst a loud chorus of yells, execrations, and horse laughter. The mob appeared to direct their rage in particular against crosses and fleurs-de-lis, as the emblems, in their eyes, of priestcraft and irresponsible power. Wherever these were seen, they were instantly torn down or effaced. Quiet was not restored before evening; but in a few hours after the rioting had ceased, Paris resumed its usual aspect, as if nothing had occurred; so great is the elasticity of the French character. The animosity displayed by the crowd against the fleurs-de-lis, however, the emblems of the old Bourbon line, was not without its effect upon Louis Philippe; and although it was notorious that he and his sons were jealously attached to family traditions, he now ordered all armorial bearings to be effaced from his carriages and the railings of the palace. The day after the disturbances he appeared in public, and was everywhere well received.

All these events furnished a fertile theme for invective and recrimination to the orators of the various parties in the chamber, and the angry feelings thus excited did not subside till another subject, of still greater and more pressing importance, demanded their attention.

The deputies who now filled the chamber had been elected before the revolution, and had retained their position after it was over. It was through their instrumentality that the king had been placed on the throne, and it was by them that the new order of things had been arranged. The popular voice now clamoured loudly for a dissolution, that the nation might have an opportunity of expressing its sentiments on the recent events, and of distinctly marking its censure or approval of the course pursued by the government. It was said, and not without some show of truth, that the present representatives derived all their right; and authority from the old system, and that once it was gone, their position was anomalous, if not illegitimate. To these arguments no one attempted to reply. When Charles X. fled, the chambers had properly ceased to profess any authority. They laid hold of the reins of the government as a provisional or constituent assembly, in order to prevent anarchy; and give form and consistency to the confused elements of strength thrown up by the revolution. This done, their task was ended, and it was their duty to resign their functions into the hands of the people. But before a dissolution, it was imperatively necessary that the

mode in which their successors were to be elected, should be definitively settled. This was not so easy as it seemed. Under the Restoration no one had a vote in the election of the deputies, who did not pay 300 francs of direct taxes, and no one was eligible for election who did not pay 1000 francs. After the revolution it was generally expected that very considerable modifications would be made in this system. The republicans supported the abolition of money qualifications of every sort, the establishment of universal suffrage, and maintained that if this were not done, Charles X. had been driven out in vain. The legitimatists advocated election by two degrees, perceiving that the rural population would thus place their votes in the hands of the landed proprietors and the clergy, who were almost all adherents of the Bourbons. The doctrinaires, and the liberal party in the chamber generally, were willing that some alterations should be made in the present system, but not to the extent proposed by the others. After a great deal of discussion, the ministry at last submitted to the chamber a *projet de loi*, of which the following were the leading features. The property qualification for election was to be lowered from 1,000 fr. to 800 fr.; and the number of voters doubled, by granting to each department an invariable number of electors, composed of those paying the largest amount of taxes. This was, however, rejected by a majority of the chamber, and upon the report of a committee appointed to consider the question, it was decided that the old law should remain in full force, the only alteration made being the reduction of the property qualification from the payment of 1,000 fr. direct taxes, to that of 750 fr.; and of the amount necessary to confer the electoral franchise from 300 fr. to 240 fr. Litterateurs, doctors, notaries, advocates, and other professional men, were allowed to vote upon payment of 100 fr. of direct taxation only. This enactment excited violent clamours out of doors. The republicans loudly inveighed against the injustice of excluding the combatants of the barricades from all share in the benefits derived from the changes which they had brought about, and the legitimatists sneered at the despicable results of the insurrection. The press, in the caustic and epigrammatic style, characteristic of French scolding and invective, made violent attacks upon the chamber. The following formula appeared in many of the journals:—

"Before the revolution	300 fr.
After the revolution	240 fr.

Difference in favour of the revolution . . . 60 fr."

The majority at last gave way, and still further reduced the qualifications to 500 fr. and 200 fr. respectively.

Everything was now ready for a dissolution, and no one was more anxious for it than M. Lafitte, the president of the council, as he felt isolated in the chamber since the resignation of M. Dupont de l'Eure, and was but badly supported by his colleagues. But before it occurred he resigned office, professedly in consequence of a deception practised upon him regarding the affairs of Italy. An Italian patriot, named Menotti, had organised a conspiracy with the knowledge of the duke of Modena, the object of which was, to overthrow the existing governments of all the petty states, and erect the whole of Italy into one united monarchy, of which the latter was to be crowned a constitutional king.

But the duke was a crafty and dissimulating tyrant, and although encouraging the conspirators, he intended to regulate his after conduct as expediency should direct. If, as Menotti had good reason to expect from the oft-repeated and public declarations both of Lafitte and of the minister of war, France would not allow Austria to interfere, he did not despair of overthrowing, by a well-concerted and united effort, not only the petty princes but the pope himself, and restoring Italy to the place which God intended she should occupy amongst the nations of the earth. But the duke soon found out that it was not the intention of France to throw any obstacle in the way of intervention on the part of Austria; and he therefore hunted down the conspirators with the fury of a tiger, delivering Menotti over to the executioner, and shooting many of the others. Prince Metternich, about the same time announced that Austria was determined to interfere whether France wished it or not, and was even prepared to go to war in support of her claims. This was communicated by the French ambassador at Vienna, in a despatch which was never shown to Lafitte, notwithstanding his high position in the cabinet, and the first intelligence he received of it was from a paragraph in the public journals. This stung him to the quick, and at the same time furnished him with a good excuse for retiring from office.

But many knew that this was but a pretence. The real cause was, that not only had the majority in the chamber abandoned him, but his private affairs, which were every day becoming more embarrassed, required all his attention. It was in vain that the king purchased from him the forest of Breteuil, for 10,000,000 francs, and went security for a loan of six millions which he obtained from the bank; when he threw up office he was ruined. The revolution of July had given a heavy blow to his credit; and when he was obliged to give up the management of this bank, that he might devote his attention to politics, his losses became very heavy. He had been made the depository of considerable sums of money, and found himself assailed on every side with demands for reimbursement. He had placed his purse at the service of the unfortunate men who suffered during the three days, and yet, when the commercial crisis arrived, the bank of France showed itself an importunate and pitiless creditor. In this deplorable position Lafitte did not for a moment hesitate to give up all his property to the payment of his debts. He paid off fifty millions by the sale of his chattels, and advertised his house to be sold by auction to satisfy the claims of the Bank. It was only then that the public began to testify their sympathy with their misfortunes. A subscription was raised, and his house saved from the hammer of the auctioneer.

Casimir Perier, another commercial man, now presented himself as a candidate for the vacant portfolio, and was eagerly grasped at by the king. Very different from Lafitte,—stern, fierce, energetic, and overbearing, he was the man for the crisis. He saw that anarchy was beginning to pervade the state, and that he must vanquish it, or be vanquished by it. He devoted a whole month to the formation of the new cabinet, as he was determined to see everything, to know everything, and to make fixed terms with every one, with the king as well as with his colleagues; so that in the conflict of parties he might possess that unity which his predecessors always wanted. And when at length he was ready for the combat,—firm, resolved, by no means certain of success, but prepared

to leave nothing undone to achieve it, knowing well that not his life only but his name and honour were at stake,—he entered without fear, but without false confidence, into that short stormy, but glorious career, at the termination of which victory and death awaited him together.

The situation of the country was in truth frightful. The treasury was exhausted; resistance to the collection of the taxes, the restriction in the circulation of capital, numerous bankruptcies, frightful misery of the working classes, were increasing from day to day with frightful rapidity; and upon this great field of uneasiness, discord, and trouble, the Carlists, republicans, and Bonapartists were lighting up the fires of passion and party animosity. Assailed upon every side at once, incessantly exposed to the fierce attacks of a press without moderation or consistency, in daily apprehension of émeutes in the streets and faubourgs, surrounded by Europe in arms, hourly more hostile and defiant, supported by functionaries whose opinions had coincided at the time of the revolution, but who had since split into an infinite number of sections, forming a chaos of administrative anarchy; unable to depend upon the army, whose fidelity was doubtful, and whose discipline had been broken in upon by the insurrection of July, abandoned or betrayed by those who had done most to found it, the monarchy of the barricades, but just sprung into existence seemed already on the point of expiring; for against all the passions or prejudices, good or bad, sincere or fictitious, roused to destroy it, it could oppose no principle or party the interests of which seemed identical with its own. It could call to its aid reason alone,—cold, calm, naked, unarmed reason,—a poor ally in governing and directing a revolution. And yet on this resource only did Casimir Perier rely, for its extrication from the dangers which surrounded its cradle. Thanks to the marvellous power of discrimination, "*cet instinct merveilleux*," of which M. Royer Collard spoke in the magnificent oration delivered over his tomb, Casimir Perier perceived, it would seem rather by intuition than by the study of facts or ideas, that there existed in the heart of French society, though torn and distracted by fifty years of war and convulsion, a large fund of reason and moderation, which might be made the solid and lasting support of any power which knew how to arouse and animate it, make it acquainted with its own strength, and oppose it to the shock of parties. He perceived with an eagle glance which penetrated the mist of revolutionary excitement, which concealed the real sentiments of the country, a deep and ardent desire for peace and order. He resolved to give vent to this sentiment, and let it work out its own triumphs and salvation. He was resolved to show that the events of the three days had not changed either the social or geographical position of France, or her ideas, or wants or wishes; that what she had desired during the three days, and the month which immediately succeeded them—constitutional monarchy, liberty controlled by law, honourable, independent and pacific relations with the rest of Europe,—all these she desired still; and that she was equally prepared to defend herself from domestic enemies, or from the assaults of foreigners.

The peculiar circumstances under which he formed his cabinet (13th of March, 1831) augmented the difficulty of his task. The dissolution of the chamber, and its re-election under the new electoral law, had been

formally announced at the close of the session, and the uncertainty as to what the result of the elections would be, rendered the future of the ministry equally uncertain. But the state of affairs did not admit of faltering or hesitation. It was necessary to meet all difficulties with a bold front, to oppose to a press energetically subversive a press which could support liberty, without advocating the levelling of existing institutions; to establish order in the finances, unity in the administration, discipline in the army, and peace in the streets; and all this without shaking the solution of the problems proposed by the new charter, without departing from the regular action of the laws, and by upholding against the chambers, as against the crown, the true principles of constitutional government. He had, at the same time, to watch carefully over foreign politics, to assure Europe that the revolution was not aggressive, but merely an act of self-vindication. These were the principles he put forward, and the duties he proposed to himself, in his first official speech to the chamber.

Some days afterwards, he asked its sanction for a law against riotous assemblies, and obtained a loan of a hundred millions of francs to supply the wants of the government in the interval before the assembling of the new chamber. The general elections took place in July, 1831, and France was then, for the first time since the revolution, called upon to pronounce definitively between the party of *resistance*, and the party of *movement*. The opposition made every effort to fling dissent among the adherents of the government, by dwelling upon the much agitated question of the hereditary descent of the peerage; but Casimir Perier let things take their course. The election of president of the chamber took place, as usual, immediately on the opening of the session. The opposition supported M. Lafitte, who obtained a majority, and Casimir Perier immediately gave in his resignation. He had no sooner done so, than the unexpected intelligence of the invasion of Belgium by the Dutch recalled him to his post. This event called upon the government to act with decision, and an army was immediately moved towards the frontier. At the same time, the growing turbulence of the republicans called for some measures of repression to be directed against the seditious clubs, which were at this time swarming in all parts of the capital. Sixteen persons were arrested and brought to trial for seditious practises, amongst whom was Godefroi Cavaignac, the elder brother of the present General Cavaignac, and though the trial ended in their acquittal, it was not without effect in damping their ardour. Other riots which occurred on the occasion of the distribution of the crosses to the combatants of July were put down with equal vigour, and the turbulent and the designing soon found that they were dealing with a man, who not only had the will, but the indomitable energy necessary to save society, and establish the government upon a firm basis, without breaking the law.

CHAPTER III.

EXPEDITION AGAINST LISBON—INTERVENTION IN BELGIUM—ABOLITION OF HEREDITARY PEERAGE—BANISHMENT OF THE BOURBONS—THE DUCHESSE DE BERRI—PREPARATIONS FOR INSURRECTION IN LA VENDEE—DISTURBANCES IN LYONS—ARMAND CARREL—THE CIVIL LIST—ITALIAN AFFAIRS—RAVAGES OF THE CHOLERA IN PARIS—DEATH OF CASIMIR PERIER.

A FEROCIOUS tyrant, known as Don Miguel, at this time usurped the throne of Portugal. Imbecile, capricious, cruel, and incapable, the body of the nation detested him, and his chief supporters were the rabble of Lisbon, whom he fed. His brother, Don Pedro, came from Brazil with his daughter, Donna Maria, to assert her claims to the throne. The usurper, finding himself thus threatened, applied to France and England to recognise him as the rightful king; but both these governments steadfastly refused to do so. Thus baffled, his rage knew no bounds, and he took every opportunity of wreaking it upon defenceless English or Frenchmen, who happened to be residing in his dominions. But, in an evil hour, he was led into the perpetration of an act of wanton brutality, which brought upon him condign punishment. A French student, named Bonhomme, was tried by a military commission, for an imaginary offence, and, without being heard in his defence, was sentenced to be publicly flogged through the streets; and a French merchant, named Sauvinet, was condemned to be transported to Africa, because a rocket was let off in his garden, during a time of riot, by some persons unknown to him. It was in vain that the French consul remonstrated; both sentences were executed with unrelenting rigour. Admiral Roussin was immediately sent with a squadron, consisting of six sail of the line and two frigates, to demand satisfaction, and, if refused, to enforce it. Upon arriving at the mouth of the Tagus, he wrote to the Portuguese minister, but received an insolent answer, and immediately made preparations for forcing his way up the river. This was not an easy exploit. The banks were lined with forts strongly garrisoned, and the Portuguese fleet were ready to dispute the passage. But everything gave way before the valour of the French. Their ships sailed up the stream with a favourable wind, at ten on the morning of the 11th of July, 1831, and poured such well-directed broadsides upon the forts, that they were dismantled, and ceased firing in a few minutes. At five o'clock in the afternoon the whole squadron anchored within three hundred fathoms of the quay at Lisbon. The inhabitants had retreated in terror to their houses, and the most profound silence reigned in all the streets. Anxious to avoid any further bloodshed, admiral Roussin again offered Don Miguel the same conditions

as before: indemnity for the victims who had fallen, the annulment of the sentence upon the French citizens who had been unjustly punished, the dismissal of the minister of police, the payment of eight hundred thousand francs to the French government to cover the expenses of the war, and the posting of all these facts upon the walls of the streets in which M. Bonhomme had been ignominiously exposed, and the confiscation of the Portuguese vessels which had struck their flag under the fire of the squadron. He threatened that if these demands were not immediately complied with, he would bombard the city. After some equivocation on the part of the Portuguese the negotiations were finally concluded, on board the admiral's vessel, on the 14th; but the refusal of the tyrant to release his navy, by setting at liberty all the political prisoners, strikingly exemplifies the selfish and shortsighted vindictiveness of his character.

We have already said that the majority obtained by Lafitte in the chamber, in the election of a president had led to Casimir Perier's resignation, and the dissolution of his cabinet. On the 4th of August, the day following, however, the news was received that the king of Holland had invaded Belgium along the whole line of the frontier, and Leopold, the newly-elected king, wrote to Louis Philippe asking for succours. The ministers immediately resumed their posts, and it was resolved to send him fifty thousand men, under the command of marshal Gerard. But no sooner had they crossed the frontier, than the Belgian chambers took offence at the supposition that they were unable to defend their own territory, and decided that the aid of the French should not be received, except in virtue of an express law. The troops, therefore, were ordered to suspend their march, and the king of Holland soon after suddenly withdrew his forces; so that the affairs in dispute were left, for the present, to be arranged by the conference sitting in London; although the time was not far distant when the king of Holland again attempted to assert his own claims by force of arms, and when France was obliged to enforce the decrees of the diplomatists at the cannon's mouth.

In the mean time a measure was in contemplation which gave monarchy in France a heavier blow than when the ill-fated Louis XVI. drove the *tiers état* to hold their deliberations in the tennis court. There are few who are not well aware that a monarchy without an aristocracy is like an inverted pyramid, liable to be overthrown by the first breath of popular commotion. Nobles hedge round the throne with a pomp and pride and circumstance which dazzles the vulgar, and prevents them seeing clearly with how little wisdom nations are governed, and how empty are the heads, and commonplace the ideas, of many of those who sit in high places. The king is the head of the aristocracy, and its members make common cause with him in moments of danger or difficulty. But the very foundation of all powerful aristocracies is the transmission of their titles and privileges by hereditary descent. If this do not exist, the *esprit de corps* is lost. Each member is but a life occupier of an uncertain position. His sympathies are no longer with the throne or the peerage, but with the democracy, from the ranks of which he himself has been raised, and to which his children must return. The monarch is thus isolated, and the stormy passions of the populace rage

around him, without one to shield him from their violence, or interpose to mitigate the shock of hostile principles.

It was, therefore, in an evil hour for the monarchy that the ministry resolved, in obedience to the almost unanimous wish of the mass of the people, to abolish the transmission of the peerage by hereditary descent. Looking at the question in the abstract, probably not one reason can be urged, which would have any weight with an unprejudiced judgment, to show the competency or fitness of a man to legislate because his father had made laws before him. The only plea in its favour is political expediency.

The French people, however, looked upon the hereditary peerage as a remnant of feudalism, and determined to have it abolished. But the peerage in France was now little more than a name. As a political power it was nothing. Its members were for the most part parvenus without character or talent, who had earned their elevation by their base subservieney to the various governments which had from time to time arisen on the ruins of the old régime, police agents, functionaries, soldiers of fortune, and a small remnant of the noblesse. The chamber of deputies accordingly voted its abolition by a majority of 386 to 40. But it was soon seen that it could not possibly put this resolution into force without infringing upon the charter. None of the three estates was competent to despoil either of the others of its rights or privileges. When the chamber of deputies had, during the previous year, constructed a charter and founded a dynasty, it had at least the imperious warrant of necessity, but now no such excuse existed for committing what was in reality a direct breach of the constitution. It was therefore decided that none but peers had the power to shear the peerage of any of its immunities, and as it was not likely that those who composed it at present would assist in the betrayal and degradation of their order, it was determined to create as many new ones as would make a majority. Thirty-six new peers were therefore created by a royal ordonnance, issued on the 19th of November. The storm of opposition which then arose was tremendous. The opposition in the chamber of deputies drew up a violent protest, which Dupont de l'Eure laid upon the table; and the journals condemned, in the strongest terms, the means employed to secure a majority in favour of a measure which was in itself desirable. To soothe the wounded pride of the peers, Casimir Perier said in their chamber, on the 22nd of November, "This is not a simple question of a majority, for there is always in this chamber a majority ready to sanction a patriotic resolution. It is rather a respectful precaution against your own generosity, which would have stamped upon the resolution of the chamber the character of an act of devotedness, rather than that of a purely legislative act."

The law which abolished the hereditary succession to the peerage, and left the nomination in the hands of the king from amongst a circle of notables, was therefore passed by a majority of thirty-four. Thirteen peers immediately gave in their resignation. At the same time the elder branch of the Bourbon family was declared to be banished perpetually, but without attaching any penalty to their return, as it was intended to be rather a ratification of Louis Philippe's dynasty than a penal enactment. In nothing is the vanity and shortsightedness of human nature

more fully displayed than in these decrees of proscription. In France, the outlaws and exiles of to-day are the princes and emperors of to-morrow, and the men who vote for their banishment, swear allegiance to them with equal facility.

The legitimatists now awoke once more, to make a last struggle for the recovery of the rights of the Bourbon line. They were a party strong in wealth, and in the influence possessed by the clergy and the nobility, who almost all adhered to them, over the country people. They relied greatly upon the celebrity and high character of Chateaubriand, and upon the eloquence, learning, and indefatigable energy of M. Berryer, but more than all upon the fiery devotion of the south and the unconquerable valour of La Vendée. But forty years, with their terrible changes, battles, sieges, fortunes, conquests, and disappointments had not rolled over France without extinguishing for ever the fire of the chivalry that followed Cathelineau the pedlar, with wild hurrahs to the cannon's mouth, and died in silence side by side with the gallant and ill-fated Henri Larochejaquelin. La Vendée, in 1832, was no longer the La Vendée of 1794. The spirits of the peasantry had been broken in that frightful struggle. Napoleon had, by his clemency, disarmed their hatred of the revolution, and when they were draughted into his armies they could not refuse to follow and adore him as the greatest hero and mightiest chief of a warlike and chivalrous nation. The gentry who had followed the peasants to the field, and headed their tumultuous onslaughts upon the armies of the republic, were scattered and disheartened, and the increased facility of communication with the outer world, the inroads made by new ideas and new manners, had greatly weakened the ties of feudal attachment which had in old times connected them and their tenantry. The frequent changes in the government, and the long exile of the Bourbons, had left the young generation without any other reverence or affection for their race than might be derived from a few royalist reminiscences of their fathers. But, nevertheless, to these did the legitimatists trust for the restoration of the duc de Bordeaux to the throne of his ancestors. Marie Caroline, the duchesse de Berri, his mother, prevailed upon the old king at Holyrood, to allow her to make a last effort to secure the rights of her son. She proposed to land in the south, with a few adherents, and call upon the people to rally round her. Charles gave a reluctant consent. Full of terrible recollections of the revolutionists, he feared the consequences of the failure of the enterprise. But at last he gave her his blessing, and sent her forth, having assigned her the duc de Blacas as her counsellor. She went first to Genoa, where she was received with favour by Charles Albert of Sardinia, and formed all her plans. She found that the population of the towns in the south of France was discontented, and eager for a change of any sort; and in the country the people followed the beck of the nobility and clergy. M. Charette was deputed by *Madame*, as the duchess was called in the absurd nomenclature of the old régime, to take the direction of her affairs in La Vendée; and he found, upon consulting the leading legitimatists in that quarter, that it would not be safe to attempt a rising in La Vendée until after the south had declared itself, unless some unforeseen event should in the mean time occur. The only two contingencies of this sort in view, were an invasion of France or the proclamation of a

republic. All movement in the west was therefore postponed; but the duchess in the mean time continued her preparations and consultations at Massa, where she had fixed her head-quarters. We shall shortly find her again appearing on the scene.

The latter part of the year 1831 was disturbed by one of those frightful collisions between the employers and the employed which provoke animosities so pregnant with evil to both parties. The scene was in Lyons, the great emporium of the silk manufacture. This trade employed at this period from 30,000 to 40,000 journeymen weavers. We have all heard in this country of the frightful misery endured by the workers in many branches of industry, in consequence of the low rate of remuneration paid by the capitalists or retailers who supply the raw material, and then dispose of the finished article to the consumer. The "sweating system," as it is justly termed, in which unfortunate wretches are overworked, at miserable wages, in order to satisfy the public craving for cheapness, cannot be condemned in terms too strong. Competition necessarily keeps the price of all goods down to a certain level; the profits of the capitalists must then be wrung from the hard earnings of the worker. But in this country, if a master manufacturer gets a fair percentage on his invested capital, he is satisfied. This grinding of the poor is certainly not the rule. The sense of morality has not, in England, been entirely blunted by the desire of gain. With us, too, the capitalist is in direct communication with the workman. He supplies him with the raw materials and the machinery, and pays him his wages, reserving to himself as much of the profit as may pay the interest on his money, and remunerate him for the labour of management and oversight.

But in Lyons a middleman intervened, called a master weaver. Of these there were 8,000 or 9,000. Each kept four or five looms, and furnished the materials to the journeymen, keeping back as his own share half the wages paid by the manufacturer. Then there were the manufacturers, numbering about eight hundred, who, in their turn were ground down and imposed upon by the "commission agents," who supplied them with the raw material. Thus there were four different grades of persons engaged in the weaving of a piece of silk, two of whom were wholly unnecessary, each preying upon and oppressing the other; but the journeyman, as the lowest of all, of course came worst off. Foreign competition was sensibly diminishing the profits of every one of these. Silk manufactories had sprung up and were flourishing in Switzerland, and England was gradually becoming able to supply her own markets. The consequence was that the wages of the weavers in Lyons had gradually fallen from five or six francs a day, to twenty or twenty-five sous. This was a deplorable state of things, but the manufacturers were not to blame for it. It was the result of a fixed law of human progress. The workmen, however, were enraged, and called upon the authorities to fix a minimum rate of wages, to save themselves and their families from starving, and the *conseil de prud'hommes*, a tribunal composed of commercial men, who, in France, decide in all disputes relating to trade and commerce, with an amount of infatuation and ignorance of economic principles of which an English boy would now be ashamed, decided that a minimum rate of wages ought to be fixed. A meeting was

held, composed of delegates from the manufacturers and workmen, to fix what this was to be. But, as might be expected, where exasperation and animosity prevailed on both sides, they could not agree. In the mean time, the distress of the weavers continued to increase. Many of the manufacturers were compelled to close their workshops, and thousands of men were thus thrown idle into the streets, leaving their families starving at home. They paraded the town in vast bodies, and at last became riotous. The national guard was called out to disperse them, and as this body was mostly composed of manufacturers they were looked upon by the mob as armed oppressors come to slaughter them, and not as preservers of the law. On the morning of Monday, November 1st, a great crowd was collected in the upper part of the town, the quarter known as Croix Rousse, and the national guard attempted to scatter them at the point of the bayonet. Some men were wounded in the scuffle which ensued, and this was the signal for a general resistance. Then ensued one of the most horrible catastrophes recorded in the annals of civil war: the inhabitants of one city ranged in opposing ranks, arrayed class against class, and prepared to slaughter one another with unrelenting fury. The workmen flew to arms from all quarters, erected barricades, and lined the roofs of the houses and the windows, pouring bullets into the ranks of their opponents thick as hail. The pent-up bickerings and animosities of the past six months now found vent in terrible slaughter. To increase the terrors of the scene, the prefect and the commander of the garrison had quarrelled, and the military and civil forces therefore acted without concert or design, allowing themselves to be surrounded and cut off in detail. One of the generals and the prefect fell into the hands of the mob before evening. In every part of the town the combat raged all day with indescribable fury. The troops planted cannon in the open places, swept the streets with grape-shot, and riddled the houses in the poorer quarters with balls and bombs, while the national guard poured an unceasing fire into the ranks of the countless host who assailed them. The smoke of battle hung over the city like a cloud, and the roar of the artillery and the yells of the combatants were heard far into the country. When night fell, the scene that presented itself was one of appalling desolation. Everywhere houses burnt or wrecked, and women wailing amidst the ruins for husbands, fathers, and brothers, but not daring to go forth to seek them. The families of the upper classes had been treated by the rioters with atrocious cruelty, and the national guard exacted a terrible revenge. Both sides lighted watch-fires and bivouacked in the street, waiting for the dawn of day, to recommence the struggle. On the second day the same occurrences took place; but the divisions and differences amongst the authorities had so weakened and incapacitated their forces from making a united and effectual resistance, that before evening the insurgents were everywhere victorious, and at midnight general Rognet, the military commandant, and the prefect determined to evacuate the town. They had to fight their way out, and suffered great loss before they got clear of their assailants. The conduct of the workmen when they had the place to themselves, was characterised by that moderation and respect for property which forms the most remarkable feature in all émeutes of a social or political nature in France. The furniture of a few of the houses where the fighting had been most

furious was burnt, but this was the only outrage committed after the conflict was over. Sentinels were placed at the different public buildings, and any attempt at theft was punished on the spot by a fusillade. Wherever any of the municipal functionaries showed themselves, their authority was instantly respected, and their mandates obeyed.

On the 3rd of December marshal Soult and the duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe's eldest son, entered Lyons at the head of a large body of troops with drums beating and matches lighted, disarmed the population, disbanded the national guard, and surrounded the Croix Rousse quarter with strong batteries; and order was soon restored, leaving the misguided workmen, as is always the case when they are foolish enough to have recourse to violence and bloodshed, in a worse position than before. The two chambers presented an address to the king, assuring him that he might count upon their determination to uphold the freedom of industry, and the security of property against all assaults from whatever quarter.

The beginning of 1832 was marked by violent struggles with the republican party; they were led on by Armand Carrel and Garnier Pages, the former of whom was certainly one of the most remarkable and most highly-gifted men of the age in which he lived. He had commenced life as a soldier, had been a lieutenant under the restoration, and fatigued by the dull monotony of a barrack life, he had entered Spain and fought in the ranks of the patriots against the white flag. For this he had been three times tried by a court-martial, but had each time escaped. In 1830 he became a journalist, as editor of the *National*, and carried into political strife all the lofty and chivalrous courage, the stern energy, and fierce impetuosity that had distinguished him in the field. He was in the prime of life, of commanding stature, with dignified and graceful bearing, an eagle eye, and a voice of thunder. His written style was distinguished by nerve, vigour, and fluency. He never turned aside into the lighter walks of literature, but was continually engaged in strife. Born to be feared and admired, he was never in his element except when pouring scathing denunciations on his foes; and bringing into civil life the habits as well as the temperament of a military man, he always wrote with his pistols on the table, to signify that he was ever ready to back his words with his sword. He became as might naturally be expected the chosen champion of republicanism, and from his first appearance on the political arena till his early and lamented death, he never ceased to wage unrelenting war on the monarchy and its partisans. And in truth he was a formidable foe. He asked for no quarter and gave none, and to the tenacious bitterness of his convictions were added the sting of disappointed hopes and indignation at the policy which condemned France to, what he believed to be, inglorious repose. He had started in the world with dreams of military glory, and longed for no happier career than a life on the tented field, and no calmer death than to fall in the arms of victory, amidst the clash of swords and the shout of battle. But he had fallen on evil days, and he continued to mourn for ever in angry disappointment the downfall of those early and cherished hopes.

The voting of the civil list for a new reign brought his artillery of invective into play and led to a formidable conflict between the government and the press. The chamber voted Louis Philippe 12,000,000 francs

a year, with all the palaces, and royal domains and manufactories, and all this in addition to his private property. This was the signal for a shower of pamphlets and brochures. The republicans as usual howled out denunciations of the fearful expense of monarchy, and joined with the legitimatists in asking scornfully what advantage was there in having a "citizen king," when it cost as much to keep him as a legitimate king of the old dynasty. Many of the journals were seized upon, and the editors committed to prison. In doing this the law was often broken by the subordinate agents of the government, but in the main these harsh and decisive measures were necessary, and in urgent cases Casimir Perier was not the man to stand at trifles. The press of Paris was in many instances in the hands of men, who conceived it their duty to oppose every act of the ministry however plain might be its lawfulness and justifiability, and, like Marat, who mistook slaughter for patriotism, they thought turbulence, audacity and foulmouthed abuse were their legitimate weapons. The strict letter of the law, however, did not allow the arrest of a journalist, unless he had committed some overt act of treason, or as it is called in French jurisprudence, a *flagrant delit*, and it was loudly denied that mere reflections on the government, however hostile or embittered, were such. Armand Carrel, with the lofty and dauntless courage which distinguished him, determined to put the matter to a test in his own person, by resisting to the death if any attempt were made to arrest him. "A usurpation so monstrous," said he, in an article published in the *National*, and signed with his name, "shall not stand. We should be criminal were we to suffer it, and this ministry must be made to know that a single man of stout heart, having the law on his side, may stake his life on equal chances, not only against those of seven or eight ministers, but against all interests, great or small, that may imprudently attach themselves to the destiny of such a ministry. It is a little thing, the life of one man, slain furtively at the corner of a street in the confusion of a riot; but the life of a man of honour, who should be slain in his own house by the myrmidons of M. Perier, whilst resisting in the name of the law,—this would not be a little thing. His blood would cry for vengeance. Let the ministry venture this stake, and perhaps it will not win the game. The writ of committal, under the pretext of *flagrant delit*, cannot be legally decreed against the writers of the periodical press; and every writer possessed of a sense of his dignity as a citizen will oppose law to lawlessness, and force to force. It is a duty, come what may."

The *National* and some other papers which supported this declaration were prosecuted, but, happily, the government were too wise to put Carrel's resolution to the test. It was fated that he should perish in a more ignoble quarrel. These disputes and conflicts led the way to a royalist conspiracy in Paris, having for its object to enter the Tuileries during a ball, seize the royal family, and proclaim Henry V. By the vigilance of the police, however, it was crushed in the bud.

The situation of Italy at this period was most deplorable. The last attempt at insurrection, under Menotti, had failed, leaving the unhappy people in a worse state than ever, and of all the down-trodden slaves of the peninsula, those of the papal states were the most wretched and degraded. Gregory XVI., Pio Nono's predecessor, at that time wore the

triple crown, and wore it not like a priest of God, but like a selfish and vindictive tyrant. In evil days the papacy had won the hearts of the people by its advocacy of the cause of the poor and oppressed, and the noble stand it had made for freedom and equality against thrones, principalities, and powers. Elevating itself by means of the moral influence it thus acquired over the nations of the earth, it had at last reached such a pinnacle of power, that it forgot its origin, pushed away the ladder by which it rose, leagued itself with tyranny and kingcraft, and dwelt in the habitations of cruelty. When the pope became a temporal prince he was valued as other temporal princes, for the forces he could bring into the field, and the wealth or extent of his territory; and when he became a tyrant like the others, he was a more reckless and insane one than they, because he justified his outrages by professing to commit them in the name, and with the sanction of the Prince of Peace. In the hands of himself and his cardinals the papal states had sunk lower and lower, till in 1831 they were a by-word and a shaking of the head amongst the nations. A theocracy upheld by force, literature and science proscribed, the press gagged, the prisons crammed with political offenders who were never brought to trial, and never knew their crime, spies everywhere, brigands and assassins rampant on the highways and bidding defiance to the law, dirty monks swarming all over the land and battenning in idleness upon the hard earnings of the peasantry; cardinals and priests, who had spent their lives in convents, and knew more of their breviary than of legislation, filling all the public offices; shameless and open bribery in the courts of justice, and in every other department of the state; lawlessness, corruption and immorality everywhere,—such was the state of the people over whom the vicars of Jesus Christ and the princes of his church had been ruling for ten centuries. But the noble aspirations, the eager longing after a higher and better state, which had animated the ancient republic had not wholly expired amidst the drivellings of superstition and crushing tyranny of narrow-minded and ignorant churchmen. The Romans felt their degradation keenly, and groaned in bitterness of spirit that the peoples whom they had conquered, christianised and civilised, should point in scorn to their dishonour. The great powers of Europe felt what was due from them to the mother of learning and the arts, and the capital of christendom. England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, determined to interfere, and endeavour to induce the pope to adopt and carry into execution the measures of reform which they proposed. These were, the popular election of the communal and provincial assemblies; the appointment of a commission to overhaul all branches of the administration; the admission of laymen to all offices in the state; the establishment of a council of state composed of the chief citizens.

Gregory replied by decreeing exactly the opposite of each of these recommendations. He went further; he increased the taxation, and pretended to reform the criminal administration of the country, by ordering that ecclesiastics convicted of any offence should be liable to a less severe penalty than would be inflicted upon laymen in like case; and the inquisition was retained in full vigour. The rage and astonishment of the people on hearing this news knew no bounds, and in many places they rose in arms. The bandits, who had been robbers, were now hired

by the government to put them down; and the despotic powers of the continent, who approved of reforms when granted of the sovereign's free will and pleasure, but were horrified at hearing of their being demanded as a right, declared their intention to support the pope, although he had not followed their advice. England alone, to her honour be it spoken, stood aloof, and denounced his proceedings, in terms worthy of her ancient fame as the chosen guardian of the oppressed. The brigands, who were sent into Bologna to the number of five thousand, to quell the insurrection, committed the most frightful atrocities, and roused the unfortunate people to such a pitch of fury that the aid of Austria had to be invoked. It was readily granted, and six thousand men were sent to assist in subduing the rebels. France took the alarm at Austrian intervention, and Casimir Perier determined that he would interfere too. A ship of the line, two frigates, and eleven hundred men were accordingly sent to Ancona, with instructions to occupy the town; while an envoy was sent on before to apprise the pope of their coming, and make him acquainted with the views and intentions of the French government. But unfortunately the envoy was delayed on the way, and when he reached Rome he found the papal court filled with wrath and consternation, for the news had just arrived that the French troops had already entered Ancona, and taken possession of it, having driven out the papal troops. There was great difficulty in soothing the pope and cardinals, and obtaining his reluctant consent to allow the French to remain, but their presence was not without effect in restraining the violence of the ecclesiastics.

In March, 1832, the cholera morbus commenced its ravages in Paris. It had been brought by the Russians from the plains of the east, and communicated to the Poles in the frightful battles of the insurrection in which the combatants mingled and fought hand to hand with indescribable fury. By the latter it was spread over Europe, when they fled from the vengeance of their oppressors. It seized its victims in Paris by hundreds, commencing, as usual, amongst the poor, who dwelt in the narrow and filthy streets of the faubourgs, but gradually extended itself to the quarters of the rich, until there was hardly a house in the city in which the voice of wailing was not heard. The hospitals were crowded, and the wearied surgeons, in many instances, escaped the epidemic only to fall victims to fatigue and exhaustion. On all sides were terror, confusion, and dismay. More than 12,700 persons died in the month of April alone, and during the one hundred and eighty-nine days that the epidemic lasted, it was calculated that it cut off no less than 18,402 victims. Many fled away to the country, hoping to baffle the destroyer by a change of place; but it must, at the same time be confessed, that in this awful crisis, that lofty and chivalrous courage for which the French are distinguished, and which atones for so many of their faults and follies, shone conspicuous as ever. They faced this unseen foe with as much courage and coolness, as they had ever displayed in a thousand brilliant battles. Women of all classes watched by the couches of the friendless patients in the hospitals, consoling, cheering, and animating them; and the rich sent in profusion whatever was needed to alleviate the torments of the poorer victims in their squalid abodes. Humanity, kindness, and charity, and heroism in the discharge of duty are of no race and of no clime. They are found every-

where, amongst high and low, Celts and Saxons; and if this truth were remembered better, the peace societies might rest from their labours, for we should learn war no more. Depreciation of our neighbours is the chief cause of international dissension.

Foremost amongst those who were distinguished for their devotion, were the royal family. Though living in the midst of the pestilence, they stirred not. The queen and Madame Adelaide, the king's sister, filled with ardent piety, that obliterated the paltry distinctions of rank, became ministering angels to the poor and wretched, who would otherwise have been left to die without an eye to pity or hand to help. The duke of Orleans, the heir apparent to the throne, went through the hospitals, everywhere animating the attendants by his presence and example, and with him went Casimir Perier, the high-souled, haughty, determined, fierce, and energetic Casimir Perier. But the fire of his eagle eye had now waxed dim, and his strength was sadly abated, for he carried the seeds of death within him. Worn by disease and the cares and vexations of political life, he had become nervous and delicate, and the frightful scenes which he witnessed in the hospitals made an impression on him from which he never recovered. He returned home, lingered on without hope, and on the 16th of May he was no more. He was to Louis Philippe what Mirabeau was to Louis XVI., and had he lived, might have saved France from many of the evils which have since befallen her. A magnificent funeral was decreed him, and subscriptions were collected to raise a monument to his memory. The people forgot their own griefs in sorrow for his loss, and over his tomb Royer Collard delivered one of those magnificent funeral orations for which the French are so famous, and which half atone for the fickle ingratitude which so many of their great men have experienced while living.

With Casimir Perier died George Cuvier, the naturalist, and once it had taken them, the cholera, as if satisfied with its prey, abated its fury.

M. Montalivet had, during Casimir Perier's illness, been appointed to fill his post, *pro tempore*, and he continued to occupy it after his death. In the mean time, the duchesse de Berri was maturing her plans at Massa, and preparing to make a descent on France, and, if possible, to create a rising in the south, and in La Vendée. On the 24th of April she secretly quitted Massa in the night, and embarked with her followers on board a steamer which had been purchased for the purpose, and immediately steered for the coast of France. On the 28th, at midnight, they reached the point which had been agreed upon with their adherents on shore as the place of rendezvous. Upon hoisting the signals, two lanterns, one at the fore and the other at the mizen masthead, they were promptly answered from the shore, and a boat immediately put off. The night was dark and stormy. The wind was rising gradually, and the sea was already running high, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that the boat could approach the ship's side; and it was with no small fear that her friends saw her leave them, and trusting herself to the boisterous waves in a frail skiff. But she had made up her mind to risks of this sort, and being of a gay and sanguine temperament, there was a touch of romance about the affair which pleased her girlish fancy, for she was still very young. The landing was effected in safety in the

vicinity of Marseilles, but the crisis was not yet over. The authorities got scent of the plot, through the medium of some of the boat's crew, who brought the duchess ashore; and on the night of the 29th of April, which had been fixed for the rising, all the posts about Marseilles were doubled. On the morning of the 30th, the conspirators broke ground, and put their fortune on the cast, by issuing forth, and appealing to a crowd of five hundred fishermen assembled on the shore. But they met with no response. It was in vain that they flourished their swords, and cried, "Vive Henri Cinq!" the crowd looked on with a sort of quiet curiosity, as if the whole affair were a piece of acting. The *dénouement* was brought about by some shouting out that it was a plot of the police, and bidding the people be on their guard. This was enough. The conspirators saw that their enterprise was, so far, a failure, and that it was high time to provide for their personal safety by an inglorious flight. A troop of lancers coming up, dispersed the crowd, and succeeded in arresting some of their number. The duchess escaped out of the town, but was obliged to wander about in the woods for a whole night, without being able to find shelter. At last she reached the chateau of one of her most zealous adherents, and here it was now resolved that she should try her fortune in La Vendée. On the 4th of May she started with two of her adherents, in a calash drawn by post horses, having obtained a passport under an assumed name. She bid her friends farewell with great cheerfulness, crying out as she drove away, "Messieurs, en Vendée!" The steamer, in which many of the party had remained, was captured by a government cruiser before she left Marseilles.

The duchess succeeded in reaching La Vendée in safety, and took up her abode in a farmhouse, where she assumed the dress of the peasant lads of the district, and called herself *Petit Pierre*. She gathered the chiefs of her party around her here, and fixed the 24th of May as the day for taking up arms. But in the interval her followers began to lose heart. They noticed the apathy and indifference of the people, and assured the duchess that it was useless to attempt a rising there, since the attempt in the south had failed. M. Berryer even went so far as to come down from Paris, and seek her out in her retreat, and implore her with all the force of his eloquence to relinquish the enterprise. He found her in a cottage, in a miserable room, sitting before a table covered with papers, and on it two brace of pistols. Such was the situation of the mother of the heir of the Grand Monarque in the France of Henri Quatre! But his efforts were vain. She was determined to carry things to their limits, and without spending a thought on the bloodshed and misery and heartburnings that her obstinacy might cause, she declared that nothing could induce her to believe that the descendants of the followers of Cathelineau would prove untrue to the cause for which their fathers had fought so gallantly. "But the times and the men are changed!" was M. Berryer's reply. The order fixing the rising for the 24th of May was soon after revoked, and the 3rd of June appointed instead, but this only caused confusion and misgiving, as the counter order had not time to become generally known. In addition to this the whole plan of the conspiracy was discovered written out in full, by one of the *gensd'armes*, in searching the cellars of a suspected

person. On hearing this the duchess resolved to precipitate the crisis, and called her followers to arms without delay. The result may be easily imagined. The rising was but partial. No one knew where to meet, or to whom to look for directions. The royalist gentlemen were determined, however, not to lay down their arms without fighting, and some terrible conflicts took place in which the unfortunate Vendéans, overpowered by numbers, were slaughtered without mercy. In one place forty-five of them were besieged in a chateau by a large body of troops, and defended it with an obstinacy and determination worthy of their ancient fame. Two clarionets played old royalist tunes to cheer them, while from every window they poured their volleys on the assailants. Despairing of taking it by any other means, the besiegers fired the building, and still amidst the smoke and flame the Vendéans fought away, shouting loudly "*Vive Henri Cinq! À bas les sans-culottes!*" At last, when their position was no longer tenable, they cut their way out, sword in hand, back to back with their faces to the foe, leaving nothing behind but the smoking ruins and dead bodies. Only six of their number were slain. In one of the many other skirmishes which took place, the son of Carthelineau fell. And thus ended the insurrection. The duchess made her escape to Nantes, after suffering incredible hardships, wandering by night in lonely woods, cold, wet, hungry, and fatigued; lying covered in marshy sedge, while the soldiers were beating the bushes around with their bayonets, but enduring all with uncommon fortitude and devotion. At Nantes she resided some months in safety, but her hiding-place was at last betrayed by a miscreant whom she had admitted to her confidence, and she was imprisoned in the citadel of Blaye, a miserable town in the Gironde, in the custody of general (afterwards marshal) Bugeaud, since famous, or rather infamous, for his *razzias* amongst the Arabs in Algeria.

CHAPTER IV.

INSURRECTION OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH OF JUNE—THE BROGLIE MINISTRY—SIEGE OF ANTWERP—LIBERATION OF THE DUCHESS DE BERRI—GUIZOT'S SYSTEM OF EDUCATION—CHANGE OF MINISTRY—ANOTHER INSURRECTION AT LYONS—THE INFERNAL MACHINE—DISPUTE WITH AMERICA—NARROW ESCAPE OF THE KING—ACCESSION OF THIERS TO OFFICE.

THE country was still in the state of excitement caused by the attempt of the legitimatists, when new fuel was added to the flame by the death of General Lamarque. Lamarque was an old soldier of the empire, who had distinguished himself amidst the countless brave men whom France at that time produced, and had been named a marshal of France by Napoleon on his death-bed. He had submitted to the restoration from necessity, but had, under all circumstances, given innumerable proofs of his love for France, and his devotion to her interests. His simple, unaffected character, his military ardour, and his loud and frequent declarations of his ardent desire to avenge the disaster of Waterloo, made him a general favourite amongst all classes of the people. When the news of his death was spread abroad, all Paris determined to do honour to his memory by thronging to his funeral. But there were a great many who had other things in view, and amongst these the numerous political societies or clubs which were at that time in existence, such as the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, the *Société des Amis du Peuple*, &c. These determined to make the funeral a political demonstration, and, if opportunity served, the commencement of an armed insurrection. On the morning of the 5th of June, therefore, thousands thronged to the place from which the mournful cortège was to set out, most of them carrying arms either openly or concealed under their clothes; some, however, for self-defence, having heard rumours of what was to take place. As the procession advanced, cries of "*Vive la République!*" began to be heard, policemen stationed along the way were beaten and wounded, the windows of some of the leading legitimatists were broken. They listened with impatience while Lafayette, marshal Chausel, and others, delivered the funeral oration, from a platform erected near the bridge of Austerlitz. When it was over, the band which preceded the funeral car, spontaneously struck up the *Marseillaise*, amidst the applause of the multitude. A man at this moment appeared on horseback, carrying aloft in his hand the red flag, the emblem of jacobinism and terror. It was torn down with shouts of fury, the mob exclaiming that they would have nothing but the tricoloured flag, the flag of liberty and glory. The tumult was at its height when a troop of

dragoons appeared advancing upon the bridge, but in a peaceable attitude, their swords in the sheaths and their pistols in the holsters. They halted near the bridge, and at this instant several gunshots were heard, no one knew in what quarter. A yell of fury arose from the crowd, and the fight began. Several of the soldiers were unhorsed by blows of stones, and another troop coming up to their assistance at full speed, were saluted by a discharge of musketry which emptied one-third of the saddles. Barricades now sprang up at all quarters as if by magic, and from every window along the quays a storm of shot was poured forth upon the bewildered troops. The fighting was carried on at the different points with varied success. In some places the troops were defeated with frightful loss; in many of the narrow streets the muskets of the insurgents resting upon the top of the barricade, or on the window-sashes of the adjoining houses, brought down a man with every shot. But the want of organisation disheartened them, and Armand Carrel, and other republican leaders did not think the movement opportune, or likely to succeed, and therefore refused to support it. The ammunition of the insurgents began to fail, the national guard for the most remained faithful, and the troops taking courage at last recovered their lost ground. Before noon on the sixth, most of the barricades were carried, and the king who had at one time been labouring under great apprehensions as to the result of the struggle, ventured to ride along the Boulevards to animate his adherents by his presence. It was an adventurous step, and by no means unattended with personal danger, while the bodies of the dead were still stretched in heaps at every corner, the pavement reeking with gore, and the cafés filled with the wounded and the dying. The excitement was not yet calmed down; the noise of the firing from one or two barricades defended by desperate men might still be heard; and who could tell from what window a shot might issue which would at one blow achieve a triumph for the republic, and prostrate the monarchy in the dust? A girl afterwards confessed that she had taken aim at the king, but did not fire because the weight of the musket made her hand tremble. On he rode, "manifesting," to use the words of one of his bitterest enemies, "great courage and presence of mind, presenting to all a calm and smiling countenance, addressing words of consolation to such wounded national guards as he met, fearlessly approaching the silent or hostile groups whom he passed, and motioning aside those of his escort, whose affectation of zeal, or genuine solicitude, induced them to close around him or cover him with their bodies."

On the morning of the 7th all was quiet. The shops were again open, and save where the upturn pavement and riddled walls testified to the fury of the strife, Paris had reassumed its usual aspect. But there was one spot to which many an anxious mother and many a weeping maiden hurried with trembling step, too often to hear the mournful news that blasted their hopes, and spread coldness around their firesides. It was to the Morgue, the great Parisian dead-house, where the crimes and follies of the huge city every day of every year exhibit their fruits in grim profusion. But, alas! how many gory evidences did it now present of the horrible evils of civil strife, the frightful consequences of rash appeals to force. Here were collected all the bodies of all who had fallen in the conflict, bloody, mutilated, and begrimed with powder,

waiting for those who loved them to come and own them. The city outside was gay and smiling, but many a girl that night was mourning her lover, many a mother a son, and many a child had no father save in heaven. And thus was general Lamarque buried. It was a fitting funeral for a soldier of fortune.

Twenty-one of the insurgents taken in arms were brought to trial, and sentenced to various terms of transportation or imprisonment; but the government, with wise clemency, inflicted capital punishment upon none.

The ministry had been for some time losing ground in the chambers, and the events of the fifth and sixth precipitated their fall. They announced to the king that they could no longer command a majority, and resigned their offices. It was rather difficult to find any one to fill their places. The only men in the chamber who were distinguished for their legislative talents were either distasteful to the king or the people, or to both. These were MM. de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers. The first was a gentleman, proud, cold, reserved, and inflexibly attached to his own opinions in everything. The two latter were *littérateurs*, who had worked their way up by their own talents, and had already attained a high position in the world of letters. But Guizot lacked discretion. He despised popular clamour, and had no scruple about uttering unpalatable truths in galling language; the people hated him. Thiers was witty, eloquent, lively, and greatly and generally admired; but his youth, the lowness of his origin, his flippancy, and well-known personal ambition, prevented his having much influence. The king chose de Broglie, stipulating that Thiers should be one of his colleagues. But Broglie would not undertake to form a cabinet without Guizot, and as there was no alternative, Louis Philippe gave way. All was soon arranged. Broglie was appointed minister of foreign affairs; Thiers, of the interior; Guizot, of public instruction; and Mumann, of finance. Marshal Soult retained the portfolio of war.

Although no death punishments had been inflicted in consequence of the insurrection, Paris had been placed under martial law, and the physicians had been, in many instances, obliged to give information against wounded persons who had placed themselves under their care. This exasperated the republicans; and it was loudly rumoured that, since open resistance was of no avail, it only remained to resort to assassination, and destroy the monarchy at one blow. The king went in state to open the session, on the 19th of November. Two carriages, one containing the queen and her daughters, the other the ministry, headed the procession. Louis Philippe rode behind on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant staff. The whole way from the Tuileries to the Palais Bourbon the streets were lined with troops. When the cortège had reached the Pont Royal, a pistol-shot was heard close by, and the king bent over the saddle, as if wounded; but quickly recovering his self-possession, he raised his hat, bowed to the crowd, and passed on unharmed. But the consternation of his adherents was great, as they anticipated a general attack. A strict search was made for the perpetrator of the crime, but no clue could be discovered to lead to his detection, beyond the vague and unsatisfactory evidence of a young woman, who alleged that the shot was fired close beside her, and that the assassin

had rested the pistol on her shoulder to steady his aim. The king continued his progress, and delivered his speech to the chamber with as much calmness as if nothing had happened; but the odium of the affair was thrown upon the republican party. "So they fired upon me," said he to M. Dupin, on his return to the palace. "Sire," was the reply, "they fired upon themselves."

The opposition and the new ministry were daily engaged in numerous contests about questions arising out of these unhappy events; as the government, secure and rejoicing in its triumph, had often perhaps carried its rigour too far, and abused its strength by many acts of petty oppression. The prosecution of some noted republicans, members of the *Société des Amis du Peuple*, upon trumped up and improbable charges, and their acquittal by the jury added to these bitter feelings of animosity. It is a lamentable fact, and one which must inspire all lovers of constitutional freedom with gloomy forebodings, that the French never cease quarrelling amongst themselves, till they begin to quarrel with somebody else. Nothing but a foreign war can settle their internal disputes. It was needed now as much or more than ever, and it came.

The king of Holland refused to submit to the decision of the conference held by the great powers in London, and to relinquish Belgium. France was deputed to compel him. In November marshal Gerard crossed the frontier, at the head of fifty thousand men, having the duke of Orleans serving under his command. On the 29th he arrived before Antwerp, and summoned the Dutch general Chassé to surrender the citadel. The latter replied that he was prepared to defend himself to the uttermost. On the 14th of December, after incredible labour in erecting the batteries on the soft muddy soil, the besiegers opened their fire upon the fortress, with eighty-two guns, which were soon increased to a hundred and four, the half of which threw shells. In a few days a breach was effected in the outer wall, and the French carried it with fixed bayonets. But the interior of the citadel, in which general Chassé lay dangerously ill, still held out. The heavy and well-directed fire of the batteries had at last thrown the whole building into ruins; the wells were dried up, and the hospital was in danger of falling on the wounded. A mine was sprung, which made an enormous breach, nearly filling up the citadel, and the besiegers were preparing to storm, when the Dutch capitulated. The other forts were taken in rapid succession, and the whole of Belgium cleared of Dutch troops. Throughout the whole of the affair the duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne, had displayed the utmost gallantry, fighting in the trenches with unshaken courage, and animating the soldiers by his presence.

The duchesse de Berri, we have already said, was placed in close confinement in the fortress of Blaye. But the government soon found themselves placed in an awkward position, from not knowing what to do with her. To keep her shut up was out of the question; to bring a young and beautiful woman, the near relative of the royal family, to trial, was equally out of the question. The republicans cried for justice to be done upon her, and a great example to be made, which would for ever prevent the repetition of an attempt which had caused so much bloodshed. The legitimatists thought it their duty to make now a greater display of their devotion than ever. A number of gentlemen talked of

making up a civil list for her by subscription; and M. de Chateaubriand wrote a pamphlet, in which, addressing the duchess, he said, "Madame, your son is my king." Hundreds of young men, the sons of noblemen, walked in procession through the streets to his residence to thank him. The debates in the chamber were furious, and everything portended a crisis of some sort, when a great scandal relieved the government from the difficulty. It was whispered about that the duchesse de Berri had been engaged in an intrigue of some sort, and the consequences of her frailty were beginning to appear about too plainly. The news soon spread abroad. The legitimatists gave it the lie, and duels were fought in vindication of her honour. But in a few months it was evident, beyond all doubt, that it was past vindication. The unfortunate lady was subjected to an espionage that outraged decency. The hourly insults to which she was exposed, in the journals, in the chambers, and in the saloons, wounded her to the quick, on the point on which all women are most susceptible, and at last drove her to make a declaration that put her most devoted followers to shame, and destroyed for ever the hopes of the Bourbon line. She signed a paper, under the advice of her physician, formally announcing that she had been secretly married while in Italy.

On the night of the 9th of May she was delivered of a daughter, and M. Deneux, then made the formal declaration required by the French law, in the presence of marshal Bugeaud and others, that "he had delivered Madame la duchesse de Berri, the lawful wife of count Hector Luchesi Palli, of the princes del Campo Franco, gentleman of the chamber to the king of the two Sicilies, domiciled at Palermo." There was now nothing to warrant her detention any longer. By her marriage she had forfeited her position as the duke of Bordeaux's guardian, and as "Madame de France."

She went first to Italy, then to Germany, where she had an interview with Charles X. He received her coldly, took her son from her, and committed his education to general Latour Maubourg. She went away sorrowful and dejected, to sink into the quiet obscurity of an Italian nobleman's wife—to be no longer spoken of, save as the heroine of the last and least successful of the attempts of the Bourbons to regain a position, of which their own faults and follies alone had deprived them.

The next few months were marked by disputes between the journals and the chamber, which, though they invariably ended in the legal discomfiture of the former, did not fail to lower the government in the eyes of the people, and give ample materials for the inflammatory harangues of the demagogues in the clubs. The only legislative measure of importance, which possesses sufficient interest for the English reader, to justify our entering into details, was the law of primary instruction, brought forward by M. Guizot, and which was conceived in a spirit of the highest statesmanship. Its leading features were as follow:—Primary instruction was to comprise elementary schools and superior schools; in the former were to be taught the principles of religion and morality, reading, writing, the elements of the French language, and of arithmetic and the legalised system of weights and measures; that in the second should be taught the elements of geometry, linear drawing, surveying,

the principles of natural philosophy, and of natural history, singing, and the elements of history and geography; that it should be allowed to every individual aged eighteen to open a primary school, if provided with a certificate of morality and capability from the mayor, or the testimonial of three municipal councillors; that, independently of private schools, every commune should be compelled to maintain a public school; that the public primary school should be placed under the superintendence of a local committee and a committee of the *arrondissement*; that only those children should be admitted gratuitously whose parents were declared by the municipal councils to be incapable of paying the fee; that the minimum salary of the teacher should be, in the primary schools, two hundred francs a year, and in the superior four hundred francs, in addition to a monthly stipend, to be fixed by the municipal council; that, in behalf of the communal primary teachers, there should be established a savings bank, by holding back a twentieth part of their yearly salary. This measure was received with acclamation, and unanimously passed in both chambers. It has ever since been at work with admirable effect, and though it is as yet too soon to expect its results to become apparent, we may rest assured that the next generation of Frenchmen will exhibit them not only in their social relations, but in their political acts.

We are obliged to pass over the details of the interference of France in the disputes between Mahomet Ali and the Sultan of Turkey, which were at length arranged for the present to the satisfaction of all parties. On the 22nd of March, 1833, the celebrated treaty was signed between France and England, which bound both parties to maintain a fleet on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave trade,—an event which taught a great moral lesson to the world. The government, about the same time, incurred some odium from the part it took in an attempt made by Mazzini and some of his compatriots to excite a revolution in Italy. It was alleged by the enemies of Louis Philippe that he held out false hopes to the patriots, and then deceived and betrayed them; but the true ground of offence, in the eyes of the revolutionary propagandists, was his natural and salutary unwillingness to involve himself in broils which might injure France, without conferring any benefit on those he was endeavouring to serve.

Domestic affairs of an extraordinary nature soon, however, attracted the attention of the whole nation. These were the conflicts between the press and the government. We have already alluded to the violence by which some of the smaller journals in Paris sought to gain popularity. This pandering to the worst passions of the mob, on the part of men who assume the position of instructors of the people, has ever been productive of frightful evils to France; and their teachings became doubly dangerous when they pointed to armed insurrection as the only solution of all social problems, and the grand panacea for all grievances of whatever kind. Some prosecutions directed against the most violent of the journals led to fierce recriminations in the chamber, many of the deputies being connected more or less intimately with the press. During one of these discussions M. Dulong, a leader amongst the republicans and a man of great abilities, in denouncing the employment of military force in the suppression of civil broils, and the blind obedience which soldiers have to render to any commands of their superiors, however base or dis-

honourable, sneered at general Bugeaud as the "gaoler of the duchesse de Berri." The hot temper of the African general fired at the insult, and notwithstanding the efforts of friends to bring about an amicable arrangement, a duel was arranged to come off in the Bois de Boulogne at ten on the following morning. The quarrel had assumed more than ordinary interest in the public eye from the fact that M. Dulong was considered the champion of the republicans, and general Bugeaud of the government. They fought with pistols, and the unfortunate Dulong was shot through the head upon the first discharge, and long before morning was a corpse. As the quarrel was to all intents and purposes a political one, his death was mourned by his party as a public calamity, and it was loudly rumoured that the court had used its influence over Bugeaud to prevent a reconciliation, that it might have a chance of getting rid of at least one foe. Under the influence of these feelings Dulong's friends resolved to make his funeral a political demonstration. An innumerable multitude followed him to the grave, and troops were collected at all the principal points on the route to prevent the possibility of an outbreak. Dupont de l'Eure, upon hearing of the catastrophe, resigned his seat in the chamber, and retired into the country to mourn in secret the loss of his friend. But Armand Carrel, and a number of others of the same party, were present in the burial-ground and delivered funeral orations. That of Carrel produced the deepest impression. Standing bareheaded over the open grave of his companion, his impassioned gestures and solemn though worn aspect, moved the crowd almost more than his stirring words. The conclusion of his address contains the dangerous though chivalrous error that has wrought so much evil in France, and lured him to his doom. "We live," said he, "in one of those corrupt periods of the world in which the conscientious man, unless he choose to give the lie to truth, ought to be ready to back his words with his sword. Dulong understood the sad age in which he lived. His life no more belonged to him, than ours to us. His life belonged to truth, and when she demanded it from him, he laid it down, and fulfilled the covenant."

This episode, combined with a vigorous attempt made by the police to put a stop to the hawking of seditious prints, had created the greatest excitement amongst the populace, and it was wrought up to the highest pitch by a law which was introduced into the chamber for the suppression of all associations, of whatever kind, which had not received the sanction of the government. This was a blow, evidently and confessedly aimed at the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, and the *Société des Amis du Peuple*, both of them republican, democratic, and social. Unlike our political associations in England, these did not profess to employ discussion and other constitutional modes of agitation upon principle, or as a duty, but simply because for the time being they were expedient. They were in reality military organisations, and looked to armed insurrection as their legitimate mode of action, and the only sure road to success. Each member was bound to provide himself with a musket, and keep a supply of ball cartridges always ready, to be prepared for any emergency that might arise; and like the Jacobin club, they had ramifications through the whole of the departments, with which they kept up a constant correspondence, and upon whose aid they might count. It may be easily seen that no government, which was faithful to its duty, could for

a moment tolerate a system so dangerous to its stability, and so detrimental to the interests of society. But, from a natural desire to avoid everything that might wear the appearance of a leaning to arbitrary principles, Louis Philippe had suffered it to arrive at such a pitch of strength and insolence, that there was now almost greater danger in the attempt to subvert it, than in its continuing to exist. The ministers, however, resolved to do their duty, let the consequences be what they might; but though they meant well they lacked discretion. In suppressing a great evil, they did not know how to avoid unjust interference with constitutional rights, and pushed their restrictions too far. The great want in the French character is moderation. French politicians fly to extremes as the magnet to the pole. There is in their eyes no middle course between anarchy and despotism, slavish silence under oppression and armed resistance. From a limited monarchy to a republic, from a republic to a military tyranny there is but one step, and the same crowds who, intrenched behind barricades, to-day combat like lions for freedom, to-morrow hail with delight the elevation of a dictator in the Champs de Mars.

A bill was therefore introduced into the chamber proscribing every association of more than twenty persons, which had not received the sanction of the government, and referred the trial of all offences committed under the act, not to a jury, but to the "correctional tribunals," or police courts. This was bringing matters to a crisis. The *Société des Droits de l'Homme* was now put upon its mettle. If it suffered itself to be suppressed, it was false to its principles. The opposition in the chamber reproached the advocates of the measure with inconsistency and apostacy. M. de Broglie, the head of the cabinet, had, under the restoration allowed the *Société des Amis de la Presse* to meet in his house, and it was well known that Guizot had been a prominent member of the *Société aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*. He writhed under the taunts which were thus poured upon him, and replied to his enemies in a speech of cutting sarcasm, while his voice trembled with emotion. But the measure was nevertheless passed, and amongst its supporters was Alphonse de Lamartine. It was his first appearance upon the political arena.

Things were in this state, when some dissensions in the cabinet, respecting a claim of twenty-five million francs made upon France by the United States, caused M. de Broglie to tender his resignation. It was accepted; and the vacant office of minister for foreign affairs was given to M. de Rigny, while M. Thiers, whose abilities had made him in reality the leader of the cabinet, was transferred to the ministry of the interior, and all things went on as before.

In the mean time the various associations began to consider what steps should be taken in the emergency which threatened them with extinction. Some despaired of making any resistance to the overwhelming force which the government had at its disposal, while others, relying upon the influence which a great example would have in the eyes of the people, proposed that the leaders of the party should shut themselves up in their houses, bid defiance to the police, and, if attacked, die fighting. The more moderate ones, however, overruled the adoption of this desperate scheme, and devoted all their attention to the completion of their organisation in the departments, and the *Société pour la Défense de la Liberté de la Presse*, of which general Lafayette was president, and

which met at his house, followed their example. Armand Carrel alone stood aloof from these movements. Accustomed to the regularity and order of military discipline, he smiled contemptuously when the noisy and boisterous demagogues of the clubs talked of overturning, by the tumultuous onsets of unaided valour, a powerful government backed by the bourgeoisie. In his inmost heart he loved the people, not for what they were, but for what they might have been, had circumstances and education favoured them; but his lofty spirit and severely-trained intellect and passions could have no sympathy with a mob. His defection was a heavy blow and a great discouragement.

Lyons had always been a great centre of sedition. The *Société des Droits de l'Homme* had here a greater number of adherents than in any other provincial town in France, and here it was that the excitement caused by the new law was first destined to find vent in violence. Several of the journals of the town had been prosecuted by the government, and the editors had been sentenced, on conviction, to pay fines and undergo terms of imprisonment, which were generally thought vastly disproportioned to the offence. In addition to this, the authorities had acted towards them in a manner savouring rather of personal hostility than of calm and unimpassioned carrying out of a judicial sentence. The unfortunate writers, men of education and high standing in society, doubtless sincere in their opinions, and therefore to be pitied rather than hated, had their heads shaved, were loaded with irons, and sent to herd in the prisons with the lowest and vilest malefactors, robbers, murderers, and ruffians of every dye. This unnecessary display of brutality irritated many of the middle classes, whilst the weavers, suffering from low wages and bad food, and smarting under the the memory of their last defeat, were already ripe for a change of any sort.

A strike for wages on the part of the latter, and some additional measures of repression on the part of the authorities, precipitated the outbreak, which every one had been for some time expecting. The city was crowded with troops; the national guards wore the uniform and their side-arms constantly. At daybreak on the 10th of March the republicans broke up their last council, bid each other a last farewell, and, rushing into the streets, called the people to arms, and began to erect barricades. The conflict was the same as before. The same reckless valour, the same merciless ferocity, the same destruction of the property, the same fearful loss of life, the same terror, grief, and confusion, smoke, and noise, and carnage; victory on the side of the government, wailing in the houses of the insurgents; and then the silence of defeat, the terrible stillness of the grave.

When the news reached Paris, the members of the *Société des Droits de l'Homme* felt that it was they who had urged the Lyonnese to revolt; it was now their duty to show that they could practise what they preached, and prove themselves not less ready to act than to advise. The government had at that moment a force of not less than forty thousand men at its disposal in Paris alone, and a numerous train of artillery; and yet these misguided men did not hesitate, in the face of such fearful odds to rush madly on death, and involve hundreds of families in mourning. The authorities had acted with great promptness, and had succeeded, in

arresting many of the leaders; but the others, nevertheless, determined "to put their fortune to the arbitrament of bloody strokes and mortal-staring war." Barricades were hastily erected on the morning of the 13th, and after a conflict of a few hours, in which many lives were lost, they were carried at all points by the troops, who used their victory with merciless severity. Houses, from which shots were fired, were entered, wrecked, and the inmates, in many instances, bayoneted without distinction of age or sex. Innumerable arrests were made, until the prisons were gorged, and the papers of some of the prisoners showed that many persons of high rank were deeply involved in the movement, and foremost amongst those was the brave old Lafayette. Not that there was any proof that he had committed an overt act of treason, but it was beyond doubt that his sympathies were with the conspirators, and that he gave them all the encouragement and assistance in his power, short of taking up arms, which his age rendered impossible. He had been deeply disappointed in the revolution, and more still in Louis Philippe. Instead of being content to reign, as he had expected, the king insisted upon governing also; and by taking the reins of government into his own hands, and involving himself in personal conflicts with the chambers, instead of allowing his ministers to bear the brunt, he had left the state without either the equality and rude vigour of a republic or the parliamentary predominance of a constitutional monarchy. The old general likewise was bitterly chagrined by the poor reward he had received for all his services, and since his resignation of the command of the national guard, he had been both feared and disliked by the government. Now he was in their power; but it would have been foul dishonour to bring those grey hairs, bleached by so many years of battle, exile, toil, and turmoil, before the highest tribunal that ever sat in France. But how could they pass him over? They were soon relieved from their perplexity. On the 20th of May, 1834, the companion in arms of Washington, the last of the great men of the first revolution, and the oldest hero of a nation of soldiers, ever the fast friend of liberty and of public order, sank to his well-won repose. Lafayette was no more.

But still the government were undecided what to do with the prisoners with whom the gaols were crammed. To bring them all to trial seemed almost impossible, and to turn them loose upon society would, it was feared, prove a dangerous example of impunity for treason. The propriety of granting an amnesty came to be debated amongst the ministry, and they differed upon it, and carried their dissensions to such a pitch that they at last resigned in a body. The king was now placed in a position of great difficulty. There was no other party, possessing sufficient unitedness, influence, or eloquence to enable them to form a cabinet, and Louis Philippe was at last driven in desperation to fix upon M. Persil, a man of no standing or capacity, and request him to construct a ministry as best he could. Persil was so anxious to get into office that he did not for a moment hesitate to obey. On the 10th of November a number of names were announced in the *Moniteur* as having been appointed to the different offices, but which were totally unknown in the political world. They were received in the chamber with shouts of laughter, and after a miserable tenure of three days, they resigned their portfolios, covered with shame and confusion. They have ever since been

known by the derisive appellation of "The Ministry of the Three Days," The doctrinaires now returned to office in triumph, rendered doubly popular by their temporary retirement. Their reappearance was marked by a stormy discussion upon the demand made by America, for compensation for the injury she had sustained by Napoleon's famous Berlin decrees, which sentenced to confiscation every vessel convicted of having any connexion with the British government, territory, or commerce. The part of the left, or, as they were more commonly called, "the Mountain," with characteristic hotheadedness and folly, wished to go to war sooner than satisfy these claims, simply because they were made with some tartness of tone, although their justice was not disputed. Happily, however, the ministry possessed sufficient strength and firmness to perform what was in reality a national duty, and the neglect of which would have reflected more dishonour on France than a hundred defeats on the battle-field.

Every preparation was now made for the trial of the insurgents of April. The chamber of peers was by royal ordonnance constituted a high court of justice, and it was determined that all the traversers, whether the offence was committed in Paris or Lyons, or elsewhere, should be tried together. They chose a committee of defence to provide counsel and undertake the general management of their case. They retained counsel from amongst the order of advocates, but the peers decided that they should not be allowed to select their defenders, but that they should be assigned to them. Against this the whole bar, as well as the prisoners, protested in the most energetic terms, but the only result was that the court relinquished its intention of making any particular advocates act for them. The trial came on in the midst of the most intense excitement; and the prisoners refusing to plead formally, contented themselves with heaping denunciations upon their judges, reproaching them with their base subservience to so many different governments, and above all with the murder of Marshal Ney. The result was such as might have been anticipated. A few were acquitted, but the great majority were condemned to terms of imprisonment varying in length according to the greater or less share which each traverser was proved to have taken in the disturbances. The folly of making a political body a tribunal for the trial of political offences was never more apparent than in the present instance. Far from submitting to the verdict and sentence as the calm judgment of the law, the accused and their adherents received it as the triumph of party opponents, the memory of which was to be treasured up until the day should arrive of taking vengeance and retrieving the defeat.

Rumours of plots against the king's life now again began to spread abroad. M. Thiers received credible information that the king's carriage was to be fired into on the road from Neuilly to Paris; the journey was undertaken, however, for the king was a man of dauntless personal courage, but not without some misgivings as to the issue; but the police had taken such precautions that the attempt, even supposing it were in contemplation, was never made. But the apprehensions of the government did not subside. Dark rumours were still abroad, but the king, confiding in the good fortune which never deserted him, affected to despise them.

The 28th of July was the anniversary of the revolution, and on that day Louis Philippe was to ride at the head of his staff in solemn procession through the city, the way being lined with troops of the line and national guards. He left the Tuileries at ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by three of his sons, the ministers, a number of generals, and other persons of distinction. On arriving at the end of the Jardin Turc on the Boulevard du Temple, a regular volley of musketry was heard, like the firing of a platoon, and the ground was instantly strewn with the dead and dying. Marshal Mortier and general Lachasse de Verigny were wounded in the head and dropped from their horses; while a captain in the artillery, named Villate, was killed on the spot. Two colonels of the national guard, four privates of the same body, an old man in the crowd and a young girl, shared the same fate. The king escaped unhurt, except from a slight bruise produced by the sudden and violent rearing of his horse. Balls had struck the horses of the ducs d'Orleans and de Joinville, but they too were uninjured. At the moment of the explosion smoke was seen issuing from the windows of a house opposite, and immediately after, a man half-dressed and covered with blood was seen rushing along the roof. The national guards shouted to him to surrender or they would fire; but he continued his flight amidst a shower of balls, and succeeded in reaching the courtyard, but there he was instantly seized by the *gens d'armes*. When the room was searched a machine was discovered, displaying an amount of devilish ingenuity in its construction, unparalleled in the annals of crime. It was composed of a sort of framework, like a table without the leaf, supported by four stout legs, and connected by strong oak cross-pieces. Upon this was fastened twenty-five musket-barrels, elevated eight inches higher at the breech than at the muzzle, and secured by notches cut in the wood as rests. The touch-holes were all in a line, and were connected by a train of gunpowder, and the barrels were arranged like rays diverging from a centre, and placed at different elevations, so as to command as wide a space as possible, and thus do terrible execution, and each one carried a quadruple charge. Two of them did not go off, and four burst, and it was to this circumstance, doubtless, that the king owed his life, and the assassin his wounds.

The king continued his course, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the army and the people, whilst the indignation against the murderer was so violent, that it was with difficulty the police could prevent his being torn to pieces. Never had Louis Philippe appeared so popular. Men asked themselves, was an attempt of such vileness possible in France, where great crimes had always been committed openly in the name of the law, and they shuddered when they thought of the frightful evils which might have befallen the country, had the monarch been killed. Thus does Providence ever frustrate the schemes of the wicked, and set their craftiest devices at naught.

The popular excitement and sympathy reached its height when fourteen funeral cars appeared in the streets a few days afterwards, conveying the victims of the assassin to their last abode. Countless multitudes followed them to their graves, and for once the population of Paris looked grave and thoughtful. There was a sad contrast in age and station of the murdered; but death, the great leveller of all distinctions, brings

those together whom society keeps apart: first was a marshal of France, who had fought throughout the tremendous wars of the empire, and had escaped death in many a bloody field, when thousands fell around him; and last was a young girl, of the lower order, verging on womanhood, who knew nought of politics, and had come to look on the procession as a gay spectacle.

The assassin's name was Fieschi, who had been originally a soldier, then a convicted forger and thief; and, after his discharge from prison, a low agent of the police; and, last of all, a vile adventurer in Paris, till falling into destitution, he became desperate, and resolved upon the commission of some great crime, which should either relieve him from his misery, or crown him with glory and eclat. He had no accomplices, and had no better reason for the act than the one we have just mentioned. The blame was, however, thrown by turns upon the legitimatists and the republicans as passion or prejudice prompted; and M. Thiers acted in a manner unworthy both of himself and the cause he professed to serve, when he directed Armand Carrel's house to be searched, with the view of discovering some clue to Fieschi's accomplices. The whole course of Carrel's life was a testimony against everything that savoured of knavery or dishonour. The assassin, with two wretches like himself, named Pepin and Morey, who were proved to have assisted him in his enterprise, were, after a long and tedious trial, guillotined in the January following.

In September, 1835, immediately after the commission of the outrage we have been describing, the chamber, in a fit of alarm, ran into the very common error of adopting extreme measures for the repression of conspiracy and sedition, characterised neither by wisdom nor by a thorough knowledge of the principles of constitutional government. These have ever since been known as the "*Laws of September.*" The first invested the minister of justice, in reference to citizens charged with the commission of overt acts of treason, with the power of constituting as many courts of justice as the occasion required, and every attorney-general with the power of abridging, if necessary, the usual formalities of a prosecution; and it gave to the presiding judge the power of removing any prisoner by force who should create a disturbance, or in any way interrupt the proceedings, and continuing the trial in his absence.

The second gave to juries the power of secret voting, and reduced the majority necessary to convict from eight to seven.

The third related to the press, and was more obnoxious than either of the others. It enacted that any one who should publish anything reflecting on the king personally, or assail the principle of the government as by law established, should be liable to imprisonment, and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 francs. Under less penalties, it forbid any person to declare himself a republican, or mix up the king in discussions on political events, or express a wish for the destruction of the monarchy, or for the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty; to publish the names of jurors before or after a trial, or to report their deliberations, or to assist in getting up subscriptions to pay fines levied on journals when convicted of breaches of the law. It obliged all editors to deliver up the authors of the articles in their papers, when required to do so by the authorities; and it deprived them of the management of their journals whilst under-

going imprisonment under the act; and, last of all, it enacted that every print, drawing, lithograph, or emblematical representation, and every dramatic piece intended to be acted on the stage should be submitted to the censorship for examination before publication.

Disputes between Thiers and his colleagues, about matters relating not so much to the general policy of the government as to the individual action and independence of its members, led to the dissolution of the cabinet and the formation of a new one, of which Thiers himself was the head, and a number of men, by no means his equals in talent, ranged in the subordinate positions. The former was daily gaining ground in public estimation. His transcendent talents and brilliant eloquence more than counterbalanced his want of high birth, property, or connexion, and when he became minister for foreign affairs, and president of the council in the new administration, he was the courted favourite of the highest and gayest circles in Paris. Talleyrand paid him a merited and clever compliment when he said, "*Il n'est point parvenu; il est arrivé.*"

CHAPTER V.

THE DUKE D'ORLEANS VISITS BERLIN AND VIENNA—ANOTHER ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF THE KING—DUEL BETWEEN ARMAND CARREL AND EMILE DE GIRARDIN—DISPUTES WITH SWITZERLAND—INTERFERENCE IN SPAIN—CHANGE OF MINISTRY—LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE ATTEMPTS AN INSURRECTION IN STRASBOURG—ALGERIA—DEATH OF CHARLES X. AND LIBERATION OF THE EX-MINISTERS—AFFAIRS OF TURKEY.

THE darling wish of Louis Philippe's heart was the formation of an alliance with some of the royal houses of Europe, which should place his family on a par with those of the great powers, and wipe out the recollection that he owed his throne to an *émeute*. Long descended as he was, a cloud hung over the memory of his father, and though he wore the crown of one of the first nations of the world, amongst monarchs he was still but a *parvenu*. To a really "citizen king" who had the good of his subjects at heart, and a mind superior to the paltry conventionalisms of courts, to be the monarch of the people's choice, would have been a prouder position than to be the heir of twenty generations of tyrants. But Louis Philippe had his foibles, and none more mischievous than the desire of consolidating his dynasty. It was determined, therefore, that the duke of Orleans should be sent to Berlin and Vienna, to seek a wife amongst some of the silly princesses of the German courts, women as heartless and frivolous as indolence and want of education could make them. At Berlin he was graciously received, and fêted by the king of Prussia; and passing thence to Vienna, he so charmed the Viennese by the grace of his manners, that, flushed with his popularity, he proposed for the hand of the princess Theresa, the daughter of the archduke Charles. The latter received him favourably, and seemed disposed to accept his offer, but the Austrian nobility, a beggarly race, whose patents do not hide the emptiness of their coffers and the darkness of their intellects, thought it foul scorn that a daughter of the house of Hapsburg should wed a man who owed his position to the triumph of principles which they regarded as rank heresy and blasphemy, and the archduchess Sophia in particular, exclaimed, in rancorous bitterness of soul, that an Austrian princess should never ride in a carriage which was liable every minute to be pierced with bullets. The negotiations were consequently broken off, and the duke quitted Vienna abruptly, with the intention of proceeding to Italy. But when on the way he was recalled to Paris by the news of another attempt upon the king's life. When driving, on the 25th of June, 1836, from the Tuileries to Neuilly, a walking-stick gun was discharged into the royal carriage

at the moment when Louis Philippe was leaning forward to return the salute of the national guard. The ball passed close to his head, and the wadding lodged in his hair. The assassin was instantly seized. His name was Alibaud, and it was proved by a great number of persons who knew him well, that his disposition was ordinarily marked by great gentleness and humanity. He manifested the utmost coolness during his trial, giving no reason for his crime, save the wish to rid the world of a tyrant, and submitted to his fate with the air of a martyr, exclaiming, as he laid his head on the block,—“I die for liberty!”

An event occurred soon after this, which excited the utmost sensation throughout France, and even in many foreign countries, from the celebrity and high character of one of the principal actors engaged in it. Emile Girardin, the well-known journalist, a man who has passed from one political party to the other without hesitation, as it happened to suit his interest, and who is as much at ease in writing under Louis Napoleon as under the monarchy or republic, published in Paris a newspaper called *La Presse*, at a lower price than the other papers, trusting to the increase of circulation and the greater number of advertisements to make up the deficiency which would otherwise be caused in the returns. This was in itself a praiseworthy idea; as, though it might deteriorate the contents of the papers, it would still place them within the reach of a larger portion of the population. But many of the journalists took alarm at it, and attacked Girardin in violent terms. Amongst these was a democratic journal called the *Bon Sens*. Girardin, instead of replying through his own paper, prosecuted the editor under the “laws of September.” This roused Armand Carrel’s ire, and in the *National* of the 20th of July, 1836, he expressed his agreement with the *Bon Sens*, and his disapproval of the course Girardin had pursued. This led to a reply on the part of the latter, in which he expressed doubts of Carrel’s good faith, and intimated his intention of returning to the subject. Carrel flung back the imputation in terms of indignant scorn, and thus finally committed himself to a quarrel with the wily speculator. Carrel was at the time, we are told, in low spirits. He was reaching the turn of life, and was still but a journalist, and the cause for which he lived and laboured—liberty and the poor—was making but little progress. Placed, by his commanding talents and indomitable courage, at the head of the republican party, his own energy and sincerity had been far from sufficient to make up for the blindness, violence, and selfishness of his followers. It is useless to attempt to organise or drill an army in the presence of a watchful and powerful foe, and when the democrats found their best-concerted schemes turn out abortive, they laid the blame not on their own folly and rashness, but upon their leader. Carrel’s fiery and highwrought spirit could ill brook the insults and ingratitude of the base crew by whom he was surrounded; but still he faltered not, but laboured as earnestly and as manfully for truth and justice as if the world applauded and fortune favoured his efforts. But his soul was sorrowful; and, mourning over the downfall of the hopes and dreams of his childhood, he fell into a desponding state and believed his end approaching; he knew not how, but was prepared to meet it with the fortitude of a soldier and the resignation of a Christian. As he slept, the scenes of childhood came back upon him and filled his troubled fancy. The night before he wrote the article in

the *National* which drew forth Girardin's attack, he had a dream which made a deep impression upon him, and which, as related in his own words to a friend, may give some idea of his state of mind at this period. "I saw my mother in my sleep. She was dressed in black, and her eyes were full of tears. I asked her with affright,—For whom are you mourning? Is it my father? No. Is it my brother? No. For whom then? For you, my son."

Upon reading Girardin's article he proceeded to his house, accompanied by a friend, to demand an explanation. An arrangement was effected, by which a note of retraction was drawn up and signed by both parties, to be published in their journals. But Carrel insisted that it should appear first in Girardin's, *La Presse*. This the latter refused to concede, and after some further parleying, Carrel's temper overcame him, and starting up and exclaiming, "*Je suis l'offensé; je choisis le pistolet*," abruptly quitted the room. They met on the following morning in the Bois de Vincennes, and at the first discharge Carrel fell mortally wounded in the groin, and Girardin slightly in the leg. The former was instantly carried to a house hard by, and there he lingered in delirium surrounded by agonised friends, until the night of the 23rd of July. His mind wandered in his ravings to the scenes and events of his early youth, to the cornfields and vineyards of Normandy, where he had roamed in childhood; and to the sierras of Spain, where he had fought for liberty against the white flag of the Bourbons. Ever and anon the name of some early but lost friend was on his lips; old companions in arms who slept their last sleep beneath the sands of Africa, or girls whose beauty had once subdued his proud soul, but who had long since forgotten the war-worn soldier of the people. His words gradually became fainter and more incoherent, and at last murmuring out, "*France,—amis,—république*," he breathed his last sigh; and of Armand Carrel, the gifted, the high-souled and chivalrous Armand Carrel, the fast friend of freedom and the poor, nought remained but a lifeless corpse. Men of all parties hastened to do honour to his memory. Chateaubriand, Arago, Cormenin, and Beranger, shed tears around his grave, and a marble effigy of that inspired face, which was but the outside of his soul, graven by the cunning hand of the sculptor David, has preserved to us the traits of a countenance which bespoke dauntless energy and resolution, and the fire of passion which time and sorrow had not subdued; and as we gaze on the cold image, we must for ever deplore the loss of such a life in such a quarrel.

The ministry of Thiers now became involved in a network of diplomacy, arising out of the attempts made by continental powers to violate the territory of the Swiss cantons, by demanding from them the expulsion of the various refugees whom the tyranny and oppression of the neighbouring countries drove thither for shelter. Switzerland being a free state, and placed in the midst of despotic powers, it was the refuge of all those unhappy men, whose attempts to elevate their native land, had drawn upon them the anger of absolute princes. But in consequence of the great change in the mode of warfare, she was no longer unconquerable as in the days of Rodolph of Hapsburg. The vast standing armies of Austria, Prussia, and France could overwhelm her beyond the possibility of resistance, and it is rather to the jealousy

of the great powers than to her own strength, that she owes her existence as a nation.

Austria and Prussia at this period joined in calling upon her to expel the foreign refugees, who, they alleged, were abusing her hospitality and plotting against the peace of Europe. The diet naturally looked to France for support; but Louis Philippe, being anxious to conciliate the despots, forgot the origin of his monarchy, and, instead of protesting against this breach of international rights, joined in the requisition; and not only this, but it was discovered that the French minister of police had sent spies to Switzerland, to mix with the refugees, insinuate themselves into their confidence, and betray their designs to their enemies.

The war between the Carlists and Christinos was at this time raging in Spain, and Thiers, finding his efforts to establish an *entente cordiale* between France and the great powers of the continent were unavailing, determined on drawing closer to England, and for this purpose expressed his willingness to assist the British government in putting an end to the contest. A legion had been equipped for this purpose in England, and sent out under the command of Sir de Lacy Evans, but being for the most part composed of vagabond adventurers, it only disgraced the British name by its excesses. Thiers, however, was anxious to support it by a division of 12,000 men under the command of general Bugeaud, but Louis Philippe was obstinately opposed to it. It was in vain that the minister called his attention to the treaty called "the triple alliance," by which France was bound to interfere in the affairs of Spain at a crisis of this sort, in conjunction with Great Britain; and at last, relinquishing the attempt in despair, he resigned office, and set out for a tour into Italy.

An ordonnance appeared soon after appointing M. Molé president of the council and minister for foreign affairs, M. Persil minister of justice and public worship, M. Gasparin minister of the interior, M. de Rosamel minister of marine, M. Duchatel minister of finance, and M. Guizot of public instruction. Scarcely had these assumed office when a pretender to the throne appeared in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. He was the son of the ex-king of Holland, and, consequently nephew of the emperor. His elder brother had died early; and he, believing that he was now the heir of the imperial power and glory, had set his heart from his childhood on obtaining the crown of France. He had much of the uncle's fatalism; and this, combined with an extraordinary amount of dogged resolution, gave him a tenacity of purpose which was almost sufficient to overcome any obstacle. He was naturally also of a romantic turn of mind, and was fired with the idea of overthrowing the restoration and replacing France in the position she occupied before Waterloo. For the accomplishment of these ambitious projects he relied mainly on the army; and that he might in some sort identify himself with it, he composed, when very young, a *Manual of Artillery*, in which he displayed a correct knowledge of the subject, as well as some originality of thought. He resided in Switzerland with his mother, and as soon as he began publicly to proclaim his pretensions to the French crown, he was surrounded by a knot of those broken-down adventurers, who, having failed in every honourable walk of life, are ever ready to set their fortune upon the cast of desperate enterprises. The hope, however faint and

remote, of sharing in the success, makes them overlook the difficulties that intervene, and draws away their attention from the stern realities which always surround the outcasts of society. Into the hands of such men as these did the prince, young, ardent, ambitious, and averse to suspicion commit himself and his projects. In the formation of his plans he was easily induced to follow the advice of others rather than his own opinions; but when his mind was once made up, no obstacles were sufficient to turn him aside from his course.

He now resolved upon making an attempt to gain over the garrison of Strasbourg. He sounded the officers of the artillery, and found them favourably disposed towards him; with the infantry he was not so successful, but he determined to attempt a rising at all hazards. At five in the morning, therefore, he assembled his adherents, and they entered the artillery barracks without opposition. The colonel roused the men by the sound of the trumpet, and, upon their assembling on the esplanade, Louis Napoleon addressed them in a speech which was a feeble imitation of the emperor's magnificent bulletins. They received him with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and declared their readiness to follow him. Proceeding to the quarters of the infantry, he met with a very different reception. The soldiers levelled their muskets, while the commanding officer advanced and tore the epaulets off the shoulders of one of those who had declared his adherence to the pretender. The artillery were surrounded on all sides, and forced to surrender. Louis Napoleon and his principal followers were arrested. The former pledged his word to remain in America for ten years, if he were allowed to depart freely, and accordingly set sail. Soon after, the others were brought to trial, but were acquitted by the jury, and thus the affair ended.

In November, 1836, Charles X. died at Goritz, in Styria, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health; but, in the midst of the stirring events which were every day occurring, few spent a thought on the exiled king. When he was dead, however, there seemed little use in detaining M. de Polignac and his compatriots in prison. The public seemed to have forgotten them; and as their health was declining, they were liberated, some upon condition of quitting the kingdom, and others upon giving their parole to confine themselves to a particular district, of which they themselves had the choice.

Disasters in Africa, or triumphs dearly bought by terrible sacrifice of life, the marriage of the duke of Orleans to the princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a fierce debate in the chamber upon a dotation of 2,000,000 francs a year, which it was proposed to give him, with one or two trials for conspiracy against the king's life, now occupied the public attention for some months; but in the mean time a rupture took place between Molé and Guizot, in consequence of a difference of opinion upon various points in the policy of the government, which led to the secession of the latter from the cabinet. Upon the opening of the session in 1839, therefore, the ministry found both Thiers and Guizot ranged against them,—both terrible opponents, and consummate debaters. But of the two, Guizot was the more powerful, and was daily rising in the opinion of the chambers. In the debate upon the address to the throne, in that year, his onslaughts upon Molé's policy were distinguished by great depth of thought, and vigorous and logical language, and raised

him at once to the highest rank amongst European orators. He continued his attacks; now animadverting upon the foreign policy of the administration, now upon the corruptions and abuses of the electoral system, now upon the extravagant endowments proposed for the younger members of the royal family, now upon the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and Louis Philippe's evident desire to substitute a personal government for a parliamentary one, till the ministers, no longer able to bear up, gave in their resignation in March, 1839. It was no easy matter to form a new cabinet. Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot, all belonged to different parties, and although they had united for the overthrow of the common enemy, when success was achieved their differences broke out afresh. In opposition they had been called the *coalition*, and it was proposed that they should merge their minor disputes, and form a *coalition ministry*, to protect the parliamentary prerogative from the unjust encroachments of the king. But when they came to settle the distribution of the various offices, it was found impossible to satisfy any, as each considered himself entitled to the highest and best place. Under these circumstances, the king addressed himself to Thiers personally, requesting him to form a cabinet as he best could. The latter made five attempts, every one of which was a failure, but the sixth and last to all appearance proved successful. Upon the very first meeting, however, the new ministry quarrelled and broke up, leaving France still without a government. Anarchy at last began to prevail in the capital; tumultuous mobs assembled in the squares, and had to be dispersed by charges of cavalry; seditious cries were heard on every side; and at length two secret societies, which had been formed in 1834, after the suppression of the *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, determined upon giving the signal for open insurrection. The leaders had been for some time manufacturing cartridges in secret, and were all desperate men who had nothing to lose but their lives; and of these they recked little. Among them were two who afterwards played a conspicuous part in 1848, Barbès and Blanqui. The societies were divided into sections, distributed in various parts of the capital, and on the afternoon of the 12th of May they turned out at the sound of the drum, and, rushing through the city, surprised and carried several guardhouses, singing the Marseillaise and shouting "*Vive la République!*" But the people looked on in surprise, they did not find arms where they expected them, and as the alarm soon spread, the troops came down upon them in great force. The few barricades they had erected were soon carried, and Barbès and a great number of others arrested. They were tried before the court of peers: Barbès was sentenced to death, and the rest of the conspirators to the galleys for life, or to various terms of imprisonment. But the intercession of a great number of influential men was at last successful in having the punishment of death commuted to transportation.

The insurrection led to the formation of a ministry of which marshal Soult was the head, with M. Villemain and a number of others not so well known as his colleagues; but no sooner had they entered upon office, than they found themselves involved in a diplomatic controversy, which at that time engaged the attention of the whole of Europe, and upon the result of which the peace of the world in a great measure depended. It arose from the war between Mehemet Ali and the sultan, and may be summed up in a few words.

The Turkish empire had been for many years rapidly declining, until, in 1840, its existence depended upon the will of the western powers. Each of these, but Russia above all, was anxious to obtain possession of Constantinople for itself; but the jealousy of the others proved an impregnable barrier. England was particularly interested in the preservation of the Ottoman empire, as Turkey was one of her most valuable customers, purchasing goods to the extent of nearly two millions annually, and admitting them at an extremely low duty; and she felt also that if the Bosphorus was once in the hands of France or Russia, her possessions in India would no longer be secure. Mehemet Ali was at this time pacha of Egypt, governing it as the sultan's viceroy. He was a man of cruel temper, but of great intellect and ambition, and full of craft and subtlety. He had effected wondrous reforms in his dominions; raising Egypt from the rank of a barbarous country to that of a second-rate power, provided with a well disciplined army, and an efficient fleet. But he was intensely ambitious, and his desires increased with his means, until at last he threw off his allegiance, and openly aspired to the throne of the sultan. His son Ibrahim, an able but ferocious warrior, defeated the Turkish army in several pitched battles, and marched on Constantinople flushed with victory and confident of success. The European powers now took the alarm and hastened to interfere in the porte's favour; but each was suspicious of the other's motives, and forthwith a war of diplomatic operations was commenced with unexampled vigour. "Notes" sufficient to fill volumes passed and repassed; reams of paper and oceans of ink were consumed by "undersigned" representatives of the various governments, each doubtless anxious to settle the dispute, but in such manner that he should reap some advantage from it for his own country. England insisted upon Mehemet Ali's relinquishing Syria, of which he had taken possession; France wished him to keep it; Russia wished to send troops and a fleet for the protection of Constantinople and the Dardanelles; and the sultan was bewildered by the clamour, and knew not what to do. His fleet went over to the pacha; Lord Palmerston proposed to take it back by force; France would not consent to this, and the Mountain in the chamber thought this a capital opportunity for France to assert herself, fulfil her "mission," and take possession of Turkey for her own benefit. To avoid collisions with foreign powers, and at the same time defend themselves from hourly attacks made on them at home, was a task of more than ordinary difficulty, and required from the ministry more talent, energy, and determination than they had at their command. The debates in the chamber were characterised by unusual force and brilliancy, and every one was looking with eagerness for the settlement of the Egyptian affairs as the signal for the downfall of the cabinet. Things were in this position when the chamber was asked to settle a sum of 500,000 francs a year upon the duke of Nemours, in addition to the 500,000 francs already voted to defray the expenses of his marriage with the princess Victoria of Saxe Coburg. The storm of opposition called forth was tremendous, and the demand was indignantly refused by a majority of twenty-six, without a debate. The ministry instantly resigned.

The king was wounded to the quick; as he considered an adverse vote upon a matter touching his family interests, nothing short of a personal

insult. He found himself, however, obliged to succumb, and therefore sent for Thiers, the leader of the opposition, on the 1st of March, and, with a very bad grace, requested him to form a cabinet. After some difficulty he succeeded in doing so, making himself minister of foreign affairs and president of the council. Guizot was sent as ambassador to London, Thiers dreading his opposition in the chamber. The new ministry met with little favour from any quarter; the democrats hated the minister for foreign affairs, in consequence of his having supported "the laws of September," and the king could hardly endure him, because he was forced upon him by a parliamentary defeat. No sooner therefore had the cabinet made its appearance in the chamber, than the questions of the modification of the press laws and electoral reform began to be agitated; but to all clamours on these points Thiers turned a deaf ear, and his able manœuvring and great tact in the management of his party, carried him for a time triumphant over every obstacle. His government received an addition of strength from some brilliant triumphs achieved by the French army in Algiers, where it was carrying on a bloody strife with the Arabs, under their adroit and valorous leader Abdel-Kader. A small party, composed of one hundred and twenty chasseurs, with but one fieldpiece, were besieged in a fort at Mazagran, a lonely and desolate region surrounded by mountains and deserts, and sustained for three days, unaided, a murderous conflict with many thousand Arabs, and at last drove them off with frightful slaughter. Perhaps no more brilliant exploit was ever performed in the days of the crusades, and it raised the spirits of the vain and excitable Parisians to the highest pitch. The chambers, the journals, and the streets resounded for several days with praises of the "*poignée des braves*," who sustained such a "*lutte acharnée*," and even the ministry received some share of the applause, because the event had taken place during their tenure of office.

For some time afterwards they were occupied with projects of internal reform: the regulation of the labour of children in factories; the adjustment of differences between the government and various companies who attempted to compete with it in the formation of railways; and the establishment of a line of steamers to carry on communication with America. The question of parliamentary reform now began every day to be more and more agitated. Banquets were held in the chief towns of several of the departments, and the provincial journals expressed their sentiments upon the subject with unusual acrimony. Some of the meetings were dispersed by the police, and several arrests made in a manner which showed a total disregard for the law; so that the exasperation of the popular party increased every day. Petitions were sent up to the chambers in immense numbers, but their influence was weakened by the great want of unanimity amongst the petitioners, which they all displayed. Some prayed for universal suffrage; others for election by two degrees; others for the extension of the suffrage to all national guards; and others again for the formation of electoral colleges, each composed of a fixed number of voters. This difference of opinion enabled the minister to disregard their requests with impunity, and even with some show of right. Disputes between the employers and employed; great distress of the working-classes, and the consequently rapid spread of socialism; riotous assemblages, and the interposition of armed force to disperse

them, were now of frequent occurrence, and rendered Thiers' position anything but a bed of roses. Instead, however, of addressing himself to the removal of grievances with a manly energy, he was intent upon the consolidation of his own power, and the securing, by fair means or foul, a large body of partisans in the chamber.

The negotiations concerning the affairs of Turkey and Egypt had in the mean time been going on. England insisted upon Mehemet Ali evacuating Syria, as she was unwilling to have a powerful and ambitious neighbour so near the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea, the media of communication with her possessions in India. Russia was disposed to second her views in the matter, and so were Austria and Prussia, but France steadfastly refused. On the 17th of July therefore, notwithstanding Guizot's vigilance, a treaty was signed between the four powers, in which France was not included, or even mentioned, agreeing to compel the pacha to relinquish his newly-acquired territory, and restore the Turkish fleet. The indignation of the French, when this was made known, knew no bounds. Guizot was thunderstruck, Louis Philippe flew into a passion, Thiers was wild with consternation at the failure of all his schemes, and the democrats and the Mountain howled with indignation, and heaped reproaches upon him in the chamber, charging him with having reduced France to the lowest pitch of degradation, and made her the laughing-stock of her old enemies. The powers nevertheless proceeded to carry the treaty into effect; but on notifying their intentions to Mehemet Ali, they received a characteristic answer:—"Vallah-billah-tillah! (by the sacred name of God!) I won't relinquish an inch of territory; and if they declare war on me, I will overturn the Turkish empire and bury myself in the ruins." There could be no doubt that he was in a position to make a formidable resistance. He could muster 276,643 trained soldiers; and his fleet numbered 11 vessels of the line, 7 frigates, 5 corvettes, and 9 brigs; while the Turkish fleet which he had now in his possession, was composed of 9 vessels of the line and 11 frigates. The jealousies of the combined powers were, however, a surer dependence for him than the strength of his own resources. Neither of them would suffer the others to land troops in Egypt or Syria, lest they should be tempted to remain there, and it seemed likely that the winter would come on before the arrangements could be made, and then it would be impossible for the fleets to commence operations upon the treacherous coast of Africa without great danger. The pacha therefore did not consider his position at all desperate, particularly as he fully relied on receiving aid from France, and the extraordinary proceedings of the king and the minister, at this period, gave him every reason to expect that he would not be disappointed. Thiers declared that he had been grossly deceived, and that he would avenge the insult which French honour had received. The king displayed equal vehemence, and talked of war to the uttermost; but he had the advantage of Thiers in that he knew where to stop. When the latter was enraged and threatened, it was in right earnest and he meant what he said. War would now open up for him a new career, and renew his influence, which had already begun to decline in the severe parliamentary attacks which he was obliged to undergo. The king and the minister appeared to be trying to out rival one another in the fierceness of their language. The former declared "that he would,

if necessary, put on the red cap ;" the latter published ordonnances relative to the mobilisation of the national guard, and the increase of the navy. A credit was opened to enable the government to add ten thousand sailors, 5 ships of the line, 13 frigates, and 9 steamers to the force already existing. These propositions met with the loudest applause from the Mountain. But when another credit was opened, to the extent of one hundred million francs, for the construction of fortifications around Paris, their countenances fell. The largeness of the sum called for, the great haste made to commence the works, Louis-Philippe's well-known desire to secure himself against the attacks of the Parisian populace, caused the war party to pause before they applauded this time. Some of the radicals believed, and not without foundation, that he was taking advantage of the momentary enthusiasm to gird Paris with forts, and awe it with bristling rows of cannon, less as a measure of defence than as one of oppression. Others dreaded a recurrence of the scenes of 1815, when Paris surrendered to hostile armies without striking a blow, and thought that of two evils, the protection of the Orleans dynasty by batteries and fortifications was the less.

The war in Algeria still raged with varied success, now a brilliant victory, now a bloody conflict, which might as well be called a defeat, but all ended in the extension of the French territory and the merciless extirpation of the Arabs. The attention of the public was divided between this campaign and the discussions regarding the fortifications, when an event occurred which created a mingled sensation of surprise and pity all over Europe.

We have already related the attempt made by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to gain over the garrison of Strasbourg, and re-establish the empire, and its ignominious failure. He was liberated upon condition that he would go to America, and remain there for ten years. He broke his parole of honour, and returned to Switzerland before half that term had expired. The French government called upon the Swiss to expel him, but the diet stoutly refused to do so, unless compelled by force, and protested strenuously against this violation of national rights. Every preparation was being made by France to carry her threats into execution, when, to relieve his protectors from all difficulty and danger, Louis Napoleon voluntarily embarked for London. Here he remained surrounded by a knot of "men about town," broken down *roués*, gamblers, and ladies of equivocal reputation, replenishing his exchequer by bills drawn upon Jew brokers, his position every day becoming more desperate. He and his adherents, the principal of whom was M. de Persigny, who is now reaping the reward of his fidelity as minister of the interior, issued pamphlets, or brochures, from time to time, which they entitled *Lettres de Londres*, advocating Bonapartist interests. In one of them Napoleon, the emperor, is compared, at great length, to Julius Cæsar, and his nephew to Octavius Cæsar, and the reader is left to draw his conclusion as to the position which prince Louis was destined to occupy. He, however, was daily becoming more dispirited, sanguine and confident though he was, and he was drowning the sense of chagrin and disappointment in gambling and champagne, when, all at once, the warlike enthusiasm excited by the treaty of the great powers upon the affairs of Egypt and Turkey, seemed to promise the realisation of his cherished dreams. His

plan was to land in France, as the heir of the emperor, personifying the military glory of his reign, and throwing himself upon the soldiery, raise the cry of war against the English. He sustained under all his reverses by a profound conviction, nor was it altogether erroneous, that the name of Napoleon was immensely popular, and that the reminiscences of his career possessed magic power. But he deceived himself in supposing that these souvenirs had influence in every class of society; amongst the government functionaries for instance, who always cling to the party in power, or amongst the bourgeoisie, who always hated the emperor. They lived perhaps amongst the lower classes, the peasantry and workmen, but what political influence had these? what could they contribute to his success save unskilled brute force, which can never be relied upon in great emergencies or desperate enterprises? And as to the army, nothing but ignorance or infatuation could have induced him to count upon that; for all armies are so moulded by discipline that they have but one idea, and that is,—fidelity to their standard, and obedience to the orders of their superiors. Some discontented non-commissioned officers—ambitious officers—might perhaps promise their adhesion; but when the moment of action arrives the difference is soon seen between promising and performing. The democratic party in France had more than once sent deputies to him to learn his intentions, so that they might know whether they could consistently offer him their support or not; but he invariably dissembled, so as to leave them completely in the dark.

During the month of July, 1840, Louis Napoleon, through the medium of a third person, hired a steamboat called the *Edinburgh Castle*, the property of a London Company, ostensibly for the use of a pleasure party, for one month dating from the 6th of July, at the rate of one hundred pounds a week. On the 4th of August he had arms, ammunition, and horses sent on board, and then horses and carriages; and on the next day he went on board himself, with some of his confederates. Others joined them at Margate and Gravesend, where they had been sent in order that their number might not excite suspicion. They carried with them a tame eagle, the sight of which was expected to fill the army with enthusiasm. They landed near Boulogne, and were here joined by a lieutenant of the 42nd regiment of the line, named Aladenize. Accompanied by him they made their way into the town, and entered the barracks. Aladenize ordered the soldiers to assemble in arms on the parade ground, and there announced to them that Louis Philippe had ceased to reign, and called upon them to join the nephew of the emperor, and march with him upon Paris. Some answered with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Others were hesitating or undecided, when the officers of the regiment having heard what was taking place, entered the barracks sword in hand, and attempted to force their way through the conspirators. The captain was surrounded and held fast, while his voice was drowned with cries of "*Vive le Prince Louis!*" "Where is prince Louis?" said he; "Here I am, captain," said the prince, advancing, "join us and you shall have everything you wish for." "Prince Louis or not," replied the captain, "I don't know you; you are a conspirator, at all events." At last the soldiers heard the noise of the struggle, and some of the junior officers advanced to the

relief of their superiors, who immediately exclaimed, "They are deceiving you, *Vive le Roi!*" The soldiers now ranged themselves under the orders of their officers, and Louis Napoleon and his adherents were driven out of the barracks. They then went to the heights behind the town, distributing proclamations on their way, and having arrived at the column erected by Napoleon in honour of the grand army, they planted a flag on the top, and took their stand around it. The troops and national guards soon advanced upon them, and charged them with fixed bayonets. They took to flight, and succeeded in getting into the boat, but the national guard opened a heavy fire upon them, and the boat having upset, they were dragged ashore and taken prisoners. Louis Napoleon was tried before the chamber of peers, and was condemned to be imprisoned for life in the fortress of Ham. While here, he occupied himself in reading and corresponding with his friends. Many of the democratic party visited him, or wrote to him; and perceiving now the error he had committed, in disregarding their aid, he professed to be penetrated with their views, and to acknowledge with all its consequences the sovereignty of the people; and he even gave unmistakable evidences that he was favourable to socialism. In the columns of the *Progrès du Pas-de-Calais*, he published a great number of socialist and democratic articles which were eagerly read. Amongst those who were foolish enough to believe in his professions was madame George Sand. She has since had reason to repent her error, as have thousands of others, who looked for a love of the people and liberty from an unprincipled adventurer, who had no conscience but his interest, and no god but the memory of a military despot.

CHAPTER VI.

AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—ATTEMPT UPON THE KING'S LIFE—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LOUIS PHILIPPE AND THE CABINET—RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY—ACCESSION OF GUIZOT TO OFFICE—TRANSPORTATION OF THE REMAINS OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON FROM ST. HELENA—RIGHT OF SEARCH—TAHITIAN AFFAIRS—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS—LAMARTINE—CORRUPTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT—COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY—INTERCHANGE OF VISITS BETWEEN LOUIS PHILIPPE AND QUEEN VICTORIA—SPANISH MARRIAGES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the threats and protestation of the minister, the powers proceeded to put the treaty of the 17th of July into execution. The English formally notified its provisions to the pacha; viz., that he would be allowed to retain Egypt as an hereditary pachalic, and Acre for his lifetime; and in case he refused to accept these within ten days, he should have nothing but Egypt; and if he still held out for another ten days, he should abide the fortune of war. Mehemet Ali sternly rejected all these offers, and on the expiration of the appointed time commodore Napier seized his fleet, and soon after bombarded Beyrout, the French fleet being ordered to absent itself from the scene of hostilities. When this news reached Paris, it produced the greatest agitation amongst all classes of the people. In the saloons, the public promenades, and everywhere, nothing was heard but denunciations of the minister. Every evening in the theatres, both in the capital and in the departments, the pit and gallery called for the *Marseillaise*, and sang it often in defiance of the police. The alarm of the king reached its height when he learned that the national guard was not free from the prevailing discontent. Marshal Gerard, the commander-in-chief, had been for some time in the habit of assembling them for drill once every week, and when together they were accustomed to discuss the current events of the day. Some of the colonels, upon hearing of this, expressed themselves in strong terms as to the danger of bringing together such large bodies of men in the present state of the public mind. The privates instantly met and drew up a protest at great length, in which they reviewed the recent acts of the government *seriatim*, and passed a violent censure upon every one of them. This document was published in the journals, and added fuel to the flame of discontent which was already raging. The ministry, driven to extremities, again assumed a warlike attitude. An ordonnance appeared on the 29th of September, announcing the addition to the army of eighteen new regiments, twelve of infantry and six of light cavalry; so that the whole effective force, exclusive of the national guard, would reach 636,000 men; while the erection of the

fortifications around the city was pushed on with the greatest rapidity. But the greater the preparations, the greater the ridicule of the opposition. They refused to believe that the government had any thoughts of going to war, and even the king himself did not escape their attacks, because it was well known that he in particular was ready to sacrifice anything to peace. He flattered himself, however, that Thiers shielded him from all responsibility. "Never mind," he would say, "*Thiers me couvre.*" The agitation was at its height when, as he was driving in company with the queen and madame Adelaide from the Tuileries to St. Cloud, a fanatic named Darmes fired at him pointblank, as he was returning the salute of the soldiery. The carbine fortunately burst, and the ball struck the saw from the hands of a stonecutter on the other side of the way. The assassin was instantly seized, and stated that his only reason for the attempt was his desire "to kill the greatest tyrant that ever existed either in ancient or modern times; and," he added, "I was sure of my mark if the carbine had not burst. There was too great a charge in it,—five balls and eight slugs." This new attempt struck the ministers with consternation, and made the deepest impression upon the whole court. One of the members of the cabinet said to the king, "*Eh, bien, sire, M. Thiers vous couvre-t-il ?*" (Well, sire, did M. Thiers shield you this time ?)

Louis Philippe could not rid himself of the belief that Darmes was but the agent of a widely-spread system of secret societies, and he came to the conclusion that the safety both of his throne and his life required the declaration of war *à l'outrance* against the democrats and republicans. But Thiers was not the man for this; he had too much sympathy with the traditions of the revolution, and his unpopularity was so great that it was at last determined to get rid of him. This was not difficult. The cabinet had long been giving way under the fierce and continued assaults to which it had been subjected, denounced by the press and the chambers, and thwarted and deceived at court, power had lost its sweets, and to lay it down was relief rather than a sacrifice. The ministers at last gave in their resignation, and it was accepted.

But it was no easy task to find their successors. Few political men of the day had either the courage or the wish to take office at such a crisis, and set themselves up in the midst of so much agitation and discontent, as a mark for the arrows of faction. Few were possessed of the talents necessary to retrieve the horrible disorders which penetrated every department of the state, and at the same time do battle single-handed against the thousand fiery spirits who were already gloating in anticipation over the downfall of the monarchy, and eager to let slip the dogs of war, and spread havoc and desolation through Europe. Where was the lofty spirit that could stand up in the tribune before that boisterous and agitated chamber, raise his voice above the clamour that assailed him from every side, and fling back scorn for scorn, hate for hate, and invective for insult? Where was the man that could raise up a party amongst the disordered elements of the parliament, and lead it to victory through the host of enemies that assailed the government on every side? There was but one competent to undertake this perilous but honourable task; and that man was a lowly-born plebeian, whose early years were spent in labour and solitude, who had risen step by step in defiance

of adverse circumstances, and now stood ready for a crusade against a host of antagonists; proud, haughty, defiant, the bitter smile of scorn ever on his lip, rich in historic lore, and master of eloquence that glittered like a sabre in the sunlight; sarcasm of such exquisite keenness that the strokes were never felt till the depth of the wound was seen; a protestant, and a staunch advocate of liberty of thought and the extension of education; possessing a mind stored with the results of years of self-denying toil and perseverance, and a body that sank under no toil. Such was Guizot, Louis Philippe's last and greatest minister.

The king disliked him extremely ever since his opposition to the Molé ministry, and now accepted him with reluctance; but there was no alternative. He was therefore requested to form a cabinet. On the 29th of October, 1840, the following list appeared in the *Moniteur* :—

Marshal Soult, president of the council and minister of war;

M. Guizot, minister of foreign affairs;

M. Martin (du Nord), minister of justice;

M. Duchâtel, of the interior;

M. Duperre, of the marine;

M. Humann, of finance;

M. Cunin Gridaine, of commerce;

M. Teste, of public works;

M. Villemain, of public instruction.

Marshal Soult was, of course, but a cipher in the new cabinet, as he had been in the old one; but his name gave weight to the government in the eyes of the army, and of the people in the provinces. Guizot was the soul of the new ministry. All his great competitors in the chamber had tried their skill and strength to the uttermost in the attempt to govern France, and now retired from the lists crestfallen and disheartened. Broglie, Molé, or Thiers, none had succeeded in getting a hold on the country, or securing a strong position in the chamber, and they had one by one withdrawn to make way for the great doctrinaire; and he, more fortunate than they, bore down all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, and the splendour of his learning, and the implacable bitterness of his attacks upon his enemies, and succeeded in entrenching himself in a position from which he never fell, until the revolution had levelled both the monarchy and the parliament in the dust. Most people are familiar with the leading incidents in his career.

His education was formed at Geneva. He came to Paris under the empire to seek his fortune; occupied himself with literature, and married a lady who had the same pursuits. His first official post was that of secretary to the duc de Montesquieu, in 1814, in the first ministry of the restoration. On the return of Napoleon, Guizot was sent to Ghent to explain the situation of public opinion to Louis XVIII. by the committee of moderate royalists at Paris. At the second restoration he was again in office, and attached himself to the party of Royer-Collard, then first called doctrinaire. As professor of history, his lectures had a European reputation, and he contributed his quota to journalism in the years preceding 1830. Under the new dynasty he had always been a man of mark, at the tribune and when in office. Always a man of system, he now, as foreign minister, devoted all his efforts to the establishing good intelligence with the other powers of Europe, and though great exceptions may

be taken to some points in his policy, he succeeded, in the face of a powerful and unscrupulous opposition, in stamping his own image on the acts of the remainder of Louis Philippe's reign.

Guizot found many difficulties when he took office. Thiers had brought every department of administration into confusion. Immense supplementary credits had deranged the finances. The public securities had rapidly sunk under the menacing aspect of the foreign relations of France. A warlike irritated spirit prevailed, sedulously fostered by a portion of the English press, and by the acts and language of lord Palmerston. In fact, war was imminent; and the opposition in the chamber regarded with the greatest jealousy the slightest concession to the ideas or prejudices of England.

The catastrophe of a European war was averted by the temperate policy of Louis Philippe, carried out by Guizot. It may be guessed how unpopular the task was of stilling and calming down this fiery national ardour in France, for ever boiling forth in fresh ebullitions.

Before the resignation of the Thiers ministry, arrangements had been made with the English government to remove the remains of the emperor Napoleon from St. Helena to the Hôpital des Invalides, and for this purpose the frigate *Belle Poule* and the corvette *Favorite*, had been despatched under the command of the prince de Joinville. The expedition was received by the British authorities at the island with every mark of respect. The body was disinterred by the English in the presence of French commissioners, and on the coffin being opened all were surprised at the state of preservation in which the remains were found. The features were still unchanged; the skin pale as marble, but soft and flexible; the hands, beautiful in life, were now more beautiful than ever; the attitude was one of profound and calm repose, like that of a "warrior taking his rest," after twenty years of battle and turmoil. Having been placed on board the *Belle Poule*, the expedition set sail, but on the way home fell in with a merchant vessel, the captain of which told the prince that war had broken out between France and England, and that he might daily expect to be attacked by the English cruisers. The excitement of party was therefore at the highest pitch during the remainder of the voyage; and the French journals have since declared, in that spirit of sentimental bravado which Frenchmen know so well how to assume, that they were all determined to go to the bottom sooner than surrender their charge. But they, of course, knew very well that the British government would never be guilty of so dastardly an act, as to insult the body of a dead foe, and endeavour to prevent the fulfilment of his last wish, that he might be buried on "the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he loved so well."

Guizot now strenuously devoted himself to the preservation of peace abroad, and the firm establishment of order at home. Far from adopting the war policy of Thiers, he declared without hesitation that the decision of the four powers regarding Mehemet Ali must be taken as *un fait accompli*, and that it was madness to think of plunging Europe in a war to serve the interests of an African despot. A storm of opposition met him in the chamber, but he did not abate one whit of his resolution on that account, but faced every attack with unflinching courage. The English, in the mean time, pursued their course in Egypt. Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre were bombarded and reduced in succession; and it was

only when the fleet was about to open its broadsides upon Alexandria itself that the pacha signified his intention of submitting. He signed a convention on the 27th of November, 1840, by which he agreed to evacuate Syria and restore the Turkish fleet, upon condition that the allied powers guaranteed to him the hereditary pachalic of Egypt. This vexed question, which had so long disturbed the tranquillity of Europe, and threatened to plunge her into a war, was thus set at rest; but there were others arising out of it which had still to be determined. Foremost amongst these was the erection of the fortifications around Paris. About this, strange to say, there was no unanimity, not even amongst the ministry. The workmen and inhabitants of the faubourgs were violently opposed to it. They would never believe that the erection of batteries and intrenchments in the midst of their dwellings could have any other object than to keep them in awe; as to the danger of a foreign invasion, they laughed it to scorn, and declared themselves fully competent to defend their cities against a host, let the government act as it would.

The bourgeoisie were anxious enough to see Paris secured against a repetition of the insults and degradation to which she was compelled to submit in 1814 and 1815; but they feared that Louis Philippe's object was to render himself independent of them, and put himself in a position to bid defiance to the populace by the aid of the regular army alone. To put his good intentions to the test, they demanded that the detached forts should be connected by a wall, declaring that the fortifications would, without this, be almost powerless against a besieging force, although they might serve to put down revolt within. But this was opposed by the government on the ground of the great addition in the expenses which it would cause. The legitimatists were unwilling to see Louis Philippe thus intrenched and upheld in his usurpation, as they considered it, and opposed the project with all their might.

But whatever might be the value of these minor differences of opinion, the great majority of the nation were so thoroughly imbued with the war spirit, that they demanded the fortifications at all hazards, and declared that let the secret intentions of the king be what they might, they wished to be protected against the violence of a foreign soldiery. Louis Philippe was delighted, and Guizot was too much disposed to gratify him, and was placed in too precarious a position to offer any opposition. The fortifications were erected, but they cost the nation nearly six million francs, and have been unable to save France from a worse enemy than a foreign army—the violent and headstrong passions of her own citizens.

The war fever now subsided, and the middle classes, grateful for the restoration of public credit, rallied round Guizot as the saviour of the country; and at the elections of 1842 gave him such support, that he found himself no longer dependent upon the whims and caprices of the majority in the chambers. He was now enabled to turn his attention to questions of internal reform, such as copyright in literary works, giving the author full possession for thirty-one years; the promotion of railway enterprise; and other useful projects of a similar character. The cry for parliamentary reform was beginning, however, to make itself heard already, but to this he turned a deaf ear. But when he announced his intention to suppress seditious agitation, he instantly found himself engaged in a violent struggle with the press; and prosecutions were set on foot against

the newspapers in all parts of the country, and although verdicts were gained and heavy fines inflicted, clamour was not stifled, nor discontent allayed.

But in the midst of all this tumult and apparent disorder, France was rapidly progressing in the art of self-government. Discussion had free scope; opinions were put forward, and canvassed with great earnestness. Parliamentary oratory reached a pitch of eloquence such as it never before attained. The debates in the chamber were characterised by a fire and brilliancy which can never appear but under a constitutional government. The conflicts between Guizot, Thiers, and Odillon Barrot, the leader of the reform party, were worthy of being compared to the finest displays in the British parliament in the days of Pitt and Fox, and must make us for ever regret that France had not had longer training in the art of free discussion. Had her statesmen as much patience and foresight as they had eloquence in debate, she would have been not less renowned for constitutional liberty than for valour in war, and skill in the arts.

On the 1st of May the count de Paris, the first child of the duke d'Orleans, was christened with great pomp and solemnity, and thousands thronged the aisles of the Notre Dame to witness the ceremony. But in a little more than a month afterwards, greater numbers still assembled to pay the lost tribute of respect to a fallen champion of democracy. Garnier Pagès, the friend and companion of Armand Carrel, was dead. They had entered into the arena of politics at the same period; but while Carrel confined his labours to the press, Pagès defended the republican cause in the chamber, and was distinguished for the fervour of his eloquence and the biting keenness of his attacks upon the party in power. Now that he was gone, in the full vigour of manhood, all were anxious to give tokens of their respect to his memory, and their appreciation of his labours. We have already had occasion, more than once, to allude to the custom prevalent amongst the Parisians, of making funerals serve the purposes of political demonstrations. Meetings for discussion, so common amongst us, do not seem racy of French soil. The people there would consider a night's speechmaking so much waste of time, did it not pave the way for an appeal to arms. Calm, unimpassioned debate is a thing unknown amongst the masses. All is fury, threats, and denunciations, cannon, bayonets, barricades and grim death. The consequence has been, that the most liberal government that has ever existed has been jealous of seeing large assemblages collected for the consideration of political subjects. There was no guarantee that the meeting would not adjourn to the streets, tear up the paving-stones, and declare war against authority. That this effervescence of passion would have cooled down under the influence of time, training, and experience, we have no doubt whatever, but, unfortunately, the constitutional system in France was but a "flash amidst darkness, too brilliant to last." Ere she had well tasted the sweets of freedom, the cup was dashed from her lips.

But what we have stated is an undoubted fact, and the obstacles thrown by the authorities in the way of large meetings of any kind caused the agitators to hail the death of an eminent man with a sort of melancholy satisfaction. His funeral was made a great political demonstration, and the oration pronounced over his tomb was generally a brilliant tirade against the party in power, and was listened to by the

mourners with the keenest zest. The reader may remember what took place at the funeral of M. Dulong, and the deplorable events which followed that of general Lamarque. Upwards of twenty thousand men followed the hearse of Garnier Pagès, and in the honours paid to the remains of the soldier of democracy, they bid defiance to the monarchy and the ministry.

His death left a vacancy in the chamber of deputies, and Ledru Rollin, a young advocate, who had gained considerable celebrity by his brilliant defence of political prisoners, before the court of peers, sought the suffrages of the electors of Mons, the place which Garnier Pagès had represented. His speech on the hustings was violent in the extreme, and, although he was elected almost unanimously, the government determined to prosecute him. But the chamber took umbrage at this interference with the freedom of speech of one of its members; declared the prosecution a breach of privilege, and appointed some of the ablest of its members—Arago, Berryer, Marie, and Odillon Barrot—to defend the traverser. He was, nevertheless found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of 3,000 francs, and be imprisoned for four months. An appeal was, however, lodged upon a technical point of law, and the decision of the court below finally reversed. Ledru Rollin thus entered the chamber more hostile to the government than ever.

Events now became every day more exciting. Ever since the dispute concerning the affairs of Egypt, public attention had been more strongly directed towards foreign affairs, and the controversy upon the right of search now occupied the minds of all. This had been for centuries a bone of contention between England and the continental states. Most writers on international law have conceded to nations engaged in war the right to search neutral vessels, to ascertain whether they were carrying the means of resistance to their enemies. To afford aid to either party in any war is to violate the neutrality, and submission to a search is the only guarantee which can be afforded to the belligerents that the ships of other powers do not forfeit their claim to freedom from molestation. This is a principle which can hardly be disputed; yet England, being so often engaged in maritime wars, brought odium on herself amongst foreigners by the firmness with which a regard for her own safety compelled her to assert it. It had been the subject of constant disputes with Louis XIV. and with the Dutch, and, last of all, during the wars of Napoleon, she asserted her claims towards smaller states with merciless rigour. But France had always steadily refused to concede them; until, upon the accession of Louis Philippe, a treaty having been signed between him and the British government for the suppression of the slave trade, the latter represented, and with perfect truth, that it could never be enforced, unless the cruisers of each nation were permitted to search suspicious vessels hoisting the colours of either. Without this, the slaver could invariably escape by showing a different flag from that of her pursuer. A convention was therefore signed in November, 1831, by which the two governments agreed to concede the reciprocal right of search of all vessels suspected of carrying negro slaves; and the presence of fetters, manacles, or other apparatus employed in the transportation of negroes was declared to be sufficient grounds for seizing upon the ship, and bringing the captain and crew to trial before the judge of the nearest colony of the nation to which she belonged. A

special convention, to take place every year, was to fix the number of cruisers which each country should keep on foot, but in no case was the number of one to be double that of the other. This arrangement continued in force until the dispute on Egyptian affairs temporarily suspended the amicable relations existing between the two powers. When Guizot came into office in 1840, it was again renewed, and most of the European states drawn into it. But on the British government requesting America to do the same, she flatly refused, and declared that if any attempt were made to violate her flag, she would repel it with all the force at her disposal. When this became known in France, it produced a profound sensation. All parties cried shame upon the recreant minister that had allowed France to submit to an agreement which America repudiated with indignation. The merchants loudly exclaimed that their ships, crews, and cargoes would now be at the mercy of the bitterest enemy of France, and their most energetic rivals in trade, and that every means would be taken to delay and keep them under pretence of searching for slaves; and the republicans and the great mass of the people saw in the whole affair only a new attempt on the part of England to assert her usurped and hateful supremacy over the seas. The exasperation reached such a pitch, that it was at one time feared that the ministry would be forced into a war. An amendment to the address denouncing the right of search was carried by the opposition by a large majority. The chamber was dissolved, but the new one was equally refractory, so that Guizot was at length obliged to relinquish the attempt in despair, and the agitation then gradually calmed down.

It was during this struggle that Lamartine separated from the conservative party, and threw himself into the ranks of the opposition. His first speech after his secession was delivered in the lofty and ornate style which characterises all his works, glowing with imagery, and set off by a commanding figure and a clear but melodious elocution. In it he reviewed the acts of each ministry which had assumed the reins of power since the revolution, and condemned them all as dictated by a policy which was false to the principles upon which the new régime had arisen; and then in lofty strain justified his own defection, warned the government to beware of the precipice of ruin upon which it was blindly rushing, and proclaimed himself the apostle of progress and the herald of a new era. But throughout the whole of these debates Guizot displayed an amount of courage and ability which called forth the admiration of his bitterest opponents, and mingled their hate with fear and respect. He was ever at his post, ready to face every attack; and his position was the more arduous, as while scarcely one of his colleagues had any skill in debating, against him were ranged some of the ablest men in France. It was a stirring sight to see him, when the war spirit and the Anglophobia was at its height, ascend the tribune and boldly proclaim his conviction that England was the freest and yet most conservative country in the world, far before France in all that really makes a nation great: and when the Mountain sprang from their seats, advanced, shook their fists at him, and foamed at the mouth with rage and fury, crying, "Down with the minister of English interests!" there he still stood, pale as marble, but calm and collected, his thin lip curling with disdain, and his eyes flashing scorn, and, waiting till the tempest lulled,

poured upon them a torrent of sarcasm and invective that sent them baffled to their places.

Successes obtained by general Bugeaud over the redoubtable chief Abd-el-Kader, in Algeria, about this time, gratified the national vanity, and for a time soothed the murmur of opposition or discontent, until the question of parliamentary reform again raised new storms around the throne. The great obstacle to it was the king himself, who would hardly allow it to be spoken of in his presence. Both he and Guizot affected to treat the agitation with contempt, as the babbling of a few demagogues, and refused to believe that the mass of the people wished for any change. By the continued efforts of the opposition in the chamber, however, the subject was forced upon their attention, and a cabinet council was held at the Tuileries, in January, 1842, to consider it. The duke of Orleans was present, and it was fully expected that he would support it. He was a cold, haughty soldier, but had profoundly studied the French revolution and English history, and had come to the conclusion that it is better by far to make concessions ere it is too late, than afterwards be obliged to regret the lost opportunity. But on the present occasion, to the surprise of all, he steadily opposed all change, and it was surmised by those who knew him well, that he was anxious to reserve parliamentary reform for the commencement of his own reign, so that he might appear to celebrate his accession to the throne by a graceful yielding of the popular demands. The king was delighted, and the whole subject indefinitely postponed.

A great blow was now about to fall on the monarchy of July. Louis Philippe was a man of domestic habits, devotedly attached to his family, and proud of his sons' military achievements. He had now for twelve years fought against the rage of factions, and baffled the schemes of a host of enemies, in the hope that he would transmit his crown as an inheritance to his children; and of these none was so tenderly loved as the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his brusque manners and undisguised opposition to many of his father's opinions. He was a gallant soldier, and had many a time led the legions of France to victory, with a coolness and courage worthy of older generals. His attachment to constitutional principles, and his hatred to the despotisms of the continent were well known, and it was fondly hoped that when he ascended the throne France would regain her ancient position, and oblige the world to respect her not less for her valour in war than for progress in the arts of peace. But these hopes were destined never to be realised.

On the 15th of July, 1842, the duke was about to set off for St. Omer, to review the troops of the district; but before going he resolved to drive down to Neuilly, to bid adieu to the royal family. After the inspection of the *corps d'armée*, it was arranged that he should join the duchess of Orleans at a watering-place called Plombières. On his way to Neuilly the horses in his carriage became restive, and the postilion losing his control over them, they set off at great speed. The prince, after learning from him that he could no longer restrain them, leaped out of the carriage, and alighted on his feet, but the shock was so great as to produce a concussion of the brain, and he fell heavily on the road. He was carried into a cottage hard by, and the news having been carried to the chateau, the king and queen, and all the royal family, hastened to

his bedside. The humble abode in which the heir of the throne was lying was scarce sufficient to contain them all. The prince's surgeon and the ministers were brought from Paris with all speed, but at the first glance which the former bestowed upon his patient, he declared there was no hope. Consciousness had never returned, and a few incoherent words, indistinctly uttered in the German language, were the only sign that life still lingered. All the great officers of the state, and the prince's friends and companions in arms, had now assembled. Four hours passed on—hours of unutterable anguish. Around the bed knelt the queen and the princesses, praying and weeping, while the young princes gazed in silence and tears upon the prostrate form of their brother. The king, erect, immovable, preserved in his grief that inflexible composure which he had acquired in years of trial and adversity. The surgeons employed every means which skill and science could suggest to restore consciousness, but in vain; and towards the close of a day of fearful agony, a slight quickening of the pulse betokened the last struggle of manhood in its prime against the fell destroyer; a few minutes after a long drawn sigh, and a convulsive movement of the limbs, and then all was for ever still.

A burst of grief from all present told that hope was gone, and well might they wail their loss. Such a death was half a revolution. The monarchy, never secure, was now destined to be delivered to the stormy uncertainties of a regency. The king's calculations were all at fault; he was wounded no less keenly in his power than in his affection.

In the year 1843 the Right of Search question was finally settled by the conclusion of the treaty between the four great powers, to the exclusion of France. America consented to keep a force on foot for the purpose of exercising a surveillance over her own vessels, but steadfastly refused to allow of interference on the part of any foreign state.

This affair had scarcely been settled when news arrived of the occupation of the island of Tahiti by admiral Dupetit-Thouars. The inhabitants of this island had been civilised and converted to Christianity by the missionaries from England, and was by every one considered to be under British protection. The queen Pomare, in every way acted under the advice of the missionaries, and the people were making progress which promised at no distant day to entitle them to rank amongst the civilised nations of the world. Things were in this position when the French began to look about for some place to plant a colony, and establish a station for their navy. They had fixed their eyes upon New Zealand, but being anticipated in this quarter by the English, they at last fixed upon Tahiti. Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, therefore, cast anchor in the roads off the island, and sent catholic missionaries ashore, and called upon Pomare to place herself under the protection of France. By a mixture of persuasion and coercion he at last succeeded in inducing her to do so, notwithstanding the protests and opposition of the protestant ministers; but on the arrival of Mr. Pritchard, the English consul, she was advised by him to assert her rights, and hoist her own flag. Dupetit Thouars called upon her to strike it, and on her refusing to comply, landed and took possession of the island for the king of the French, placed Pritchard under arrest, and displayed the utmost ruden-

ness and insolence towards the unfortunate queen, as well as the commander of the British man-of-war in the roads. Many of the people fled for refuge to the mountains, and took up arms against their invaders; much violence and bloodshed followed; the English missionaries had their houses wrecked, their property destroyed, and were subjected to daily insults from the Jesuit emissaries of the Propaganda. When the news reached France, the surprise of the government was extreme. The admiral had entirely gone beyond his instructions, and the king insisted that his acts should be disavowed. But the ministers feared the agitation which this might cause, as the French public do not, unfortunately, look so much at the abstract justice of things—their positive rightness or wrongness—as at their relation to military glory, and the materials they afford for self-laudation. What would be “insolent aggression” on the part of any foreign country, if committed by their own army or navy, is in their eyes but a legitimate and praiseworthy assertion of the *honneur du pavillon*.

The British government imperatively demanded compensation for Mr. Pritchard, and the repudiation of Dupetit-Thouars’s violence; and although Guizot was well aware that if he yielded either of these he would be covered with obloquy and denounced as a traitor, he did not hesitate to follow the line of duty, and make ample reparation. His courage and integrity were never more fully displayed than in this affair.

The victories of the prince de Joinville over the emperor of Morocco happened opportunely to sooth the wounded vanity of the nation. The French had now for nearly twenty years been extending their conquests in Africa. The just punishment of a piratical town had been made the pretext for the subjugation of a large tract of country surrounding Algiers. The value of the acquisition by no means compensated for the expenditure of blood and money which were required to retain it; but it afforded employment for the army, and a safe field for the outpouring of the pent-up passions of discontented spirits. The territory was barren mountain or desert, and towns fiercely defended by wild tribes, who fought mostly on horseback, fled without hesitation on the approach of a foe, and returned the next moment to harass his retreat. The leader of these was Abd-el-Kader, the emir or chief of a powerful clan, who was possessed of genius and warlike skill unusual amongst his countrymen. He cheered their fainting spirits, and led them on again and again to attack the infidel invader, when the courage of the bravest had begun to droop. Let him be defeated ever so often, he was found in the field at the head of another army in a few days after, unconquered and unconquerable. Profound devotion to the principles of his creed, and firm conviction in the fatalism which accompanies it, were in him united with the fiery valour and unflinching hope of the Christian warrior. Mounted on a splendid Arab charger he was the star of the battlefield, shining brightest where danger was thickest; and wherever his sabre flashed the fainting squadrons took heart again. Hidden beneath this warlike exterior, he had a heart tender and romantic as a maiden’s; and all fire in action, in the repose of his tent he was an enthusiastic dreamer, imploring of Alla and the Prophet to make him the deliverer of his native sands from the accursed track of the Giaour, that true believers might bless his memory through all coming time. But what could the

courage and perseverance of ten thousand like him avail against the terrible coolness and discipline of the pale-faced warriors from the north. Slowly but surely they spread themselves over his territory, driving him before them day by day; and it was with sorrow and vexation that he saw his bravest fall back from those impenetrable squares like foam from a rock, whilst the steady rolling fire of the columns strewed the earth with the dead and dying. Valour and patriotism were alike useless against men who had made war a deadly science, and conquered as coolly as they would perform an experiment in natural philosophy. The implacable Bugeaud chased him at last across the frontier, and compelled him to take refuge in the dominions of the emperor of Morocco. Here he was, at the period of which we are now writing. He had around him the *débris* of his forces, consisting of a few hundred cavaliers, who remained faithful to the last. Marshal Bugeaud demanded his extradition, or his expulsion, but with this the emperor very properly refused to comply, whilst the emir did all in his power to stir him up against the French, and induce him to espouse his cause. Aided by the Mussulman doctors, and other fanatics, who looked upon the infidels with a pious horror, these efforts were not altogether unsuccessful, and at last a dispute about the boundary line of his territory precipitated the crisis.

In May, 1842, a skirmish took place between the French and the Moors, but without any express declaration of war, in which the former were of course victorious; and this led to the frequent recurrence of hostilities between the troops on the outposts. Insults having been offered by some irregular troops to general Bedeau, whilst engaged in a passive conference with El-Guennaoui, the cadi of Ouchad, they were avenged them by a terrible onslaught, in which three hundred of the natives were slain. This at last attracted the attention of the government at home; and notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the English, Guizot was obliged to comply with the popular clamour, and make preparations for vigorous operations. The prince de Joinville therefore received orders to cruise along the coast of Morocco, with three ships of the line, a frigate, and four steamers, and place himself under the orders of marshal Bugeaud. The latter hated the prince. He was himself a soldier of fortune, rough and uncouth in his manners, and looked with unutterable scorn upon all military men who did not owe their rank to their swords alone. When, therefore, Joinville applied to him for instructions, he sent him word that he had none for him, and bid do as he pleased, and he would do the same. Whereupon the prince, with the fiery ardour which characterised all his acts, drew up his fleet under the walls of Tangier, a fortified town opposite Gibraltar, and there awaited the answer of the emperor to an ultimatum which had been sent him on the part of the French. The appointed day passed by without any reply, and the bombardment was immediately commenced with great vigour. The vessels opened their fire at half-past eight in the morning, and by ten o'clock the Moorish batteries were silenced, the fortifications dismantled, and the town laid in ruins.

Five days afterwards the fleet cast anchor off Mogador, a town which was entirely the private property of the emperor. The houses and gardens were let by him, and form, in fact, one of the principal parts of his revenue. Since the occupation of Algiers by the French, it had

become also the great emporium for the commerce of the interior, and was on the whole the most important place in his dominions. The boisterous state of the weather retarded the attack for some days, but it was at length commenced in right earnest. The resistance on the part of the Moors was obstinate, for here their emperor was defending his household gods. The fire was kept up on both sides with tremendous fury, and with doubtful success, until 500 soldiers effected a landing from one of the steamers under a heavy fire of musketry, and, fetching a compass, carried the batteries at the point of the bayonet, and drove the Moors, after a desperate struggle, to take refuge in a mosque. Things were in this position when the night came on, and on the morrow the Moors surrendered; and when the French fleet left the harbour, not one stone of Mogador remained upon the other.

In the mean time Abd-el-Kader had been preaching a crusade against the infidels in the interior, and had wrought up the religious enthusiasm of the Mussulmans to such a pitch that an army of 30,000 men ranged themselves under the orders of the emperor's son, who called upon marshal Bugeaud to evacuate his positions on the frontiers of Morocco, and boasted that he would soon plant the crescent on the walls of Algiers itself. All the mountain tribes rushed with enthusiasm to take part in the expedition, believing it impossible that the French could withstand so redoubtable a force.

The two armies met on the banks of the Isly, and when Bugeaud had assembled all his forces, he found them scarcely a third of those of his enemies. But there could hardly be a doubt as to the result. Himself, fierce, energetic, and indomitable, a Frank chieftain of the olden time in modern uniform, and under his command, such men as Lamoricière and Bedeau, the one fiery as Murat in the charge, and the other cold but keen as tempered steel, what undisciplined host could withstand him? The eve of the battle was spent in gaiety and rejoicings. A sumptuous supper was served up in the camp for the officers; the trees around were hung with coloured lamps, which spread a variegated light upon the river and the foliage: the bands played in the centre of the square, and filled the warm and perfumed air of the clear African night with martial sounds, and warmed the blood of the soldiers like the wine that flowed in the glasses all around. The dancing and singing and merriment were protracted till the hot sun paled the flickering lights of the fête, and then the drums beat to arms, and the army passed on to the battle as to a change of amusement. When they approached the Moorish camp, they found the enemy drawn out in array to receive them. An immense body of cavalry covered the crest of a hill, and as the French approached, the wings spread themselves out, so as to outflank and surround them in the form of a half-moon, mingling wild yells with the roll of twenty thousand muskets. Never was there a more wonderful display of the might of discipline. The French army continued to advance without wavering or hesitation, trusting implicitly in the skill of their officers. The tirailleurs loaded and fired, lying flat on their faces, while the artillery, levelled with the precision of the most deadly science, vomited grape over their heads, and spread confusion through the ranks of the enemy. At this moment the cavalry was brought up, and charged furiously upon the disordered masses, overturning everything in their

way, and breaking into the camp itself. But the French followed too far in pursuit, and when separated from their own forces, a chosen band of Moorish cavaliers, 10,000 strong, halted and awaited their approach. The former did not in all number more than one thousand, but their commander, Colonel Morris, drawing his sword, called on his men to follow him and rushed to the encounter. The struggle was fearful, the odds were so great. They mingled and fought man to man in a frightful mêlée, in which discipline was useless, and strength of arm, and skill in the use of the sabre could alone decide. The result was still doubtful, when a body of infantry coming up, began to single out the Moors with their rifles, and immediately put them to flight. The victory was won. Of the enemy 2,000 remained on the field, dead or wounded, and their camp ammunition and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the latter was but trifling.

The joy which the news of these victories spread through France was unbounded. The delight was greater because it was supposed that England looked upon them with a jealous eye; but in truth there was every disposition on our part to act towards France in a spirit of conciliation and good faith; although the rage which the latter displayed for military glory by no means found favour in the eyes of a people so zealously commercial, and so attached to peace as we have of late years become. The two countries were drawn together closer than ever by the interchange of visits which took place between Louis Philippe and queen Victoria, in 1844. When her majesty first expressed her intention of going to France, the delight of the French king was extreme. His great ambition, childish as it may seem, was to take unquestioned rank amongst the European sovereigns; and this spontaneous visit on the part of the monarch of a powerful state was, in his eyes, a consecration. On the 2nd of September the queen landed at Treport, and proceeded to the Château d'Eu. Louis Philippe did the honours in a style of great magnificence. There was nothing from morning till night but a succession of splendid banquets, rides in the forests, and pic-nics on the grass. Politics and royalty seemed forgotten for the time, and Guizot and lord Aberdeen chatted and "hob-nobbed" as if they had never written snarling despatches, or tried to foil one another in diplomatic intrigues. The king returned the visit during the same year, and was extremely well received by the English people.

These and many other minor acts of international courtesy had placed the two countries on a friendly footing. But this *entente cordiale* was rudely broken in upon in 1846, by the event known as the "Spanish marriages." We have already alluded to the king's anxiety for the aggrandisement of his family, and the strengthening of his dynasty, by establishing ties of relationship between his house and that of some other royalty. The troubled state of Spain had led to the interference both of France and England, for the restoration of tranquillity, and the influence which the former thus acquired was exerted to procure the hand of the infanta of Spain for the duke de Montpensier, Louis Philippe's youngest son. The marriage was celebrated hastily, to the great surprise and indignation of the other European powers; England in particular, who vehemently protested. The French king thought this affair a master-stroke of policy, but it was in reality a gross blunder. Far from strengthening his position, it paved the way for his downfall. It aroused the

jealousy of his neighbours, and awakened the suspicions of the French people, unfortunately too well founded, that it was not so much the welfare of France that he had at heart, as the stability of the monarchy and the consolidation of his own dynasty. His craft was his ruin.

The period from 1844 to 1846 was one of great commercial prosperity. Fortunes were rapidly achieved, and the mania of speculation seemed to have seized upon the middle classes like a fever. In the race to be rich honesty and public virtue were too often lost sight of. Gross licentiousness and the absence of moral restraint seem to have reigned through the length and breadth of the land. The murder of the duchess de Praslin served to show the hideous corruption of manners that pervaded all ranks of life, and presaged some fearful storm that would purify the moral atmosphere. The scarcity during the winter of 1846-7 did not in any way militate against the government. The harvests on the following summer were plenteous, and the vineyards were productive, and general abundance followed. The political horizon was clear, save in one quarter, where a cloud hung no larger than a man's hand, but it contained the nucleus of a deluge. Murmurs began to be heard against official corruption, and the agitation for parliamentary reform was renewed; but Guizot, as if struck with blindness by an all-seeing Providence, refused to believe in his danger, and, self-willed to the last, intrenched himself behind his large majority in the chamber. But what a chamber and what a majority! France had a population of thirty-five millions, and of these only about two hundred and sixty thousand were in possession of the electoral franchise. Hosts of government functionaries, disciplined like an army, and spread all over the country, were employed openly in intimidating, cajoling, and bribing this handful of electors, whom they far outnumbered. The consequence was, the majority of the deputies returned to the chamber were dependent, directly or indirectly upon the government. The ministry could at all times command at least a hundred and sixteen votes, and this odious and anomalous system was justified on the ground that the people were not ripe for a change, and that if the basis of election were widened, it would throw the electoral colleges into the hands of the democrats. Thus the government was rotten to the core. Guizot himself was pure from even a suspicion of unfair dealing; but all his subordinates were shamelessly and openly corrupt, and that he should have remained at the head of such a system, and pertinaciously opposed the slightest concession to the just demands of the people must for ever remain a blot upon his fame, and damp our admiration of his talents and eloquence. But he alienated the bourgeoisie, and in the hour of trial they deserted the monarchy.

While the minister was thus fortifying himself against clamour by his state-paid majority, Louis Philippe seemed every day to become more and more imbecile. He was now well stricken in years, and the infirmities of age or the death of his sister, who had always been his best counsellor, seemed to have totally paralysed his energies. After the Spanish marriages he gave no evidence of his former activity and love of command, but left everything to the minister. The infatuation which both of them displayed seems almost incredible.

The agitation for reform, in the mean while, went on. Public meetings and banquets were held in various parts of the kingdom, which were

attended by the leaders of the opposition, the principal of whom were Odillon Barrot and Ledru Rollin. The former was a man of great earnestness of purpose, but moderate in his opinions, and desirous of winning the struggle by purely constitutional means alone. Ledru Rollin, on the other hand, was violent, fluent, and unscrupulous, and, above all, ambitious. Both were advocates. Thiers remained neutral, but Lamartine threw himself heart and soul into the movement. He was the son of a country gentleman, and, as he himself says, "passed his youth in obscurity, in travel, in study, and in retreat." He was already well known to the public as the author of one or two works of considerable ability, and as a poet of no ordinary power and brilliancy. When he entered political life, he was a supporter of the monarchy and a conservative, but time and experience disgusted him with the vagaries of power, and threw him into the ranks of the people. He had latterly become distinguished in the chamber by the fervid eloquence of his attacks upon the corruptions of the government. At one or two of the reform banquets he put forth his sentiments with more than usual earnestness. Such was the state of things when the session opened in 1847. The winter was cold and bright, and Paris in a blaze of gaiety, frivolity, and splendour. Never did the carriages rattle faster along the boulevards, never were the saloons so crowded, the theatres so full, the dresses and the equipages so showy. The cries of the poor were unheard and unheeded, and the idle, and the dissipated revelled in the pleasures which Paris, before all the cities in the world, offers in profusion. Society was like a whited sepulchre, outwardly fair to the eye, but within dead men's bones and all uncleanness. None spent a thought on the future, or dreamed of the fearful precipice to which the blindness of those in power was hurrying them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC —INSURRECTION OF JUNE.

THE speech of the king in opening the chambers attacked those who had attended the reform banquets as hostile to himself and blind to results. Many of the deputies were of course amongst the number, and were thus exceedingly irritated, so that the debate on the address was unusually fierce and animated. Thiers made a brilliant onslaught on the foreign policy of the government, while Odillon Barrot addressed himself more particularly to the question of reform, and defended the conduct of those who had attended the banquets, and Lamartine declaimed against any interference with the right of meeting. To put the matter to a test, the opposition leaders promised to attend a banquet which had been got up by the twelfth arrondissement of Paris. It was to take place on the 20th of February, 1848. The government announced its intention of suppressing it by force. The opposition then met to consider what course it would be best to adopt, and came to the resolution that it would be traitorous to the country to succumb quietly. They therefore resolved upon attending at the appointed place, and protesting against this illegal violence; but they learnt before evening that no banquet would take place. We shall relate what followed in the words of Lamartine.

“The government, however, foreseeing the events which might arise from such an agitation and tension of the public mind, had drawn a large number of troops into Paris or around it. They were rated at fifty-five thousand men. The artillery of Vincennes had orders to present itself on the first summons at the Faubourg St. Antoine. By dispositions carefully studied, and made as far back as 1830, in anticipation of insurrection, posts had been assigned to different bodies in the various quarters of the city. Each body of insurgents, hemmed in, or intercepted by these posts, would be withheld from joining others; the fort of Mount Valerian was to be occupied by a strong garrison, mounted on the road between Paris and St. Cloud. Thirty-seven battalions of infantry, one battalion of Chasseurs d'Orléans, three companies of engineers, twenty squadrons, four thousand veterans of the municipal guard, and five batteries of artillery, formed the garrison of the capital.

The night was passed in silence—the silence of a city reflecting before action. The morning did not prognosticate a day of fate. There were no arms concealed under the garments; no rage was painted upon men's countenances; curious and inoffensive crowds continually moved along

the boulevards, gathering numbers as they went; other crowds streamed from the suburbs of Paris; they appeared, however, rather to observe what was passing than to meditate any act. The event seems to have been engendered by the curiosity which awaited it.

The youths of the schools, ever the vanguard in revolutions, assembled in groups from various quarters of the city, and gathering numbers and courage as they rolled along chanting the *Marseillaise*, directed their course to the Place de la Madeleine. The electrified people responded to the hymn. The column increased, crossed the Place de la Concorde, passed the Pont Royal, forced the palisades of the deserted Chamber of Deputies, and spread without a leader or a specific object into the gardens of the palace and upon the quays. A regiment of dragoons advanced, and easily, and unresisted, dispersed the youths. The infantry next arrived; the artillery took its position in the street de Bourgogne; the bridge was defended by the military.

The deputies, saddened but not disquieted, assembled in their hall without being subjected to insult; they ascended the steps of the portico which faces the bridge, and from thence contemplated the increasing force at the disposal of government, and the advanced waves of the multitude which the cavalry were pushing back in the Rue Royale. No cries were heard, not a single shot. The band of a regiment of chasseurs played its pacific notes before the palisades of the Chamber of Deputies. The contrast between these festive airs and the preparation for combat upon the quay chilled the souls and produced strange dissonance between the ears and the eyes of the citizens.

Within the hall, M. Barrot placed upon the table of the president an act of accusation against the ministry. M. Guizot quitted his place, went up to the desk, perused the accusation, and smiled disdainfully. He had read and written history largely. His bold and lofty spirit loved its magnificent scenes; his eloquence sought opportunities for displays, which would be perpetuated to future times; his eye welcomed the strife. He braved an accusation, against which he was defended within the chamber, by the large majority which he commanded, and without it, by a monarchy and an army.

The distracted chamber, meantime, was engaged in the discussion of the laws of administration.

The day, short and gloomy as one of winter, beheld the wandering crowds augment, and some barricades arise, staking out the field of this revolutionary conflict.

Committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies, and in the offices of the republican journals. We are ignorant of what passed there. They were probably rather engaged in observation than in action. The limited power of a conspirator, who has but scanty numbers at his disposal, only possesses influence as it ministers to a sentiment generally entertained, or a pre-existing passion.

The governments, tyrannies, or despotisms of old days might perish by a plot. Under liberal governments conspiracy evaporates. The only all-powerful conspirator of modern states is opinion.

Night fell, and no blood had been spilt. That night was silent, like the day, but restless, as is the eve of a great event. The rumour of a probable change of the ministry, who were relaxing their hold of power,

reassured the citizens in some degree. The troops bivouacked in the streets and open spaces. Some wooden chairs and benches belonging to the Champs-Élysées, which had been set on fire by boys, illuminated the horizon, and disclosed the disorder of the scene. The government was everywhere in possession of the streets of Paris, except in a kind of citadel fortified by the nature of the buildings, and the narrow tortuosity of the streets, around the cloisters of St. Méry, in the centre of Paris.

There some indefatigable and intrepid republicans, who had eyes for every circumstance and despaired of nothing, had concentrated themselves, either by preconcerted plan, or by that revolutionary instinct which is spontaneous and common in its operation. Their very leaders disapproved their obstinacy and temerity, as they were at most not more than four or five hundred in number. Another detachment of republicans, altogether without leaders, disarmed the national guards of the Batignolles during the night, burned the station at the barrier, and fortified themselves in a neighbouring quarter, where they awaited the event. No attempt was made to dislodge them.

At break of day, the roads which led to the several gates of Paris were covered with columns of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, summoned by the orders of government. These troops presented an imposing effect; they were obedient and in perfect discipline, but silent and dejected. They carried in their countenances their grief at being called to act in a civil war. They successively took up positions in the quarters where the multitude of Paris chiefly reside. The mob did not combat in mass on any point. Scattered groups attacked and disarmed isolated posts, forced their entrance into armourers' shops, and from concealed situations fired random shots at the troops.

Barricades, commencing with, and radiating from, the centre, formed by the church of St. Méry, were raised from distance to distance, and built and multiplied almost before the very faces of the soldiers: they were no sooner erected than abandoned. The troops had only stones to oppose. The battle was a silent one,—its progress was felt; its sound unheard.

The national guard, summoned by the call to arms, was assembling legion by legion. It preserved a neutrality, or limited its manifestations to an interference between the troops and the people, whilst it loudly demanded the dismissal of the ministry, and reform. Thus the national guard became the shield of the revolution.

Such, on the dawn of the 24th of February, was the state of Paris. The troops, wearied by seeing no enemy, whilst they were the objects of universal hostility, remained at their various posts, unwavering but dejected. The generals and officers conversed in low tones upon the inexplicable indecision of events. At the exit of the principal streets, groups of cavalry, enveloped in their grey cloaks, and holding the naked sabre in hand, might be seen. They had been in the same spot, and maintained the same position, for thirty-six hours; their horses slept under them, and they themselves shivered from cold and hunger. Officers were passing at hard gallop up and down the streets at every second, carrying orders and counter-orders, from one part of Paris to another.

In the distance, borne from the quarter of the Hôtel de Ville, and the deep and intricate labyrinths of the surrounding streets, occasional firing

might be heard from the platoons; but as the day drew on, the sounds slackened, and at length ceased.

Few people were in the streets. They seemed to leave their battle to be fought by the invisible spirit of the revolution, and by that small number of obstinate combatants who were dying for the cause in the heart of Paris. Between the great masses of the people, and the small group of republicans who actively fought, there seemed to be a watchword or a secret intelligence which said to the one party, "Resist yet a few hours longer;" and to the other, "Forbear to mix in the struggle, and to shed French blood; the genius of the revolution fights for all; the monarchy is upon the decline; it suffices to give it a gentle thrust, and before the sun sets the republic will have triumphed."

The fate of the day was at the disposal of the national guard. Hitherto the government had forbore to sound the doubtful allegiance of this body by requiring it to take an active part in the event, and fire upon the Parisian people.

General Jacqueminot, commander-in-chief of the force, intrepid and adventurous, but at that moment ill, doubted not but that his officers and soldiers shared with him the devoted martial resolution which he found in himself.

The king, who during eighteen years had pressed the hands of the greater number of individuals forming the civic guard of Paris, and who knew better than any other man how closely their interests and his own were welded together, believed himself sure of their hearts and their bayonets.

The prefect of Paris, count de Rambuteau, a man sincerely attached to the royal family, but incapable of flattering into a catastrophe those he loved, no longer shared this confidence. His daily intercourse with the mercantile class of Paris, which furnished, almost exclusively, the colonels and officers of this corps, had long since discovered to him as existing within it, a smothered discontent, a disaffection which, however ungrateful it might be, was real, and which, though it had not as yet grown into sedition, might manifest itself in desertion at the hour of danger. He had warned the king of this, and the king had rejected the warning with a smile and motion of incredulity,—“Go,” Louis Philippe had said to him,—“go, and take you care of Paris; I will answer for the rest of the empire.”

The faithful magistrate had withdrawn distressed, because alarmed by the profound security of his master.

The national guard, called to arms on the morning of the 24th, and ordered to interpose between the people and the troops of the line, obeyed the summons slowly and with indecision.

In the prolonged movement of the people, the guard saw an anti-ministerial manifestation, an armed petition in favour of electoral reform, which it was far from disapproving, and which it secretly favoured.

In the judgment of the national guard, the consequences of the rising would be confined to a change of ministry forced upon the king by the attitude of the people, which would admit the present opposition, in the persons of M. Thiers and M. Odillon Barrot, to the conduct of affairs; to a moderate reform of the electoral law; and to a Chamber of Deputies, which should be regenerated and conformed to the spirit of the nation

The most far-sighted only saw in it a possible abdication of the sovereignty, and a regency. In fine, the national guard imagined itself introducing the opposition to power, when in fact it was introducing a revolution to France."

On the evening of the 23rd, the agitation partially subsided, on its being positively known that the king had decided upon a change of ministry. Thiers, Molé, and Odillon Barrot had been sent for in succession, and had gone to the Tuileries. But the king would not agree to the conditions which any of them proposed, and the conference was broken off late in the evening. Not hearing of any final decision, the armed groups again began to assemble, and the secret societies, with which Paris was swarming, resumed their machinations. Columns of workmen and *gamins* from the faubourgs began to traverse the streets. Let us again adopt the graphic description given by Lamartine of the deplorable catastrophe which followed.

"The column of the boulevard de la Bastille was more numerous, but less compact and less adult; it brought to recollection those revolutionary processions of the same class, which made a descent into Paris in those days that decided our civil commotions. There were seen a number of women and ragged children, the migrating refuse of our faubourgs, who come from time to time to startle the affluent and voluptuous centre of our capitals with the sight of the indigence and the manly power of our primitive population. To rally these more popular groups, some visible and striking symbols are required; they belong to the herd, and they need the leader; they belong to the army, and they need the flag, the drum, the colours, and the tumult. They carry two or three ensigns, torn in the struggles of yesterday and to-day, and on these might be read some familiar anathemas printed on the white stripe of the tricolor.

In the neighbourhood of the Café Tortoni, the rendezvous of idlers, these bodies united their momentum. They cleared a way through the inquisitive and idle throng, which undulated with the natural wave of multitudes to the great thoroughfare of the boulevards. A crowd of inoffensive people followed mechanically in the train of this silent column. A small detachment, composed of workmen armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the top of the Rue de Choiseul, and silently took possession of that street. The object of this detachment appeared to be to flank the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, which was occupied by troops, while the head of the column presented itself in front. An unknown system of operation evidently combined and controlled these movements. The unanimous whisper of a revolution raises the masses. None but conspirators can with such precision govern its chances and guide its evolutions.

In the midst of the smoke of torches a red flag waved over the first rank of this multitude. They advanced, multiplying in their progress. A misgiving curiosity attached to this cloud of men, who seemed to carry in their midst the mystery of the day. In front of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs a battalion of the line, drawn up in battle array, with loaded arms and their commander at their head, obstructed the boulevard. Before this hedge of bayonets the column suddenly halts. The flapping of the flag and the flash of the torches frighten the horse of the commander; recoiling in terror on his haunches, he plunged into the battalion, which opened

to receive its chief. In the confusion of the moment the report of a musket was heard. Did it come, as was said, from some concealed and disaffected hand, fired on the people by one of their own agitators, to revive by the sight of blood the ardour of a struggle which was subsiding? Did it come from the hand of one of the insurgents directed against the troops? or rather, which is more probable, did it accidentally arise from the motion of a loaded musket, or from the hand of one of the soldiers who supposed that his commander was wounded when he saw his horse take fright? This no man knows. Whether by crime or accident, this explosion created a revolution.

The soldiers, considering themselves attacked, presented their guns; the whole line instantaneously fired. The discharge, reverberated by lofty houses and by the enclosed streets of the centre of Paris, throws the whole boulevard into excitement. The column of the people of the faubourgs falls decimated by the balls. The cries of mortal agony and the groans of the wounded mingle with the affrighted shouts of those who had followed from curiosity, and of flying women and children. They rush into the adjoining houses, into the lower streets, and beneath the archways. By the light of torches, half-extinguished in the blood upon the pavement, heaps of dead bodies are perceived, strewing the thoroughfare in all directions. The terrified multitude, supposing themselves pursued, fly with cries of vengeance to the Rue Laffitte, leaving between themselves and the battalions an empty space in silence and darkness.

The multitude supposed that they had been treacherously fired upon in the midst of a demonstration of joy and of harmony, occasioned by a change of ministry. They turned their rage against ministers, who were so perfidious as to avenge their fall by torrents of blood, and against a king obstinate enough to fire on that very people who had crowned him at the sacrifice of their lives in 1830. The soldiers, on their part, were thrown into consternation by this undesigned massacre. No one had given orders to fire; nothing had been heard but the word of command to fix bayonets, to resist the fire expected from this sudden movement of the people. Darkness, confusion, chance, and precipitation had done the deed. The footing of the soldiery was deluged with blood; the wounded dragged themselves along to die at the feet of their murderers. Tears of despair flowed from the eyes of the general. The officers dropped the point of their swords upon the pavement, deploring this unintentional crime. They foresaw the necessary effect of this involuntary murder of the people, upon the mind of the population of Paris. The commanding officer hastened to prevent this misunderstanding by entering into an explanation with the people. He ordered a lieutenant to convey to the crowd assembled at the corner of the Rue Laffitte expressions of sorrow and explanation.

The officer presents himself at the Café Tortoni, which occupies the angle formed by this street and the boulevard. He attempts to address them. The multitude crowd around him and listen. But scarcely has he uttered a few words when a man, armed with a musket, thrust the bystanders aside and put an end to his address. The national guards present themselves under arms, and the murderer is driven away and sent back to his corps.

Meanwhile the news of this event spread, with a rapidity equal to that

of the firing, through the whole line of the boulevard and through the one-half of Paris. The body which had marched from the faubourg, scattered and thrown in confusion for a moment, soon regained their order and began to collect their dead. Large waggons, perfectly prepared, were found at hand, even at this advanced hour of the night, as if they had been previously obtained in order to exhibit through Paris those lifeless bodies, the mere sight of which was destined to rekindle the fury of the people. They collect the corpses and arrange them on the waggons, with their arms hanging over the side, with their wounds exposed and their blood dripping on the wheels. They carry them by torch-light before the office of the *National*, as the symbol of approaching vengeance exhibited on the cradle of the republic.

After a mournful pause, the procession takes its way to the Rue Montmartre, and halts before the office of the *Réforme* paper—a new appeal to the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between the monarchy and the republic. Deep and confused cries, as if smothered by indignation and by the sobs of the procession, rise to the windows of the houses. A man, standing upon the carriage with his feet bathed in blood, raises from time to time, from the lifeless heap, the corpse of a woman, exhibits it to the multitude, and lays it again in its bloody bed. At this sight the pity of the bystanders assumes the character of fury, and they rushed to their houses to arm. The streets become empty. A close array of men, armed with muskets, parades around, and enters the gloomy lanes of the densely-populated centre of Paris. In the direction of the square of St. Martin, the Mount Aventine of the populace, they rapped at every door in succession to summon new combatants to vengeance. At the spectacle of these victims, exhibited to the reproach of royalty, these districts arise, rush where they are summoned by the bells, sound the tocsin, unpave the streets, and raise and multiply barricades. From time to time the noise of firing echoes, and forbids sleep to assuage the anxiety and the indignation of the capital. Peals from church to church carry even to the ears of the king, at the Tuileries, those sounds which were the feverish precursor's of to-morrow's insurrection."

Thiers was sent for at midnight, and agreed to accept office, upon condition that Odillon Barrot should be one of his colleagues. No man was at that time more popular in Paris, and none could introduce into a cabinet a greater number of elements of strength. But at the moment he entered the palace, Guizot was coming out, after a conference with the king; and it seemed as if this self-willed man was Louis Philippe's evil genius. An ordonnance had just been signed, appointing marshal Bugeaud to the command of the military forces in Paris. The very mention of Bugeaud's name was a declaration for war to the knife against the insurgents. He was an iron soldier, determined, courageous, and inflexible, and had the affair been left entirely in his hands the insurrection would assuredly have been put down, though blood had flowed in the streets like summer rain. This appointment seemed a contradiction to the promises of concession, and still farther exasperated the discontented.

Thiers issued a proclamation, announcing his appointment, and imploring the populace to desist from hostilities. But it was torn down ere it had been read or seen by the masses, and the fighting continued. The students had issued armed into the streets, and begun to erect barricades;

the Palais Royal, the ancient residence of the Orleans family, was taken and sacked; the furniture, pictures, statuary, all destroyed. Thiers resigned in despair, and Guizot escaped from the palace like a thief in the night, and took refuge from popular fury in the house of a female friend, who sheltered him at the risk of her own life. From the window of his hiding-place he was witness of all the frightful scenes which followed, and which his own folly alone had caused. The royal family listened in terror and perturbation to the crash of the musketry and the yells of the combatants, and the young widow of the duke of Orleans was praying in anguish in her own apartment for the safety of her family. The troops were left without orders, and were beginning to waver. Marshal Bugeaud was mounting his horse, and setting out to order a determined attack upon the barricades, when order was brought him which deprived him of the office of commander-in-chief. Confusion, indecision, and dismay were on every side.

The king, however, felt so sure that the Thiers-Barrot ministry would be accepted by the people, that at eleven o'clock on the following morning he sat down to breakfast with a smiling face. The meal was not over when two of his devoted adherents, Messrs. de Rémusat and Duvergier de Houranne, entered the room and announced to him, with concern depicted on their countenances, that the troops were surrendering their arms to the people within one hundred paces of the palace. This was terrible news, and made every one quail who heard it. About the same time, Thiers, general Lamoricière, and a number of others of the same party, had ridden out on horseback, and addressed the insurgents at the barricades, informing them of the change of ministry, and calling upon them to lay down their arms. They were received with shouts of "*Il est trop tard !*" and pelting with stones, and last of all with muskets shots. They retreated precipitately, but not before Lamoricière had been wounded.

The king himself had now to undergo a not less ominous mortification. A large body of troops and one or two battalions of national guards were drawn up within the rails of the Carrousel, for the protection of the palace. It was thought politic that his majesty should pass them in review. He accordingly, attended by his staff, descended into the court. He was received by the troops with a decent air of loyalty and cries of "*Vive le Roi !*" The national guards were sullen, but not silent. As the king passed they cried "*La Réforme !*" The king, somewhat humbly, replied, "*Oui, mes amis, vous aurez la réforme !*" "*LA REFOR-R-ME !*" re-echoed the guards, in a tone and with a look of resolute menace and defiance exceedingly striking. He returned much dispirited to his apartments, where there ensued a strange chaos of persons and confusion of counsels, till at last M. Emile Girardin, the editor of the *Presse* newspaper, rushed in to announce that the troops were delivering up their arms to the populace, who were upon the point of breaking into the Château, and that there was no possible resource for saving either the remains of royalty, or even the lives of the royal family, but *abdication*. This bitter counsel, conveyed by so strange a channel, was received in a way that the world would not have expected. The king's soldier sons seemed to approve the advice—the king himself, no longer the hero of the 28th of July, 1835, appeared to offer

but little opposition—while the gentle queen, surrounded by her children and infant grandchildren, was strongly averse to such a degradation. Her feeling was, however, overborne—and rightly—for the fatal step had already been taken—the *non-resistance* orders of the new ministry had rendered any further struggle hopeless, and left even the lives of the royal family at the mercy of the now infuriated populace. The abdication was signed and proclaimed, the proclamation containing but four lines in large letters, so as to strike the eye instantly.

Abdication of the king.

Regency of the duchess of Orleans.

Dissolution of the chamber.

General amnesty.

Unfortunately in the hurry and confusion of the moment, no signature was appended to this proclamation, and, when scattered amongst the people they took it for a ruse to induce them to lay down their arms, and the fighting still went on. More unfortunately still, Louis Philippe had, under a former Thiers ministry, caused a law to be passed taking the regency out of the hands of the young duchess of Orleans, and conferring it upon the duke de Nemours, in case the throne became vacant before the count de Paris came of age. This was present to the recollection of every one, as all had been dissatisfied with a measure which took from a mother the guardianship and control of her son, and placed it in the hands of a young and by no means popular soldier. And now, when they saw an announcement that the arrangement had been so suddenly altered, they refused to believe it.

Marshal Bugeaud now paid a visit to the Tuileries, and told the king that he feared the abdication had come too late. "I know it," was the reply; "but I am unwilling that any more blood should be shed for my sake." Every preparation was now made for flight. None could tell the moment when the infuriated crowd might force its way into the palace, and commit crimes for ever to be deplored. Louis Philippe therefore laid aside his uniform, and giving his arm to the old queen, took his departure from the palace for the last time. Old, grey-headed, and apparently bowed down by the weight of their misfortunes, they presented a pitiable spectacle, and there were none present who were not deeply affected. Admiral Baudin and general Lamoricière were moved to tears. Just as they were leaving the room the duchess of Orleans rushed out, but the king told her to remain. It was in vain that she fell on her knees and implored him not to leave her behind; he was inexorable, and said the nation should decide to whom the regency should belong. They passed out by the door of the subterraneous passage which leads from his private apartments to the garden of the Tuileries, and traversed the same path over which Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had walked on the terrible 10th of August, on their way to the national assembly. A groom had been sent to order the royal carriages, but the carriages had been already burnt by the mob, and the groom was killed on his way. Two hackney-coaches were then called from the neighbouring stand, and drew up at the little wicket-gate. The queen fainted while waiting for their arrival, and was lifted in senseless by the king. The duchesse de Nemours and her children entered the other, and the two immediately set off, full speed along the Quay de Passy, surrounded by a squadron of cuirassiers. Some shots were fired at the escort from a distance, but without effect.

The duke de Nemours had remained with the duchess of Orleans, more attentive to the condition of that princess and of his nephews, who were intrusted to his care, than to his own ambition. That unpopular prince showed himself deserving of popularity, if only for his disinterestedness and his courage. The Carrousel and the courts were from this time undefended. The palace, if forcibly occupied, might be the tomb of the duchess of Orleans and her children. From that moment the duc de Nemours had upon himself the responsibility of all these lives, and of the blood of the people. Some members of the chamber accosted him under the portico of the Clock Pavilion. They charged him to withdraw the troops, and surrender the palace to the national guard. The prince, convinced that the armed and victorious people in the civil force could alone control the insurgent multitude, gave the order accordingly. The troops withdrew in silence, and defiled through the garden. The duc de Nemours remained to the last, to secure the safe departure of the duchess of Orleans.

They took the road to Saint Cloud, escorted by a regiment of cuirassiers, commanded by general Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely. On reaching Saint Cloud, the king took court carriages and proceeded to Trianon, where he stopped for a few moments, as if to allow time for fortune to overtake him and arrest his flight. General Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely at length inquired what orders the king wished to give to the troops, and whether he desired to assemble them round him at Saint Cloud? "That is no longer any affair of mine," replied the king; "it is now for the duc de Nemours to determine." The post-master of Versailles brought twenty-eight horses to Trianon for the king's carriages; conduct very different from that of the famous post-master of Sainte Menehould, who by detaining Louis XVI. in his flight from Paris, caused that unfortunate monarch and his family to forfeit their heads. The post-master of Versailles thus addressed Louis Philippe:—"These are the best horses my stables contain, and I have selected them for their strength and swiftness, to ensure the departure and the safety of the king, by the indirect routes he may deem it expedient to take. Urge them forward as long as they have a gasp of breath remaining. Think not of my interests. Kill them, sire, but let them save you."

When evening set in, the king departed, taking the road to Dreux, which place he reached in the early part of the night.

As yet the inhabitants of the town knew nothing of the recent events of Paris. M. Maréchal, the sub-prefect, being informed of the arrival of the court carriages at that unwonted hour, concluded that some of the princesses, alarmed by the tumults at the Tuileries, had sought refuge in the royal residence of Dreux. He immediately repaired to the palace, and there recognised the king.

"I am king no longer," said Louis Philippe, addressing the sub-prefect; "I know not even whither I shall fly to save my life; I have abdicated to avoid the worst misfortunes. I now place myself under your protection in my evil fortune, as I have done in my days of happiness. Ascertain what has taken place, and inform me; for as yet I am ignorant of the result of events, and counsel me according to the circumstances which this night may reveal to you."

Meanwhile the king still cherished the hope that his retirement had appeased all violent feeling, and that by his abdication he had left behind him the throne, the chambers, and the government. He informed the mayor and the sub-prefect that it was his intention to remain four days at Dreux, and there to await the decision of the chambers respecting his future place of residence, and the position which the nation might thenceforward allot to him. He partook of some refreshment, and inspected by torch-light the works he had ordered to be undertaken at the palace. In short, his manner was altogether that of a man who feels no misgivings for to-morrow.

The palace of Dreux had been for some time unoccupied, and objects of indispensable necessity for the use of the king, the princesses, and the children, were wanting. The inhabitants of the town, who were attached to the royal family, hastened to provide furniture, linen, wearing apparel, and plate. A sum of money, in gold specie, was collected as a loan for the king. The sub-prefect proposed to send for the regiment which was in garrison at Chartres, but the king would not suffer this to be done. The national guards of Dreux formed themselves into posts of protection and guards of honour.

The repast being ended, the king wrote a letter to M. de Montalivet, the minister of his household, directing that his portfolios, dressing-cases, and articles requisite for the toilette, should be forwarded to Dreux, and giving some preliminary instructions relative to the arrangements to be made for his future destiny.

The courier set out with this despatch at two o'clock. The king then retired to bed, and fell into a profound sleep. Whilst he was sleeping, a friend of M. Bethmont arrived from Paris, and announced to the sub-prefect the proclamation of the republic.

M. Maréchal would not disturb the king, thinking that a few hours' rest would recruit his strength, and enable him the better to bear the shock he had to sustain. At seven o'clock he proceeded to the palace, where he informed the aides-de-camp and the duc de Montpensier of what had occurred. The king was still sleeping, but the royal family awoke him, and the queen communicated the intelligence, giving it as mild a colouring as possible. The courage which the queen had manifested during the turbulent scenes she had just passed through now gave place to calm resignation. A council, composed of the members of the royal family and their friends, was held at the king's bedside. It was determined that the members of the family should effect their escape separately and in different directions, so as to evade any suspicion that might be created by the carriages being noticed, or their occupants recognised on the roads.

The place of rendezvous assigned to the king and queen was a secluded and unoccupied country-house belonging to M. de Perthuis, situated on the Cap d'Honfleur, whence, it was hoped, they might easily find means secretly to embark and reach the English coast. The duc de Montpensier, the duchesse de Nemours and the children, were to take the road to Avanches, and from thence to proceed to Jersey or Guernsey.

It was determined that the court carriages were to be left at Dreux; others less likely to attract notice were provided by the sub-prefect, who borrowed them from the inhabitants of the town. The fugitives were

disguised in clothes of the plainest possible description. A *calèche*, containing the duc de Montpensier and the duchesse de Nemours, took the road to Avranches. The king, the queen, a *femme de chambre*, a valet, and M. de Rumigny, the king's aide-de-camp, got into a close carriage. The queen had ordered that on the following morning a mass should be performed in the chapel containing the tomb of the duke of Orleans; but time pressed, and she could not even utter a parting prayer over the ashes of her son. The sub-prefect of Dreux, having mounted the coach-box, departed with them. The carriage took the road leading to Anet and Louviers.

On arriving at Anet, the first post relay, the king was recognised and greeted with respect. M. Maréchal procured eight or ten thousand francs in gold, and obtained passports under fictitious names.

At Saint-André the party had to wait for a short time, the horses not being ready. It was market-day, and the town was crowded with people, whose suspicions seemed to be roused. They gazed at the carriage, and some of them at a distant view fancied they recognised M. Guizot. Shouts of "*C'est Guizot! C'est Guizot!*" were immediately raised. The excitement increased and became somewhat alarming. The sub-prefect, who was known to some of the inhabitants of Saint-André, endeavoured to undeceive the multitude; and with this view he made some partial disclosures, which were understood and respected.

Meanwhile three men advanced close to the carriage, and looked towards the back seat, where the king was sitting. He wore a black cap drawn down over his forehead, his eyes were concealed by spectacles, and his bald head was covered by a wig. The three men looked at him doubtfully, and after retiring for a moment, returned again, accompanied by two gendarmes. The passports were demanded. M. Maréchal presented them, and then drawing one of the gendarmes aside, he confided to his generosity the escape of the king and queen. The gendarme was dismayed; but instantly recovering his self-possession, he pretended to examine the passports and to find them right. The horses were then harnessed, and the king departed.

The carriage drove on all day without impediment. The only difficulty that presented itself was in passing through Evreux. M. Maréchal trembled lest the king should be recognised and detained in a town so near to Paris, where popular excitement might create some commotion. His anxiety every moment increased. Already the church spires of Evreux appeared in sight, when a sudden recollection occurred to his mind. Remembering that one of his friends possessed a country house near the high-road leading to Evreux, he ordered the carriage to stop, and questioned a labourer who was breaking stones at the wayside. The man immediately pointed to the house of M. Maréchal's friend, and directed him how to reach the cross-road leading to it. The postilion was immediately ordered to drive in that direction.

The owner of the house was absent, but the farmer and his wife received the travellers, without knowing who they were. The king and queen were shown into an apartment adjoining the kitchen of the farm. They warmed themselves at the fire, and partook of the rustic hospitality of their humble hosts, who supposed them to be friends of their master.

Leaving them to enjoy a little interval of repose, M. Maréchal

proceeded to Eyreux on foot, sought his friend, and informed him who were the individuals whom he had lodged in his house.

The intelligence of the events of Paris, which successively reached Eyreux, had thrown that place into a state of ferment. To pass through the town was impossible. M. Maréchal and his friend, having ascertained the best route that could be taken for turning the wall of the town, joined the royal family in their retreat.

The farmer, who was now made acquainted with the rank and misfortunes of the guests he had sheltered beneath his roof, ardently devoted himself to their service. He, who was acquainted with all the by-ways in that part of the country, harnessed his own horses to the carriage, and himself drove the king.

A confidential man was intrusted to drive the queen by another route. The travellers set out at seven o'clock in the evening, and travelled all night. Before daybreak, the king and queen, each arriving in different directions, met at the Cap d'Honfleur, and without attracting any notice, they alighted at the house of M. de Perthuis. This house, concealed amidst trees, is built on an eminence, at the distance of about half an hour's walk from the town.

This was on the 26th of February. M. de Perthuis, the owner of the house, was not there at the time, but the gardener, an intelligent and confidential man, had been previously made acquainted with the trust that was about to be reposed in him. This man inspired his wife and children with the discretion and devotedness requisite for carrying out the plan for securing the safety and escape of the king and queen. None of the inhabitants of the country around suspected for a moment that the lonely house contained those personages who, only two days previously, had been the sovereigns of France and the owners of palaces. The window-blinds were kept constantly closed; and it was only during the night that smoke was suffered to issue from the chimneys. This confinement and restraint lasted nine days, and that interval was employed by generals Rumigny and Dumas, and some other trustworthy persons, in arranging means to secure the safe landing of the king in England. Louis Philippe and his friends were not aware that the government had authorised Lamartine himself to provide the means of escape with all the prudence which the peril of the case demanded, and with all the consideration due to misfortune.

The king, fearful of being recognised and arrested at Havre, if he repaired thither to embark for England, proceeding during the night and on foot to Tronville, where a merchant of that town, M. Gueltier, gave him shelter for two days. Acting on the advice of M. Gueltier, the king determined to hire a fishing-boat at the port of Tronville, to convey him out to sea and put him on board an English steamer. The master of one of these fishing-boats, who was first applied to, appeared to have some suspicion; he bargained, and wished to exact an exorbitant sum for his services. He was dismissed, and application was made to another, who, though he likewise suspected that the object in view was to effect the escape of fugitives, tendered the use of his boat gratuitously. His generous offer was accepted; but the man who had been first applied to, instigated by feelings of jealousy and shame, on being informed of the projected departure, divulged the secret, and denounced his comrade.

The king, hearing the rumours which were circulated about the town, began to be apprehensive of the domiciliary visits to which they might give occasion, and he consequently left his place of refuge. Setting out at night, walking through the muddy roads, under a pelting rain, and in continual fear of pursuit, he returned to the house of the gardener. There, dejected in spirits and worn out with fatigue, he rejoined the queen. The coast now appeared to be closed against them. The general feeling of enthusiasm for the republic, though it was manifested inoffensively and generously, seemed nevertheless to give to the whole country an appearance of hatred to royalty.

A young officer of the French navy, who happened at that time to be at Havre, and who was ignorant of the king's proximity to that port, though rumoured him to suspect that the royal family were vainly seeking means of escape, resolved to make an effort to aid them. With this view he took upon himself to ask captain Paul, of the English navy, whether he would consent to receive Louis Philippe on board the steamer he commanded, if the king should succeed in getting out to sea in a fishing-boat. Captain Paul returned for answer, that he could not do so consistently with his orders; but on his arrival at Southampton he hastened to communicate confidentially to the admiralty the overtures that had been made to him, and to point out the service which a steamer cruising along the coast of France might render to the king. This communication induced lord Palmerston immediately to despatch orders for the guidance of the English consuls resident in the northern ports of France.

The young French naval officer, who had interested himself in behalf of the royal fugitives, having received a message from the English consul at Havre, succeeded in discovering the king's place of concealment. He introduced the vice-consul to Louis Philippe, and it was arranged that the king should embark at Havre, on board one of the vessels employed in the conveyance of cattle and provisions from France to the English coast.

For the space of five days adverse winds and a violently tempestuous sea retarded the departure of those vessels. All this time the king was counting the hours, and consuming himself with impatience and anxiety. several times he proceeded from his place of refuge to the port of Havre, and from the port back to his place of refuge; journeying on foot across the open fields, in the darkness of night, and during the most inclement weather. At length he resolved on a scheme more hazardous than any that had yet been contemplated. This was to embark at some distance from Rouen in the steamboat which runs from that place to Havre. This boat would reach Havre at night, a circumstance which, the king conceived, was calculated to afford him a fair chance of getting through the town unobserved. Passing for one of the travellers who had arrived from Paris by way of the Seine, he would go on board the steamboat which would be in readiness at Havre to convey the passengers from the Seine boat direct to England.

To carry out this scheme, the king disguised himself, and assumed the name of *Theodore Lebrun*. The mayor, by a little pious connivance, favoured the embarkation. The English vice-consul offered his arm to the queen, and the royal couple having reached the deck, discovered to their no small surprise, that they were on board the identical steamer

they had themselves engaged a year previously for a marine excursion during one of their happy sojourns at the Château d'Eu.

Several of the sailors who were then on board the vessel now formed part of the crew. The man whose business it was to collect the fares of the passengers went round with a lantern, the light from which happened by chance to fall full on the countenance of Louis Philippe. The man instantly recognised the king, who, had other eyes discerned him might have been betrayed. With great presence of mind the sailor turned his lantern, at the same time bowing with respectful discretion to his old master.

Whispers ran from mouth to mouth among the crew, that the fugitives of Eu were on board the steamer; but not one for a moment conceived the thought of serving the republic by a base betrayal of old age and misfortune. The crew pretended to observe nothing, whilst they were closely watching every one on board. When the steamer was moored to the quay of Havre, they ranged themselves, as if accidentally, in two lines, between which the royal travellers passed, whilst uncovering and and bowing respectfully, the men uttered in a suppressed tone of voice, "May heaven preserve you!" Such was the prayer of the republic itself, uttered through the voice of its government, during that interval when guns were still firing, and the stains of blood were not yet washed from the streets of Paris.

The only difficulty now remaining was limited to the breadth of a quay, which had to be crossed, in passing from the Rouen boat to the Southampton steamer. The king and queen, preceded by general Rumigny and general Dumas, crossed the quay without attracting any notice, and soon all were on board the English steamer. At the moment when the king was stepping down the ladder, a woman rushed forward with a lantern in her hand, exclaiming—"It is he! it is the king!" An officer advanced, apparently for the purpose of ascertaining the fact by the evidence of his own eyes. "It is too late," said the captain of the steamer; and he immediately ordered the ladder to be withdrawn.

This incident made a deep impression on the persons who accompanied the king. They were convinced that his preservation depended on that critical moment, when his safety might have been compromised by the exclamation of a woman, and the curiosity of a soldier. Yet no order for opposing the departure of the king had been issued by any one, and instructions perfectly adverse to any attempt against his safety or liberty were in the hands of the government agents.

The steamer departed, and, during a stormy night, conveyed the king to Newhaven, where he was informed that the hospitality of his son-in-law, the king of the Belgians, had assigned the palace of Claremont as his abode.

Other vicissitudes, arising out of a similar misconception respecting the intentions of the government and the magnanimity of the people, attended the flight of the duchess of Orleans and her children, the duke de Nemours and his children, and the duchess de Montpensier.

So ended Constitutional Monarchy in France. Few Frenchmen can look back to it, with all its faults, with other sentiments than those of regret: for had it not its expression of opinion more or less free? and did not that quick, but versatile, French intellect adorn it with endless

manifestations of talent? Its diplomacy was respected in Europe; and, if we take 1815 and 1848 as the two extreme points of a system, no one can doubt the enormous advance of national prosperity. Thus finished the eventful career of Louis Philippe—in itself an historical romance. From the battle of Valmy to the exile at Claremont, what a vast, varied, and chequered career! The ex-king was a remarkable rather than a great man. No man toiled harder; yet none saw his labours more reversed. Yet not entirely: for, though his family are exiled, the glorious public works he erected in France will live as monuments of his reign. His great claim with posterity will, probably, be his maintenance of peace in Europe in several most difficult crises. No visions of glory, no clamours of opposition diverted him from that path. With many faults, History will concede to Louis Philippe the possession of eminent qualities, untiring activity, and distinguished private virtues. No doubt his latter days were embittered by the ruin of his family's prospects, and by visions of baffled greatness.

Whilst the evacuation of the palace by the troops was thus effected, a small number of officers and counsellors, some devoted to the dynasty, some to the person, and some only to the misfortunes of a lady, were in consultation around the duchess of Orleans and her children. Among them was general Gourgaud, a friend of the emperor, and the voluntary companion of his exile at St. Helena, a man habituated to misfortune and fidelity; a son of marshal Ney, M. d'Elchingen, MM. de Montaguyon, Villaumez, and de Bois Milon. The report of three cannons shook the windows of the apartment. The duchess uttered a cry. It was the artillery of the palace which was firing on the people as they issued from the quay to the Carrousel. The princess sent general Gourgaud to stop the firing, and the artillerymen extinguished their matches in token of peace. General Gourgaud returned, and M. Dupin followed him.

M. Dupin, less a jurist than a legislator, for a long time the president of the chamber of deputies, an eminent orator, and the living embodiment of that spirit of resistance and of constitutional liberty under the monarchy which had formerly characterised such men as Harlay, Molé, and l'Hopital, a democrat in manners and in dress, but a royalist in temper and sentiment, had been, from the year 1815, the domestic counsellor and the friend, by turns rough and affectionate, of the duke of Orleans, afterwards king. The austerity of his style of conversation and the sharpness of his sarcasm had concealed from the eyes of the country the obsequiousness of his personal attachment to the royal family. He avenged himself for his compliance to the king on the heads of the ministers of the crown. His popularity, which was compromised by the court, was regained by his independence in parliament. Learned, eloquent, clever, the oracle of administration, inflexible in tone, pliant to revolutionary movements, feared by the weak, respected by the strong, and adequate to all occasions. M. Dupin was one of the great authorities of public opinion. Whatever course he took, multitudes followed in his steps. He presented himself at that decisive moment when the revolution was in want of a standard around which to rally. This he naturally found in this lady and in this child. No hand was so fit as his to bear it, and to attract to it the affections of the people.

The duchess saw him enter the apartment, the presage at once of strength and of peace. "Well, sir," cried she, "what are you come to tell me?" "I come to tell you, madam," replied M. Dupin, in a saddened but hopeful tone, "that perhaps the part of a second Maria Theresa is reserved for you." "Direct me, sir," replied the princess; "my life belongs to France and to my children." "Well, then, madam, let us depart; we have not a moment to lose. Let us go to the chamber of deputies."

This, in fact, was the only course for the duchess to take. The cause of the regency, already lost in the streets, might be retrieved in the chamber of deputies, if that body, in discredit among the people, by its courtliness of spirit, had preserved sufficient ascendancy to arrest the fall of monarchy. The presence of a woman, the grace and innocence of a child, were more powerful attractions than any speeches. Eloquence in action is pity. The bloody mantle of *Cæsar*, exhibited at the tribune, was less affecting than the tears of a young and beautiful woman, presenting her orphan child to the representatives of a chivalrous people.

The duc de Nemours, after having received the parting benediction of his father, and protected his departure in person, entered as the last battalion of the troops from the Carrousel were defiling through the garden and along the quay.

The duchess left the palace, leading her eldest son, the count de Paris, by the hand, while her other child, the duc de Chartres, was carried in the arms of an aide-de-camp. The duc de Nemours, prepared for all sacrifices to save his sister-in law, and to secure the regal claims of his ward, walked beside the princess. M. Dupin was conversing with her on the other side. A few officers of the household followed in silence. A valet-de-chambre, named Hubert, who waited on the children, formed the entire escort of the regency. This prospective royalty had only to traverse the space between the royal gardens and the hall of representatives before it was swallowed up, together with the throne.

Scarcely had the princess proceeded two-thirds through the garden, when a column of republicans, who had been fighting from the previous night, increasing in number as they approached, forced an entrance into the palace in spite of the troops, filled its apartments, swept away every trace of royalty, proclaimed the republic, tore away the drapery which served as a canopy to the throne; and having taken the palace, made but a short halt, and formed again, to march to the chamber of deputies, on the heels of the regency party. It was the column commanded by captain Dunoyer, which multiplied itself in the course of the day.

The chamber of deputies was to have met at three o'clock, but, the events of the morning having deranged the order of business, the president took the chair at one o'clock—that being the time at which the *bureau* ought to have met. There were about three hundred deputies present.

About half-past one the duchess of Orleans, and the two princes her sons, entered the chamber, followed by the duc de Nemours. The count de Paris was led in first. With difficulty he penetrated as far as the semicircle in front of the president's chair, so crowded was it with

deputies and national guards. The duchess seated herself in an arm-chair, with a son at each side of her, in that space.

Immediately after, the passages to the various parts of the chamber were filled with an immense body of the people and national guards, both armed. Cries of "You cannot enter!" "You have no right to enter!" were heard; but the next moment a number of people forced their way into the chamber, and placed themselves under the tribune, surrounding and pressing upon the duchess, who retreated, taking the young princes by the hand, to the range of seats behind the deputies, and in front of the president; the duc de Nemours and the suite placed themselves immediately behind the princess and her sons. The greatest agitation prevailed, and it was a moment after increased by the public tribunes having been invaded by another body of the people.

M. Dupin, who came with the duchess, ascended the tribune amidst deep silence, and said, "In the present situation of the capital and of the country, the chamber was bound to assemble immediately. The king has abdicated. He has disposed of the crown in favour of his grandson, the count de Paris; and has constituted the duchess of Orleans regent." (Applause from all the *centre* and some of the public tribunes, with loud disapprobation on the *left*.)

A voice (from one of the tribunes): "It is too late!"

A violent agitation and opposition to this proposition here arose. A number of deputies collected round the duchess of Orleans and the rest of the royal group. National guards without ceremony mingled with the deputies.

After the tumult had in some degree subsided, M. Marie said, "The position of the people had changed since the morning, and, as the regency had been already given by law to the duc de Nemours, it could not be transferred to the duchess. A provisional government ought to be nominated, for the purpose of consulting with the two chambers on the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country." After a few words in support of this proposal from M. Crémieux and the abbé Génoude [a legitimist], M. Barrot, who had just entered, made an appeal on behalf of the count de Paris and the duchess of Orleans, during which the duchess herself attempted to speak. M. de Larochejacquelin [we need hardly say a legitimist] followed, in a temperate but firm speech, insisting on the right of the people themselves to decide on a future form of government. M. Michel Chevallier [one of the crowd, and editor of a newspaper] then ascended the tribune, but was violently interrupted during the few phrases he uttered, on the score of not being a member. While he was speaking, another crowd broke into the chamber, dressed in the most heterogeneous manner—some in blouses, with dragoons, helmets on their heads; others with cross-belts and infantry-caps; others in ordinary clothes; but all with arms—swords, lances, spears, muskets—and tri-coloured banners. They at once seized on such seats as were unoccupied: several even ascended the tribune. The president, to mark his disapprobation of their proceedings, put on his hat. This created a dreadful uproar, and the cry of, "Off with your hat, president!" broke from the new-comers. Several of them even directed their muskets at him. The scene was one of almost unimaginable violence.

M. Ledru-Rollin, from his place, overpowering the tumult with his

voice, called, in the name of the people, for silence. A number of the deputies now withdrew, and the crowd took possession of their places. The tumult was tremendous. The duchess of Orleans, however, sat calmly amidst the uproar, and M. de Nemours conducted himself with great coolness and propriety. After some time, M. Ledru-Rollin succeeded in making himself heard. In the name of the people, he protested against the kind of government which had just been proposed. (Immense applause; cries of "Bravo! bravo!" from the new-comers, and their comrades in the public tribunes.) Already, in 1842, he had demanded the constitution of 1791. (Cheers.) That constitution declared that it should be necessary to make an appeal to the people whenever a regency bill was to be passed. (The loudest applause.) He protested, therefore, against the government that it is attempted to establish, in the name of the citizens who for the last two days had been fighting, and who would, if necessary, resume arms. (Cries of "Yes, yes;" cheers, with brandishing of arms, and, in some cases, raising of muskets to the shoulder.) He concluded by demanding, in the name of the people, a provisional government. (Great applause.)

M. de Lamartine followed the same line of argument as that adopted by M. Ledru-Rollin, and was continually interrupted by thunders of applause. At this moment a violent knocking was heard at the door of an upper tribune, which was not entirely filled. On the door being opened, a number of armed men rushed in. Several of them forced their way to the front seats, and pointed their muskets at the deputies. Some of the weapons were also turned in the direction of the royal party. The persons immediately around the duchess and her children now endeavoured to persuade her to quit the chamber, and in a few moments she did so, accompanied by her sons and the duc de Nemours. They retired in the first instance to the *Hôtel des Invalides*, but were soon forced to flight. The duchess and her children reached the Rhine, and the duc de Nemours Boulogne, and thence England.

At the same moment with the duchess, M. Sauzet withdrew from the president's chair, and nearly all the deputies who had remained now quitted their places. The noise and disorder at this moment were at the greatest height. Shortly after, silence being somewhat restored, M. Ledru-Rollin said, "According as I read out the names of the provisional government, you will say 'Yes' or 'No,' just as they please you; and, in order to act officially (!) I call on the reporters of the public press to note down the names and the manner in which they are received, that France may know what has been done here." He then read out the names of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, de Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Garnier-Pagès, and Marie; all except the two last were received with unanimous acclamations—Garnier-Pagès and Marie had a few negatives. (Cries of "To the *Hôtel de Ville*!" here arose, followed by a cry of "No civil list," and another of "No king!") The next instant M. Dupont (de l'Eure) took possession of the chair. M. de Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin attempted severally to obtain a hearing, but unsuccessfully. Several of the national guards and some of the people also made similar attempts, but without effect. A cry then arose in one of the tribunes of "Let Lamartine speak!" and at once all the others took it up.

M. de Lamartine: "A provisional government will be at once pro-

claimed."—Enthusiastic cries of "Vive Lamartine!"—Other voices: "The names! the names!"

M. Crémieux, amidst great tumult: "It is essential that silence be restored, in order that our venerable colleague, M. Dupont (de l'Eure), may read to you the names which you wish to learn." As the tumult, which had lulled for a second whilst the honourable deputy was speaking, recommenced just as violently as ever, the names were written down on a sheet of paper, and that, being placed on the end of a musket, was so paraded about the chamber.

M. Ledru-Rollin (in the midst of the noise): "A provisional government cannot be organised in a light or careless manner. I shall read over the names aloud, and you will approve of them or reject them, as you think fit." In the midst of shouts and cries the honourable deputy read out the names, but nothing could be heard. Nearly all the deputies had by this time departed, and the national guards and the people had the chamber to themselves.

M. Ledru-Rollin: "We are obliged to close the sitting, in order to proceed to the seat of government."

From all sides: "To the Hôtel de Ville! *Vive la République!*"

This most extraordinary sitting was then brought to a conclusion at four o'clock. The people withdrew in the utmost tumult.

The following sketch of the seven members of the provisional government appeared, shortly after their installation, in the *Quarterly Review*, and though possessing, as might be expected, a rather unfavourable colouring, may, nevertheless, not prove uninteresting to our readers:—

"Dupont—called *de l'Eure*, because in Bonaparte's shadow of a representative chamber in 1813, he was deputy for the department of *Eure*—had filled subordinate legal offices in the courts of Rouen throughout the revolution and the empire, and, though he had accepted the title of *Chevalier* from the emperor, he professed, as far as he dared, republican opinions, and did so openly after the restoration. He was Louis Philippe's first minister of justice after the three glorious days of July; and—to do him justice—he separated from him on account of the same radical principles which have now replaced him—not in power, indeed, for his age and his natural mediocrity of talent forbid that, but as the nominal head in the government, where he is a cipher—his name at the foot of a decree means no more than '*Liberty, equality, and Fraternity*' at the top.

"M. de Lamartine is of a different class; he is well known to the world as the first poet of what is called the romantic school, and he has lately obtained additional celebrity by a history of the *Girondins*, which partakes still more of the character of romance than his verses. His first political impressions were legitimist, because he is essentially a gentleman of high feelings and a cultivated—over-cultivated—taste, but he is a ridiculous victim of personal vanity. This reveals itself in all his works.

"M. Arago is, as every body knows, a *savant* of great scientific celebrity; as a politician he is as yet only known as a bold, and sometimes blustering actor of the easy part of opposing all authority. Our readers will recollect the celebrated visit of remonstrance which he made to the king on the events of June, 1832. In this interview M. Arago declared vehemently that 'he never would accept *any place whatsoever*, and that

he meant immediately to quit political life and return altogether to the studies which he perhaps ought never to have quitted.' The king smiled at this declaration; but M. Odillon Barrot attested M. Arago's sincerity in still stronger language. 'M. Arago,' said he, 'curses the political duties which for the moment withdraw him from his favourite studies.' Upon which, M. Capefigue, the ablest historian we have of the last twenty years, remarks that, 'in spite of these energetic professions, M. Arago seemed every day more and more to cling to political affairs.' It is a singular coincidence, that, when the 10th of August had brought in a republican ministry, Monge, a *savant*, was appointed, as Arago had been, to the department of the Marine, for no other reason than because *savants* construct the tables by which practical navigators find their longitude; which is about as good a reason as if a tanner should be placed at the head of the military department, because an army cannot march without shoes.

"M. Garnier-Pagès was one of two brothers by different fathers, that had 'been reduced by honourable misfortunes.' (*Dix Ans*, iii. 10). The elder brother's name was Garnier and the younger brother's Pagès, which they combined into Garnier-Pagès, to give to two very common names an aristocratical air—for nothing in human nature is so aristocratical, as far as himself is concerned, as a democrat. The younger brother seems to have struggled on with business, while the elder became an *avocat*, and, making himself remarkable for his republican opinions, was elected into the chamber, and took his seat on the same day (2nd of January, 1832) on which Carrel hoisted the republican flag in the *National*. He there showed considerable talent and tact, and became one of the leaders of the party. He was arrested for a supposed share in the deplorable events of June, 1832.* He, however, died in 1843, and the younger brother has succeeded to his place in the party. He is said to be amiable and agreeable in private life, and, though not a very strict moralist, will not, it is thought, encourage any very revolutionary excesses. It seems that his colleagues must think highly of his abilities, for they have removed him to the most difficult of all their offices—the ministry of finance.

"Of M. Ledru-Rollin, the minister of the interior, we have heard more than we wish to repeat without more precise information. He is a lawyer of great vehemence and no great business, who has been a good deal employed for the regicides and émeutiers, and was the professed representative of the communist interest; he it was whose audacity in the chamber, on the 24th of February, created the provisional government; and he it is whose audacity, we think, will accelerate its fall. He paid a visit to Ireland during the summer of O'Connell's monster meetings, and was pointed out to the Irish populace at Tara, as a delegate from the republicans of France. He is married, it is said, to an Irish lady.

"M. Marie, minister of public works, is also an *avocat*, and has been much employed in the same class of cases as M. Ledru-Rollin; but he seems to

* This was during the able and resolute ministry of Casimir Perier, whom the republicans particularly hated and dreaded. He had been long ill; and the expectation of all parties that his death would advance the republican cause was expressed in a popular calembourg, "*quand notre Casimir sera usé nous serons sans culottes.*"

have had more general business, and to be of a more lawyer-like and moderate character.

“M. Crémieux, the minister of justice, of the Jewish religion, is of course a lawyer, of the same class and opinions as Messrs. Ledru-Rollin and Marie, but, we think, of less legal and indeed less general reputation. His chief claim to be made minister of justice seems to have been that he had incurred some kind of official censure from the body of *avocats*.

“Marrast is a journalist who first made himself remarkable by the boldness and sometimes by the ability of his articles in *La Tribune*. He became particularly notorious for a libel charging Casimir Perier and marshal Soult with having received large sums for conniving at a fraudulent contract for muskets made by the notorious Gisquet, subsequently convicted of most scandalous corruption as prefect of police. For that libel—for such no doubt it was—Marrast was sentenced to a fine of one hundred and twenty pounds and six months’ imprisonment. He was latterly the editor of the *National*, the chief republican organ, and, indeed, is so still, though he has, while he continues a member of the provisional government, substituted M. Duras, as nominal director of the paper. In a letter to his friend requesting him to take that duty, he says it is *l’objet le plus cher de mes désirs et l’unique satisfaction de cœur à laquelle aspire mon ambition*. The phrase is not a very clear one, perhaps is not meant to be—nor does it seem to us quite correct to talk of *ambition’s* aspiring to what it has left behind; but if the meaning be that M. Marrast hopes that his political elevation may be of short duration, we think the wish a prudent one, and very likely to be gratified—particularly if, as we have heard, he is really a man of some discretion and good sense, though a very thoroughgoing party writer. He also is married to an Englishwoman.

“M. Ferdinand Flocon is another journalist, of whom we know nothing more than that he is now editor of *La Réforme*, and seems to have been mixed in several of the republican *éméutes* of the late reign, and suffered large inflictions of fine and imprisonment for seditious libels.

“As to Albert, a *workman*, raised suddenly by this insurrection of his fellows into sudden eminence, we could not have expected to know much. We had heard and read indeed of a certain *Monsieur Albert*, the prime agitator of Lyons, who was the chief conspirator and main cause of the three deplorable days of April, 1834—the most premeditated, impudent, and wanton waste of life and property that we ever read of, for it was without the slightest excuse, and had no possible object but an exhibition of republican force and turbulence. The details of this mad and wicked insurrection being given *con amore* in M. Louis Blanc’s work with no small praise of the patriotism of the said Albert, we might have had a suspicion that *he* and the *Albert*, M. Louis Blanc’s colleague in the provisional government, were the same person—but that the Albert of Lyons is always called *Monsieur*, and is represented as a wealthy man, who set up and maintained out of his own pocket the republican journal, *La Glaneuse*—while the member of the provisional government is always ‘Albert, *ouvrier*.’

“We have reserved for the last M. Louis Blanc himself, the person who we suspect has had a larger share in the revolution than any of his colleagues. He is a journalist, employed on *La Réforme*, a paper which

has advocated not *reform* but *revolution* in its widest and most radical extent: just as Robespierre published, under the title of *Défenseur de la Constitution*, his paper, whose not concealed object was to subvert it. But it was not so much by the *Reforme* that his influence was established as by the work which we have so often alluded to, *L'Histoire de Dix Ans*, which is an extraordinary key to all the *émeutes* from 1830 to 1840, and a prophetic explanation of the great catastrophe which has just happened."

No sooner was the provisional government installed in office, than it found it would have difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to contend against. It need hardly be stated that it existed almost entirely by sufferance of the mob, which had overthrown the monarchy, and the most extravagant demands were of course made upon it, none of which it dared openly refuse. Crowds of refugees, conspirators, and demagogues flocked to Paris from all parts of Europe, to seek for aid against their enemies, so that it was at one time greatly feared that some of the scenes of 1793 might be enacted over again, and the revolution be turned into a propagandist combination against monarchies all over the world. Poles, Italians, Belgians, Germans, and even Irishmen, urged their respective grievances upon the notice of the government, and implored succour. The courage, tact, and moderation of Lamartine alone, saved the country from the frightful calamities which foreign wars might have brought upon it, and he it was who put the revolution on the road to peace and repose.

Another difficulty, and one still more frightful, was immense masses of men whom the recent changes had thrown out of employment, and left to prowl idly about the streets, an easy prey to designing demagogues, and fit materials for the socialist and communist clubs, which were in full operation in the various parts of the metropolis, to work upon. Louis Blanc thought he had here a golden opportunity for realising the utopian schemes which he had put forward some time previously in a work entitled *The Organisation of Labour*. He laid it down as a settled maxim that it was the duty of the government to find employment for every man willing to labour, to pay him a fixed rate of wages, and apply the products of his toil to national purposes. His idea of perfect national happiness was to transform the state into a great workshop, and the population into a number of journeymen, who were at the same time partners in a great joint-stock association. It is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of a scheme like this; but, nevertheless, the provisional government were forced to adopt it, and, in doing so, drew upon themselves a storm of obloquy and ridicule from the enemies of the revolution, and nowhere greater than in England. The principal evil which flowed from it was the false hopes and extravagant expectations which it led the labouring classes to entertain. Upon every point Lamartine has, we think, successfully defended the conduct of himself and his colleagues, as will appear from what follows.

One of the political and social solutions of the crisis would have been, in the opinion of certain members of the government, a vast body of unemployed men, suddenly occupied in some great public works for the fertilisation of the French soil. Lamartine shared this opinion. Some of the socialists, then moderate and prudent, though afterwards violent and factious, urged the government to take a first step in fur-

therance of this scheme. A great campaign, in the interior of France, with agricultural implements for arms, like the campaigns undertaken by the Romans or the Egyptians for digging canals or draining the Pontine marshes, appeared to these persons to be the course marked out for a republic desirous of continuing at peace, and of saving property, by protecting and raising up the proletarian class. This was the idea of the hour. The appointment of a ministerial department for the administration of public works on a vast scale would have been the policy appropriate to the situation of affairs. One of the great errors of the government was postponing too long the realisation of these ideas. During this postponement, the national workshops, crowded by misery and idleness, became day by day more burdensome, more unproductive, and more menacing to public order.

In the outset, however, they exhibited no alarming character. They were merely an expedient for restoring order; a rough plan of public assistance contrived on the morrow of a revolution, by the necessity of furnishing food for the populace, and yet not maintaining them in idleness, for fear of the disorders to which that idleness would lead. M. Marie manifested considerable intelligence in his manner of organising these labourers, though their work was unattended by any useful result in the way of production: he formed them into brigades, to each of which a chief was appointed, and he inspired them with a spirit of discipline and order. From being a force at the mercy of the socialists and the insurgents, M. Marie transformed them, in the space of four months, into a pretorian force. They were, it is true, an idle body of men, but they were commanded and directed by chiefs, who secretly shared the anti-socialist opinions of the government. Until the convocation of the national assembly, these workshops formed a counterpoise to the sectarian assemblages at the Luxembourg, and the seditious meetings in the clubs. They were offensive to the eyes of the Parisians, by reason of their vast magnitude, and the inutility of their labours, yet they several times protected and saved Paris, though that fact was not known to the inhabitants of the capital. So far from being in the pay of Louis Blanc, as was alleged, the workmen were inspired by the spirit of his adversaries.

At first they numbered only twenty thousand, but every day brought a fresh reinforcement of poverty or idleness. The fortification works, commenced so improvidently and precipitately, had drawn to Paris a mass of about forty thousand workmen, who, being once established in the capital, would not leave it. These men, who were for the most part carpenters and masons, had none of the conditions of a resident population. The republic was thus doomed to expiate the imprudence of the monarchy. Those branches of industry which supply the demands of luxury, and which are naturally the first to suffer in political convulsions, were suddenly suspended throughout Paris. The savings of the workpeople soon became exhausted, and their families were reduced to severe privation. Some of the more wealthy manufacturers, from a generous desire to assist their workpeople, retained a portion of them at half-wages. In certain manufactories, one-half of the workpeople instead of being employed throughout the whole week, worked only four days, whilst the other half were idle; then those who had been employed left off work, in their turn, for the sake of making way for their

comrades. But from week to week large establishments were successively closed; and the consequence was, that two hundred thousand artisans of Paris gradually enrolled themselves in the temporary army which occupied the national workshops.

To these artisans were speedily joined numerous professors of the liberal arts, whose last resources were likewise exhausted. These consisted of artists, designers, correctors of the press, booksellers' clerks, literary men, actors, &c. Persons whose occupations had heretofore been confined to the pen or the graver, now presented themselves at the national workshops courageously asking for pickaxes or spades, wherewith to dig the earth in the Champ de Mars; or requesting to be sent to any carpenter's yard where labour might be assigned to them.

Every morning, on the boulevards, in the Champs Elysées, and in the faubourgs, parties of from twenty to a hundred men, of all ages and in all sorts of attire, might be seen proceeding to their work—each party being preceded by a flag and headed by a brigadier. The countenances of these men wore a melancholy, but earnest and patient expression. It was evident that they felt an honourable conviction of the sad duty they had to fulfil to their families; but it was also evident that they were fully sensible of the duties which the government was fulfilling towards them, in aiding them by means of labour. Owing to the defective way in which that labour was organised, it was unfortunately but a semblance of public assistance—an expedient dictated by the urgency of the moment, with the view of providing against want, trouble, and despair. Every evening these men returned in the same order to their respective quarters. They themselves performed their own police duties, and kept up a voluntary system of discipline among themselves. Their wages were paid to them every Saturday. This was not a government organisation, as was subsequently endeavoured to be shown; it was a sacred and indispensable distribution of alms on the part of the state, and honoured by the semblance of labour. These workshops of Paris (and the same necessity caused similar ones to be instinctively organised in all the manufacturing towns) had certainly the effect of weaning many workmen from the habit of serious labour; but they rescued the masses from starvation and despair, saved society from tumult, and property from pillage.

The government committed one grand error in the outset. It was that of neglecting to apply the labour of these workshops to great works of public utility, and of not dispersing them at certain distances from Paris and other great cities, which were the nurseries of sedition. When this dispersion was found to be desirable, it was too late too effect it. Another army would have been required to enforce the evacuation of the capital. Humanity as well as necessity caused the workshops to be tolerated until such time as the revolutionary crisis having passed over, these elements were re-absorbed by private labour, and their overflowing stemmed by restored public energy.

So much for the national workshops, which have been represented as a system, but which were merely a transient expedient, terrible, but necessary. Those members of the government possessed of most foresight looked forward with apprehension to the moment when sedition would creep into this nucleus of misery and idleness, and when it might

be found necessary to dissolve it either by gentle means or by force. However, sedition did not find its way into those workshops until after the meeting of the national assembly in Paris. They were the rock on which the first regular government of the republic seemed destined to split. We shall presently see by how narrow a chance this danger was escaped.

In short, the provisional government were expected to feed the working population, to augment and equip the army, to restore credit to the disordered finances, and re-establish trade and industry, and all this without any of the machinery or elements of strength which a regular government has at its command; and it must for ever remain a striking proof of the talent and devotedness of the individuals who filled the various offices, that every one of these difficulties was overcome.

Their next care was to take immediate steps for the election of a national assembly, by the suffrages of the whole population—which should settle the form of the constitution, and relieve them of the burden of their self-assumed power. But before this, they had to defend the very existence of property and society against the attempts of the socialists and red republicans or terrorists; and the danger was the greater, since Louis Blanc and Ledru-Rollin were both in their interests, and were doing all in their power to thwart the efforts of their colleagues and undermine their influence. On this subject we shall again quote Lamartine, to whose zeal and discretion France owes so much. His able analysis of the composition of Parisian society at the period of the revolution, may assist us in understanding many of the events which have since occurred:—

“This school multiplied during the restoration and the reign of Louis Philippe, and its sophisms were rendered popular by oppression, fostered by immorality, propagated by imitation, and made the subject of rejoicing to the after-taste of crime, which lurks in the depths of some minds. To suppress remorse was not enough, it was necessary to sanction the offence; and even this degree of absurdity was attained. Generations of minds were nourished in these ideas. False natures diffused them, feeble natures yielded to them, and perverse ones converted them into a scheme of government, and a fierce and turbulent spirit.

“These were the elements from which arose in France, not the republican body, which thrilled with horror at such theories, but the conventionalist and terrorist party, whose rallying word was the convention, and whose ideal was terror.

“This party, which suffered their ideas to transpire in their writings, journals, and public addresses, disclosed them more clearly, and commented on them with more acerbity in some of their associations and subterranean assemblies. There the words revolution and republic were not, as in the councils of true republicans, synonymous with liberty, equality, and the morality of the citizens, under a government of reason and unanimous rights; but with this party they signified the violent triumph of one portion of the nation over the rest. It was the avenging dominion of one class over all the others—the tyranny of the low in exchange for that of the high—the substitution of arbitrary will for law, resentment for justice, and the axe for the power of government.

“In addition to the enrolled and fanatic adherents of its different sec-

tions, this party was reinforced by the ignorant portion of the floating population, made up, as in all large capitals, by those who belong to no country and no class of society, but who, in all convulsive and revolutionary movements are always found ready to inundate every street and square with their agitation, misery, and destitution.

"It is one of the greatest crimes of our older form of society that it left this suffering remnant of the population of our cities without instruction, organization, or protection. Great vices germinate in extreme misery; for where there is stagnation there will also be corruption. Crime is the miasma of indigence and brutality; and the duty of a republic is to enlighten, purify, and ameliorate such masses."

Such was the army of this party, which set up as its standard the red flag.

Vanquished the evening before in the last convulsive disturbance, at the Hôtel de Ville, by the resolution of the provisional government, supported by the energetic co-operation of Lamartine's presence and address, the terrorists had retired in silence, but not with resignation. They renounced for the moment all hope of disputing the supreme power with a government that had been established by the twofold acclamations of the chamber of deputies and of the Place de Grève, for they had no names they could bring forward to compete with the popularity of those of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, and Lamartine; some of which had been rendered illustrious by parliamentary contests, others by letters, science, or the bar; some by all these modes of celebrity combined; others, again, by the reputation of public integrity—the noblest of all forms of popularity. Obscure names, known only to the different sections, would at that moment have inspired the departments with astonishment, hesitation, and perhaps even apprehension. The republic would have shrunk back with distrust at the first step; and it was absolutely necessary that the government should have guarantees and sponsors to induce men to believe in its reality, and trust to its pledges.

The terrorists were compelled, in spite of themselves, to admit this truth. Their ambition prompted them, indeed, to seize on the power which they desired to retain exclusively to themselves. They admitted neither peace, concord, nor toleration towards the national guard, the bourgeoisie, the departments, the clergy, the great or lesser landed proprietors, or indeed towards any party whom they included under the name of the aristocracy. Their premeditated sway was nothing more than universal ostracism; but, conscious of the horror which the open manifestation of their principles would produce throughout the whole of France, they resolved, despairing of winning by their audacity, to impose themselves surreptitiously on the country by displaying their strength on the following day, vanquishing the capital by the fascination of terror, and the provisional government by the force of arms and by intimidation, by embarrassing its operations, and by the introduction of some of their chiefs into his councils, and thus finally compelling the republic to adopt at once the red flag, in proof of its acceptance of their opinions, and of their own participation in the supreme power.

The agents of their party had consulted together during the night, and spread themselves before the break of day through the different places

of meeting of the conspirators, the resorts of vice, and the quarter of the indigent and ignorant, in order to raise and recruit the elements of a second revolutionary deluge which might devastate what the first national convulsion had spared, and demolish what the moderation of the people had established.

They succeeded but too well. The universal fermentation served their designs, for all the sound as well as corrupt elements of the population had been so disturbed and confused amid the general excitement of events, that it was easy to give them a new impulse and direct at will an extensive insurrection, guided by skilful and daring leaders, and accomplished by blind and involuntary agents. To impel this mass to the destruction of the republic, under the pretext of aiding in its accomplishment, was the hope of the terrorists.

Every nation consists of two parts; that is to say, whatever may be the equality in rights enjoyed by a people, they will always exhibit an inequality in their habits and instincts. The most virtuous man bears within his nature certain elements of vice, a certain possibility of committing crime, which he subjugates and annihilates by virtue and humanity. The human kind collectively is organised like man individually, and is but the individual multiplied by millions. Crime is an element of the human kind, and is found to be increased in a formidable proportion in every agglomeration of men; and hence the necessity for laws and public forces.

It was this vicious part of the people, ferocious in their instincts, that the terrorists appealed to on this occasion for the support of their theories; pointing out the abasement of the higher classes as a source of vengeance, disorder as a season of rule, society as a prey, spoliation as a hope, the supremacy of one class above all others as the only true democracy, confiscation and proscription as legitimate arms, a convention ruled by the demagoguism of Paris as the republic, and promising tribunes for legislators, executioners for lictors, and the revolutionary axe in the place of reason and conscience among a victorious people.

Those who took such a view of the republic were few in number, and composed for the most part of young conspirators, pallid from their vigils in secret societies, and elated by nocturnal disputations, without respect for decency, and irresponsible in the midst of associations where all was feverish excitement; poisoned from infancy by those evangelists of terror, who had deified Danton for his daring in murder, and St. Just for his coolness in immolation. They were men rendered bitter by the isolation of their thoughts, of whom some were tempted by the idea of imitating actions which they deemed great, because they were of rare occurrence; others mere parodists of the drama of the first revolution, plagiarists of the scaffold; others, again, were ambitious of securing a name in history, whatever might be the price which conscience must pay; while others, jealous of the celebrity of crime, dwelt with ardour on the immortality of Marat and Babeuf.

It had long been seen, by the schemes and writings of these men, that their souls were filled with sinister thoughts, and that if a revolution gave scope to their perverse designs, they would hesitate at no act, and no thought, that could call forth the reprobation of the human race. They were the sophists of the axe and block, deliberately rekindling extin-

guished embers of fury, with the design of justifying by-gone acts, and making victims instead of citizens.

These men could only recruit their forces from the lowest and most mephitic dregs of the population of large capitals. Crime ferments only in masses of idleness, debauchery, and the voluntary misery of vice and immorality, far from the light shed abroad by discipline and social industry.

The mass of the industrious population of Paris had, during the preceding fifty years, made immense progress in knowledge, true civilisation, and practical virtue. Equality had ennobled and industry enriched them. Contact with the different classes formerly known as the bourgeoisie had polished and softened their ideas, language, manners, and habits; the diffusion of instruction, the promotion of economy by the establishment of savings banks, the increasing numbers of books and journals, of social and religious societies, the increase of competence, which affords a greater opportunity for leisure, and leisure which favours reflection, had all tended to produce in them the happiest change, while a rational conception of the true community of interests between them and the bourgeois classes with whom they became amalgamated had also produced a community of ideas. The immense mass of information that had penetrated through all channels among the working classes of Paris, guarded them against a blind predilection for the domination of the terrorists; while the recollection of the terrors, punishments, proscriptions, confiscations, assignats, and forced loans of the first republic, rendered familiar by the general diffusion of historical knowledge among all classes of the nation, inspired horror in the poor as well as the rich. Conscience occasionally decides with more justice among the general masses than the *élite* of the population, for it is almost the only moral organ which they exercise. Sophistry is only for the use of the learned—nature has no knowledge of it.

Conscience and memory interposed their barriers between the people and the excesses to which the terrorists would lead them. Although half a century is more than half the span of life allotted to man, it is so short an interval in the life of nations, that 1848 actually appeared only as the morrow of 1793, and the people trembled lest the pavement of their streets should stain their feet with the blood of the first republic.

The terrorists of 1848, therefore, in their design of seizing on the control of the second republic, could only appeal to the two elements which are always to be found at seasons of convulsion in a city numbering fifteen hundred thousand inhabitants,—crime and error, both of which were at that moment at their disposal.

There were the party of the freed convicts, debased in morals, stagnating in vice, revelling in crime, ever leaving and returning to their prisons, and existing in one fatal alternation of crime and punishment; men ejected from the galleys, perverted by contact with dungeons. Then, too, there were the miserable wretches who exist in Paris on the chances of the passing hour, the snares they spread, and the infamous callings they pursue in a corrupt capital; men driven by bad repute to hide their lives amid the throng, who, having lost the regular conditions of existence by disorderly conduct, and unwilling to recover them by dint of

industry, assume an attitude of hatred and war against every form of discipline and society; men who, perverting all relations of human morality, make a profession of vice and a glory of crime; men who live in the eddying whirl of unruly licence, inflated with incessant agitation, ever feeling thirst for blood and rapture in chaos.

All these men, whom one blushes at designating by the same name as the people, constitute a mass of nearly twenty thousand vagabonds ready for every work of destruction, unnoticed in times of quiet, but emerging from the shade and swarming through the thoroughfares in moments of civil commotion—men, whom a signal from their leader, a nocturnal appeal to their accomplices, suffices to rally at a minute's notice.

They had been called forth, during the preceding three days, by the report of firing and by the downfall of a government; they formed the bands which were then setting fire to Puteaux and Neuilly, and which were devastating and pillaging the residence of the king, and of the Rothschilds, at the very moment that this family had sent an enormous voluntary subsidy to the wounded or famished workmen. It was they who sacked the Tuileries, which had with difficulty been preserved by the true combatants. The people had resolutely cast them from their bosom, and many amongst them paid the penalty of their rapacity with their lives. Indignantly repulsed by the people of the revolution, they had plunged again, disappointed, into their genial sloughs, from which agitation might at any time call them forth.

The other element, which was equally at the disposition of the terrorists, and which they might lead on by deception to the attack of a new government, consisted not, as we have already seen, of workmen who had been led away, enrolled and disciplined under different leaders of Socialist schools—for these men were at that time honestly and heroically opposed to all violence and disorder—but of those who belonged to the brutal, ignorant, and perverse party of the communists,—that is to say, the destroyers, ravagers, and barbarians of society. All the theories of these men were limited to the feeling of their sufferings, and to the desire of transforming them into enjoyments by the invasion of property, industry, land, capital, and commerce, and by the distribution of their spoils, as the legitimate conquest of a starving republic over a deposed bourgeoisie, without concerning themselves with the future amendment, by legislation, of such organised ruin.

These two elements, the one criminal, the other blind, united naturally and without premeditation, under the direction of some active leaders. A similarity of thought, though from different instincts, rallied them to the same headlong desire of overthrowing, in the provisional government, the barrier which had just been erected against their excesses, or of forcing it to become the docile instrument of their tyranny. They collected a third element of number and violence from among the indigent classes of the precincts and the suburbs of Paris, who had flocked in during the evening at the sound of cannon, and assembled in countless masses by torch-light on the vast square of the Bastille, that Mount Aventine of revolutions, into which converge the great streets emerging from all the thoroughfares of Paris. Upon this square, until midnight, armed groups were kept in a state of the utmost excitement by their own numbers and oscillations and by the murmurs which issue from such

immense bodies of men, augmenting tenfold their strength, as the waves of a rising sea increase the force of the winds. These groups were not animated by any malevolent intention towards society; on the contrary, they had come down armed to defend the hearths of the citizens of Paris against the return of the troops, who, they were told, menaced the capital with the vengeance of the king.

These clubbists agitated for the postponement of the elections and the settlement of what they termed their "grievances," as they feared that the establishment of a strong regular government would of course disappoint their machinations. These grievances, of which they clamoured for the removal, were in reality property, order, riches, and high birth. They wished for a return of the old scenes of 1793, massacre, confiscations, and proscription, with community of goods to boot. Their first plot found vent on the 16th of April. It is thus described in the *History of the Revolution*:—(we may state first, by way of explanation, that most of the regular troops were absent from Paris, and that the government was compelled to confide the defence of the city to general Changarnier, in command of the national guard alone)—

A column of about twenty-five or thirty thousand heads, led by the most furious clubbists, and by some socialist chiefs, had just issued forth by the Pont Royal and clashed with a numerous column of national guards, whom general Courtais had drawn up in battle array under the walls of the Louvre. They had not proceeded to blows, but the meeting had been a confused tumultuous one; hostile looks, cries, and gestures had been exchanged. It was as it were two armies marching upon the same line in silence, and for the purpose of mutual observation. Already the first groups of this column of the Champ de Mars, preceded by flags and men wearing red caps, began to emerge slowly from the quay upon the Place de Grève. At this moment a forest of bayonets glistened on the other side of the Seine at the extremity of the bridge of Saint Michel. This was a body of thirty or forty thousand national guards of the left bank of the river, running at full speed at the call of Lamartine and Marrast. The breadth of the bridge was not sufficient to allow them to pass freely. They rushed in a compact column into the square to the cries of "The Republic for ever!" "The Government for ever!" They blocked up the quay against twenty or thirty thousand insurgents. These remained immovable, undecided, and in consternation, at the angle of the Place de Grève, being unable either to advance, retire, or receive in their rear their reinforcements from the Champ de Mars, intercepted by the legions under arms from the Champs Elysées to the extremity of the quay Lepelletier. The legions of the left bank drew up in order of battle on the square. The legions of the precincts, of Belleville, Bercy, the faubourg of the Temple, the faubourg Saint Antoine, and all the streets on the right bank, arrived at the same moment by all the quays, and all the outlets of the great arteries of Paris, at their very utmost speed, amid cries of enthusiasm. These legions inundated with torrents of bayonets all the streets and squares from the Arsenal to the Louvre. In three hours Paris was in arms and on foot. Not only was victory impossible to the conspirators, but even for them to attack was folly. Lamartine thanked general Changarnier, whose services were henceforth unnecessary. He entreated him to go and inform his wife of

the triumph of the good citizens, and the re-establishment of the public armed force, hitherto a problem, but now brought to a state of certainty.

General Duvivier was on horseback in the square, in the midst of all his battalions of the *garde mobile* whom he had brought up. Two hours were thus passed in an imposing silence, as if it was sufficient for the national guards to show their two hundred thousand bayonets to the sun to confound every thought of conspiracy and anarchy!

Lamartine, until four o'clock, the only member of government present with Marrast, received the deputations of all these corps, and harangued them, sometimes from the windows, sometimes in the courts, and on the steps of the staircases. The twenty thousand insurgents of the Champ de Mars, after experiencing much obstruction at the extremity of the quays, defiled sorrowfully in the midst of the hootings of the people, between the ranks of the national guards as they went in great dejection to hide themselves at their clubs.

Two hundred thousand bayonets afterwards passed in review before the Hôtel de Ville, with cries of "Long live Lamartine!" "Down with the Communists!"

All fears for the safety of the country were now at an end. The people had shown their firm determination not to allow themselves to be ridden over by jacobins and terrorists, and that they knew how to combine liberty with law, and revolution with respect for property and order. The general elections took place on Easter Sunday, the 27th of April, in the midst of perfect peace and harmony.

On the 4th of May the national assembly was opened amidst great solemnities. The provisional government then laid down their power. An act of indemnity for all they had done was passed by the assembly, and it was unanimously voted that they had deserved well of their country. An executive commission was then elected, consisting of MM. Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Ledru-Rollin. These nominated the ministers to the various departments of the state, and took all measures that were necessary for the proper transaction of the business of the government. But the troubles were not over yet. The communists and terrorists, chagrined at their defeats and disappointments, meditated another attempt like that of the 16th of April, and were instigated and encouraged by two of the ex-members of the provisional government. The conspiracy was to display itself in the form of an immense assemblage, who were to march in procession to the national assembly, under pretence of presenting a petition in favour of Poland. Their designs came to the ears of the government, who took their measures accordingly, but unfortunately their plans miscarried.

At daybreak, on the 15th of May, the generals and the minister of the interior were summoned to the Luxembourg, the seat of government, to give an account of the dispositions which they had made, and to concert new ones. Nothing was neglected which could keep the crowds at a distance from the assembly, and protect the inviolability of the representatives; even should it be found necessary to fire upon them. The chief command was bestowed on general Courtais. It was agreed that twelve thousand men of the national guard should be summoned around the Palais Bourbon, and that the battalions of the mobile guards should take their

station, as a reserve, under the trees in the Champs Elysées. Mobile guards and artillery were, besides, posted in the courts.

The sitting of the assembly opened at noon. Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine were present, as well as the ministers. MM. Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, and Pagnerre had remained at the Luxembourg to provide for the contingencies of the day, in case their colleagues should be confined in the Palais Bourbon. A confused agitation reigned in the hall, an immense din arose from without. The petition in favour of Poland was read, and was supported by some orators, in order to answer whom Lamartine ascended the steps of the tribune. He was then informed that an immense column of people, preceded by the clubs, and gathering on its passage the floating scum of the population of a great capital, was advancing upon the assembly, and threatened to force the bridge. Lamartine, to avoid alarming the assembly, feigned not to wish to answer until other orators had spoken. He warned the president, M. Buchez, in a whisper, of the necessity of taking the measures which his authority gave him over the troops within the compass of the palace of the representation.

General Courtais, evidently surprised at the magnitude and rapidity of the demonstration, not having battalions enough at hand, and in dread of a shock which he thought he could still avoid, by opening the passage of the bridge, and allowing the column of petitioners to pass before the peristyle and along the quay, wavered in his decision, and sought advice in conformity with his own thoughts. During this irresolution on the part of the defenders, the column, dashing aside half a battalion of national guards on the Place de la Concorde, and forcing the small array of mobile guards, who were insufficient to defend the bridge, to fall back, rushed like an overflowing torrent on the quay in front of the peristyle, engulfing itself in the Rue de Bourgogne, and shouting "Poland for ever!"

The quæstors, destitute of force by the absence of national guards from the interior, came to induce Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin to present themselves to the people and harangue them from the top of the palace steps. General Courtais was already at that point, vainly endeavouring to control the tumult by voice and gesture.

Thousands of men, in different kinds of dresses, but mostly in rags, with excited countenances and menacing gestures, their mouths foaming and uttering incessant cries, bore with the whole weight of a multitude against the railings, and struggled to shake or scale them, in order violently to enter the enclosure. Ledru-Rollin, although received with some applause, could not make himself heard. At sight of Lamartine, whom the crowd knew to be minister of foreign affairs, and energetically opposed to war, an immense clamour arose, and some voices exclaimed "Death to Lamartine!"

The crowd indignantly protested against such cries. They tore from the railings the two insensate men who had uttered them, trampled them under foot, and cried "No! Long live Lamartine!" At the moment when Lamartine had procured a chair, in order to address the people, fifteen or twenty men, who had climbed to the points of the railings, got over them, and fell at his feet in the space which separates them from the steps of the peristyle. The gate of the fence was opened or forced, and

the first billow of the crowd precipitated itself through this aperture. "It is all over," said Lamartine; "No! reason can do nothing more! Nought remains but defence! Well, to arms, and let us defend ourselves!"

Saying these words he fell back, followed by some deputies and soldiers, to the gate of the second court, which was separated by another railing from the square of the peristyle. This second court was occupied by half a battalion of mobile guards. The soldiers appeared resolved to do their duty, when an order, which was attributed to general Courtais, caused them to sheathe bayonets. Lamartine, perceiving this movement of disarming among the soldiers in the midst of the tumult, raised his arms to heaven, and cried out that all was lost.

He returned with the group of quæstors and deputies into the interior, and awaited the result with consternation. He still flattered himself, nevertheless, that the national guards, who were in the other courts, rallied by some energetic commander, would prevent at least the violation of the hall of session itself, and that the invasion of which he had been witness on the side of the quay, would be confined to a tumultuary species of procession in the corridors and gardens of the palace.

Scarcely, however, had he resumed his place, penetrated with horror and grief which he could with difficulty prevent his features from displaying, than the doors of the public tribune being opened or forced with a crashing noise, on every side of the hall, gave passage to an invading body, consisting of men in waistcoats, shirts, working blouses, and in rags, who rushed as if to assault the galleries, brutally thrusting aside both by hands and feet the peaceable spectators, women included. Throwing their legs over the balconies, hanging by their arms from the cornices that they might slide down on the heads of the representatives, filling the whole in a moment, they poured in crowds into the hall, with flags, dust, cries, and confusion, forming a true and atrocious image of an invasion of barbarians upon civilised society. Lamartine recognised the same subterranean class of people, the same chiefs, the same attire, the same visages, and the same vociferations, which had been overwhelming him for the space of sixty hours at the Hôtel de Ville, during the days of the red flag. The assembly might believe itself carried back to the unhappy days of September, 1793.

The mob which had taken possession of the Hotel de Ville was thus totally dispersed, and the agitation caused by the disturbances gradually calmed down. Scarcely, however, had the excitement ceased when new alarms were created by the intrigues and conspiracies of the Bonapartist faction, who endeavoured to get another *émeute*, and in the confusion proclaim Louis Napoleon Bonaparte emperor, who had a year or two before escaped from the fortress of Ham, and had since been residing in London. In consequence of this a decree was proposed by Lamartine and adopted by the assembly, to the following effect:—

"The commission of the executive authority, bearing in view Article III. of the law of the 13th of January,—

"Considering that Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprehended in the law of 1832, which exiles from the French territory the members of the Bonaparte family;

"Considering that though there have been, in fact, exceptions to this

law by the vote of the national assembly, which has admitted three members of that family to form part of the assembly; yet those exceptions were merely individual, and did not extend either by right or in fact to other members of the same family;

"Considering that France desires to found the republican government in peace and order, without being disturbed in her task by dynastic pretensions and ambitions, of a nature to create parties and factions in the state, and consequently to foment civil war, however undesignedly;

"Considering that Charles Louis Bonaparte has twice placed himself in the position of a pretender, by attempting to establish a mock republic, in virtue of the *senatus consultum* of the year XIII.;

"Considering that agitations injurious to the popular republic which we desire to found, and calculated to compromise the safety of institutions, and to disturb the public peace, have already taken place in the name of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;

"Considering that these agitations, which are symptomatic of culpable intrigues, might be an obstacle to the pacific establishment of the republic, if encouraged by negligence or weakness on the part of the government;

"Considering that the government cannot make itself responsible for the danger to which republican institutions, as well as the public peace, would be exposed, if it were wanting in its first duty, by failing to execute an existing law, justified more than ever in unsettled times, by reasons of state, and for seconding the public welfare;

"Declares—that it will enforce, as far as concerns Louis Bonaparte, the law of 1832, until such time as the national assembly shall otherwise decide."

The intrigues of the red republicans were still not baffled. Disturbances were of daily occurrence in various parts of the city, and everything betokened an approaching convulsion.

"It broke out on the 22nd of June at ten at night. The government, warned of the rioting and clamour which attended the first steps that had been taken for distributing a portion of the workmen through the departments, assembled at the Luxembourg. In the course of the evening numerous mobs had several times assailed the palace with furious shouts of '*A bas Marie!*' '*A bas Lamartine!*' those two members of the government being considered most determined on the question of the dissolution of the national workshops. The government had appointed general Cavaignac commander-in-chief of the troops and the national guards, with the view of concentrating the whole plan, and the unity of its execution in a single individual. Clement Thomas, no less disinterested than brave, readily concurred in this unity, reserving to himself only the honour of obedience, abnegation, and danger.

"The night was tranquil; it was spent in arrangements for the attack and defence. Neither the socialists nor the anti-republican party joined in the insurrection, either through the agency of their leaders or their principal partisans. These men were at the time either actually connected with the government, or they supported it from feelings of conviction and hope. Every thing indicated that this undecided, feeble movement, incoherent in its principle, had been organised and paid in the heart of the national workshops themselves. It was a plebeian and not a popular movement, a con-

spiracy of subalterns and not of chiefs, an outbreak of servile and not of civil war. Lamartine, by restoring concord among the republicans in the council, had withdrawn the electricity from this anti-social cloud. The body existed, but the soul was wanting; therefore it was that the movement miscarried, though unfortunately at the cost of too much bloodshed. At seven o'clock on the 23rd of June, the government received information that mobs, forming altogether an assemblage of from eight to ten thousand men, had collected on the Place du Panthéon to attack the Luxembourg. Some battalions of the 11th legion, commanded by colonel Quinet, together with a few battalions of the line, were ordered to disperse these mobs. M. Arago, who was known in that quarter of Paris, determined to proceed personally to the Place du Panthéon. There he harangued the seditious multitude, who wavered between their respect for him and their fury against the government. At ten o'clock the crowds dispersed, dragging in their train the starving masses of the 12th arrondissement. Amidst shouts of '*To arms!*' they retired into the districts situated on the banks of the Seine, into the faubourg St. Antoine, and on the boulevards. These mobs and their seditious shouts spread commotion through the faubourgs; the streets were soon thronged; the occupants of the national workshops poured down from the barriers, and the populace, excited by some of their armed leaders, threw up barricades. These leaders were, for the most part, the men who acted as brigadiers of the national workshops, and who were agents of the seditious clubs. They were irritated by the proposed disbandment of their corps, whose wages passed through their hands, and some of them, it was alleged, did not scruple to divert the money from its destined object, for the purpose of paying sedition. From the barriers of Charenton, Bercy, Fontainebleau, and Ménilmontant, to the very heart of Paris, the capital was almost totally defenceless, and in the power of a few thousand men. The *rappel* might have summoned to arms two hundred thousand national guards, a force ten times sufficient to have subdued these seditious bands, and to have razed their fortifications to the ground; but, however mortifying the fact, it must be avowed, since it may operate as a warning in future emergency, the national guard did not respond with sufficient decision to the call of the government. They looked on passively at the erection of barricades, in the destruction of which their own blood was afterwards profusely shed.

"The government having removed from the Luxembourg for the purpose of being near the national assembly and protecting it, established itself at once as a council and a camp, with general Cavaignac in the apartments of the president of the assembly.

"The general, in concurrence with the members of the government, concerted a plan of operations. He resolved to concentrate his troops (as had been determined beforehand) in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Champs Elysées, on the Place de la Concorde, on the Esplanade des Invalides, and round the palace of the representatives. In the Hôtel de Ville he posted between fifteen and sixteen battalions under the command of general Duvivier, maintaining free channels of communication by the quays. To the brave general Dumesne, whom the government had just appointed commander of the mobile guard, he gave the command of the vast and populous district extending from the Panthéon to the Seine. General

Lamoricière, with a few battalions, was directed to cover all the left bank of the Seine, from the Château d'Eau to the Madeleine, an immense superficies, which alone would have required a whole army for its defence.

"Meanwhile the conflict had commenced on the boulevards. Two detachments of intrepid volunteers of the first and second legions attacked two barricades erected on that point. Most of these brave volunteers perished heroically under the first fire of the insurgents.

"Noon arrived, and the troops, so long held in readiness, and so long ago summoned, did not make their appearance. The seat of government was thronged by citizens, mayors, aides-de-camp, and members of the assembly, all requesting to see general Cavaignac, and all, on being introduced to him, imploring reinforcements for defending the districts to which they belonged. The general could not grant assistance which was not at his disposal. Lamartine and his colleagues could not but approve the extreme prudence of the commander in thus refusing to disperse his battalions, whilst, at the same time, they observed with regret the evident insufficiency of the military forces. What had become of the twenty thousand troops of the line in the barracks of Paris? Where were the fifteen thousand men stationed in the garrisons adjacent to the capital? Where were the twenty thousand troops of the army of the Alps, which Lamartine had applied for as a reserve thirteen days previously? General Cavaignac has since satisfactorily proved that the number of troops of the line in Paris was conformable with the number fixed; but in the first moment of confusion, the exigencies of a conflict on such a field of battle absorbed and, as it were, buried the battalions so completely, that whole regiments vanished, no one could tell whither. The troops encamped before the walls of Paris had not begun to march. The garrisons in the neighbourhood of the capital could not, in the space of a few hours, reach the barriers. The circumstances of the preceding day had not appeared so serious in the eyes of the commander-in-chief as to induce him to summon the troops posted round Paris. Reliance had been placed on the national guards, who, in spite of the incessant beating of the *rappel*, did not as usual rush from their houses in a mass, or who were imprisoned in their quarters by the insurgents. In fine, it must be confessed that, whether owing to some fatality or to reluctance, the army did not act in such a way as to meet the imminent and the universal danger—a danger which the numerical weakness of the army tended to aggravate. Duvièr commanded the central part of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville. Dumesne and Lamoricière, who seemed, as it were, to multiply themselves, performed prodigies of resolution and activity with the mere handful of men at their disposal. By four o'clock in the afternoon Dumesne had cleared and made himself master of the left bank of the Seine, and had overawed the whole mass of insurrectionary population in the quarter of the Panthéon. His reports, hourly transmitted to the government, afforded favourable prospects for the night and the succeeding day.

"Lamoricière, invincible, though hemmed in by two hundred thousand of the insurgents, occupied the space extending from the Rue du Temple to the Madeleine, and from Cligny to the Louvre. He was incessantly galloping from one point to another, and always exposing himself to receive the first shot that might be fired. He had two horses killed

under him. With his face blackened by gunpowder, the perspiration trickling from his brow, his voice hoarse and broken by vociferating commands, and his eye expressive of the calm courage of the soldier in his native element, he inspired his troops with enthusiasm, and imparted confidence to the dismayed national guards. His reports breathed the intrepidity of his own heart; but he did not conceal the insufficiency of his force, the immense numbers of the assailants, the prolongation of the barricades between the Bastille and the Château d'Eau, and from the barriers to the boulevard. He implored those reinforcements which the government was incessantly summoning, both by telegraphic communications and by orderly officers. At length the national guards of the Banlieue began to arrive by detachments. By command of the generals they ranged themselves round the assembly, mingling with the national guards of Paris, to whom they set a good example. On the arrival of the national guards from the country round Paris, the government felt the assurance of victory even amidst the agonies of the conflict.

"General Cavaignac seemed to be set at ease respecting the final result of events, on perusing the last reports brought by his aides-de-camp. The insurrection had been checked or repressed at all points, save in the faubourg du Temple, in the faubourg St. Antoine, and the extensive adjacent districts, occupied by a dense population, previously turbulent, but now convulsed. The troops, who had been fighting since morning, were worn out; but night was to bring the reinforcements summoned by the government.

"Lamartine sent for his horses, which had been ready saddled since morning, in anticipation of the events of the day. He himself mounted one, and offered the other to Pierre Bonaparte (the son of Lucien), a brave young man, who inherited his father's republican principles. Duclerc, the minister of finance, a man whose courage was as calm before the cannon's mouth as it was impetuous in the council, expressed a wish to join them. Lamartine was accompanied by several other friends, among whom may be mentioned a national guard of the 10th legion, an old soldier named Blanc, whom he found at his side in all perilous junctures, and the adventurous Château-Renaud. They all ranged themselves in the first platoons of the mobile guard, and proceeded to the Place de la Concorde and the Rue de la Paix, their numbers increasing as they moved along. General Cavaignac, with the main body of the column, joined them at the entrance to the boulevards. The Breton representative, M. de Tréveneuc, who was on horseback and armed, requested leave to join Lamartine and his friends. M. de Tréveneuc, then unknown to Lamartine, was a man distinguished for patriotism and courage. A summer-storm was at that moment breaking over Paris. General Cavaignac, surrounded by his staff, with Lamartine, Duclerc, and Pierre Bonaparte, and followed by about two thousand men, advanced, amidst flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, mingled with the applauding shouts of the well-disposed citizens, as far as the Château d'Eau. Whilst the minister of war sent for cannon, and formed his column, which was consigned to general Foucher (the commandant of Paris), Lamartine proceeded to review the artillery of the national guard at the Temple. These brave citizens, merely a handful of men, were overwhelmed amidst an excited population,

wavering between sedition and republicanism. The name of Lamartine, his presence and his gestures, with difficulty restrained the impetuosity of this multitude. He was surrounded by crowds, who followed him, raising shouts, as far as the boulevard. At length the column was formed, and it received orders to charge.

"Lamartine and his friends rode forward with the battalions of the mobile guard and troops of the line, amidst cries of '*Vive la République!*' These young soldiers seemed to be inspired by the spirit of Austerlitz. After repeated assaults, kept up for the space of three-quarters of an hour, and amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets, decimating both officers and men, the barricades were carried. Lamartine felt as though he could have wished for death to release him from the odious responsibility of bloodshed which pressed upon him so unjustly, but yet so unavoidably. Thrice he dismounted from his horse and stationed himself at the foot of one of the barricades, where he might have a chance of falling in the foremost rank of the brave combatants; and thrice did the guards of the assembly gather round him and draw him back by force. The horse ridden by Pierre Bonaparte was killed by his side, and the one he himself rode was wounded. Guns of the largest calibre, sent by general Cavaignac, demolished the remaining fortifications of the insurgents on that point. Four hundred brave men lay killed or wounded in different parts of the faubourg. Lamartine returned to the Château d'Eau to rejoin general Cavaignac.

"Accompanied only by Duclerc, and a national guard named Lassaut, who had been his companion the whole of that day, Lamartine passed the line of the advanced posts, to reconnoitre the disposition of the people on the boulevard of the Bastille. The immense crowd, which fell back to make way for him as he proceeded along, still continued to shout his name, with enthusiasm, and even amidst tears. He conversed long with the people, pacing slowly and pressing his way through the crowd by the breast of his horse. This confidence amidst the insurgent masses preserved him from any manifestation of popular violence. The men, who, by their pale countenances, their excited tone, and even their tears, bore evidence of deep emotion, told him their complaints against the national assembly, and expressed their regret at seeing the revolution stained with blood. They declared their readiness to obey him (Lamartine), whom they had known as their counsellor and friend, and not as their flatterer, amidst the misery they had suffered, and the destitution of their wives and children. 'We are not bad citizens, Lamartine,' they exclaimed; 'we are not assassins; we are not factious agitators! We are unfortunate men, honest workmen, and we only want the government to help us in our misery, and to provide us with work! Govern us yourself! Save us! Command us! We love you! We know you! We will prevail on our companions to lay down their arms!'

"Whilst giving utterance to these and similar exclamations, the men, who were worn out by four months of privation and excitement, touched the clothes and the hands of Lamartine. A party of the crowd ran to the stalls of some flower-dealers, and, seizing the flowers, strewed them over his horse's mane. It was only at intervals that the sinister figure of a conspirator was observed gliding along the pavement and uttering the war-cry, which was, however, speedily drowned amidst shouts of '*Vive Lamartine!*'

"Such was the disposition of the people in districts which had that night been well nigh thrown into a state of complete insurrection, merely through the want of a sufficient number of troops to occupy those parts of the capital.

"Lamartine, without having been either attacked or insulted, returned to rejoin general Cavaignac on the boulevard. He described to the general the condition and the feeling of the people, and they arranged together the orders requisite to be despatched to the troops out of Paris, to summon them to march without delay on the different roads adjacent to the capital. Lamartine left the general at the Porte Saint Martin, to make arrangements for its defence, and he proceeded to communicate to the war department and the council the orders they had conjointly determined.

"Night had now set in, and the firing had everywhere ceased. During Lamartine's absence, his colleagues, Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and Pagnerre, had visited the Mairies, and animated the national guards by their example and their exhortations. Ledru-Rollin remained at the presidency, to despatch urgent orders, and to watch any danger to which the assembly might be exposed.

"At midnight the regiments nearest to the capital, and the national guards of the adjacent towns, entered Paris in a mass, marching through all the barriers. Victory might still be tardy, yet it was now certain.

"But the confidence which was restored in the mind of the government was not restored in the national assembly. A suspicious party resolved to profit by this crisis to overthrow the executive commission, which still continued to be regarded with unfounded distrust. Next morning, at eight o'clock, a certain number of representatives forced open the door of the council-room, and requested the members of the government to tender their resignation. It had long been the unanimous wish of those individuals to retire from a situation in which feelings of devotedness to the public welfare had caused them to continue, very much to their own discomfort, and against their own interest. Nevertheless, they determined not to resign amidst a storm, or to retire from the field like cowards deserting during the battle. Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, and Pagnerre, energetically protested against such a proceeding.

"Let the assembly dismiss us, and appoint other men to fill our places,' said they. 'We will obey, as good citizens ought to do. The dismissal will be an order. But our voluntary retirement at such a moment as the present would be a disgrace!'

"At ten o'clock, the assembly, in a permanent sitting, conferred the whole civil authority on general Cavaignac, whom only on the preceding day the civil authority itself had invested with full military power. Lamartine, on the part of his colleagues and himself, wrote the following letter to the assembly:—

"Citizen representatives,—

"The commission of the executive authority would have been wanting at once in duty and honour, had it retired in the face of sedition and public danger. It retires only in obedience to the vote of the assembly. Restoring to you the authority with which you invested it, the commission returns into the ranks of the national assembly, there to unite with you in efforts to avert the common danger, and promote the welfare of the republic.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON TO THE PRESIDENCY—WEAKNESS AND DIVISIONS IN THE ASSEMBLY—COUP D'ETAT OF THE 2ND OF DECEMBER, 1851—THE "DIARRHŒA OF DECREES"—THE NEW CONSTITUTION—THE "FEAST OF EAGLES"—CONCLUSION.

THE assembly was occupied for the next few months in settling the form of the constitution, and after much delay and difficulty, succeeded in framing one much upon the model of that of America, the executive power to be lodged in the hands of a president elected by universal suffrage for four years, with almost sovereign powers, including, of course, that of appointing the cabinet ministers. Louis Napoleon was elected by nearly six millions of votes, while his competitors, Cavaignac, Lamartine, and others, who had rendered incalculable service to the republic and to France, could not boast over a few thousands at the most. There never was a more convincing proof of the total want of political education amongst the masses of the people in France. Here was a man of whom the nation knew nothing beyond his name and birth—who had never set a foot upon French soil since his boyhood, except twice, and then only as a defeated and convicted conspirator—whose career abroad was well known to be that of an abandoned profligate, the nightly companion of dissolute gamblers,—placed in one day at the head of a great empire. So little competent were many of the peasantry in the departments to exercise the right of voting which the constitution placed in their hands, that great numbers of them believed the man of their choice to be Napoleon the Great, who had baffled his enemies, and once more regained the soil of France! So that the astounding fact is now placed upon the records of history, that a nation boasting itself the greatest and most civilized in the world, which had just created itself into a democratic and social republic, and had adopted as its motto, *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, had without hesitation placed over it at one stroke an unprincipled adventurer, of whom they knew nothing, and of whom not one particle of good ever was or could be said. All this was owing to his name, to the *éclat* he had gained by his attempts at Strasbourg and Boulogne, his long imprisonment by Louis Philippe, and more than all, to the encouragement given by the latter to Napoleonic ideas, by the pompous interment of the emperor's remains in the Invalides, and by the frequent allusions to imperial reminiscences made by his sons, in the hope of gaining popularity amongst the army. However, the deed was now done, which was destined to be the ruin of France, and place another blot on the page of her history. Contrast all this with the conduct of the Americans after the war of independence, and much as we may differ with those who find in the Bible a complete manual of politics and legislation, we

cannot help feeling forcibly struck with the truth of the sentiment uttered by the inspired writer—"Righteousness exalteth a nation." Amongst austere puritans, who left their homes and settled in the wild forests of the west for conscience' sake, the religious sentiment was ever uppermost. They sought the president of their republic in the retirement of his home, surrounded by a virtuous and amiable family, dignified by a long life of wisdom, piety, and rectitude, covered with military glory, and renowned for his statesmanlike talents. The French found theirs in gambling "hells," immersed in profligacy, and in companionship with the vilest and most degraded.

On the 20th of December, 1848, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte stood up before the nine hundred representatives of the French nation, and with outstretched arm, solemnly and deliberately took the following oath:—

"In the presence of God, and before the French people represented by the national assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one, and indivisible; and to fulfil all the duties which the constitution imposes on me."

The citizen president added, with his arm still raised, "We beseech God and men to witness the oath." He also said,

"The suffrages of the nation, and the oath I came to take, will command my future. My duty is fixed. I shall fulfil it as a man of honour."

"I shall only see enemies of the country in *all those who attempt to change, by illegal modes, what France has established.*"

"Between you and me, citizen representatives, there can be no dissensions; our will, our desires are the same."

In addition to this oath, the President volunteered the following address, meaning nothing:—

"The majority which I have obtained not only fills me with gratitude, but also gives to the new government the moral force without which there is no authority. With peace and order our country can raise itself again, can heal its wounds, bring back those men who have been led astray, and calm their passions.

"Animated by this spirit of conciliation, I shall call around me honourable men, capable and devoted to their country, assured that, maugre the diversities of political origin, they will agree in emulating your endeavours for the fulfilment of the constitution, the perfecting of the laws, and the glory of the republic.

"We have, citizen representatives, a great mission to fulfil—it is, to found a republic in the interest of all, and a government just and firm, which shall be animated by a sincere love of progress, without being either reactionary or utopian. Let us be men of our country, not men of party, and by the help of God we shall be able at least to do some good, if we are not able to do great things."

His first step after his election was to appoint Odillon Barrot prime minister, judging that his selection of a man of known devotion to the popular cause would inspire confidence amongst the republicans. His next was to commence intrigues for the advancement of his own interests.

He began by the subjugation of Rome. The Romans had risen in 1848, immediately after the French revolution, and had overthrown their

wretched and imbecile government, and established a republic. All their proceedings were characterised by moderation, earnestness, and patriotism. They had done no more than France had done, and had done it with far greater cause. They thought, and with reason, that far from anticipating violence, or opposition, they might look to the latter, as to a sister republic, for sympathy and support. Louis Napoleon was of a different opinion. It suited his views at that period to conciliate the clergy, and he determined he would throw them a sop by reinstating the pope and cardinals, terror and despotism, at Rome. We need not rehearse the particulars of the siege. They are fresh in the minds of our readers. After a defence sustained by undisciplined volunteers, behind dilapidated fortifications, for a whole month, against a large army of the finest troops in the world—after frightful slaughter, and shameful destruction of public buildings and antique remains, the French entered Rome, and the holy father resumed the government of “his children.” Unfortunately, however, the army has had to remain there ever since to keep them in subjection.

His private affairs now demanded the attention of the president. He had not carried on his debaucheries and extravagancies without money. The money was obtained from Jews and bill brokers, and they of course were anxious to be paid. He was thus heavily involved in debt, and his embarrassments were every day increasing, as he carried his old habits with him into his new position. At the present moment his time is divided between the transaction of business with his ministers, reviewing the troops, toying with his mistresses, or enjoying the pleasures of the table. His salary was fixed by the National Assembly at £24,000 per annum,—amply sufficient, one would think, for the wants of the president of a republic; and it was expressly provided that this was to cover the expense of public receptions. His debts began to press heavily upon him, however, and he was soon after driven to apply to the assembly for an additional sum of £24,000, to cover the incidental expenses of his office, leaving the other £24,000 for his private use. It was granted him. While we are upon this subject, we had better go a step in advance and dismiss it altogether. In June, 1850, the ministry sought to have his salary increased to £144,000 *sterling per annum*. This extraordinary proposal was instantly negatived, but an extraordinary credit of 2,160,000 francs was voted him for that year only. He was not yet satisfied. He applied in January, 1851, for a grant of 1,800,000 francs as *frais de représentation*. This was refused by a majority of 120.

He now took tours through the provinces, seeking popularity amongst the country people by calling up reminiscences of the empire, and pouring forth assurances of moderation and devotion to the republic. The demonstrations made to greet him on his way were, however, complete failures in a Napoleonic point of view. He next tried to tamper with the army by continually heaping praises upon it, reminding it of its achievements under his uncle, and by frequently holding reviews, at which each soldier was regaled with champagne and cold fowl, at the president's expense. He made frequent offers to general Changarnier, of bribes in rank or money, if he would attach himself to his interests. We need hardly say these proposals were indignantly rejected. The consequence was, the general and his lieutenant were dismissed from their offices.

Socialism was kept hanging *in terrorem* over the heads of the bourgeoisie to make them cling to the army and its chief, as the safeguards of society. The republican regiments were one by one despatched from Paris, and Buonapartist ones draughted into it, while the national guard was studiously discouraged.

In the meantime, the national assembly, unaccustomed to legislation and freedom of discussion, had disgraced itself by its violence and divisions. It was split up into selfish factions, each regardless of the interests of the country, and intent only on grasping as much power and influence as it could, and each in the hands of a few leading men, who guided and controlled it for their own purposes. A united and patriotic legislative body is invincible. Witness the English parliament in 1640, and the Tiers Etat in 1789. They fell only when they became untrue to themselves, and unfaithful to their mission. So, had the national assembly been wise, it might have defied the machinations of Louis Napoleon. As it was, it fell an easy prey to them, and even paved the way for his usurpation. It brought itself into discredit with the people by its abolition of universal suffrage, and by its persecution of the press, and disgusted every one by its wrangling, want of decision, and hostility to the republic, which had created it. And thus three years passed away.

In 1849, on his tour through the provinces, Louis Napoleon was entertained at Ham, where he had been a prisoner for six years. He, then and there, spoke as follows:—

“Now, that I am the choice of all France, because the legitimate chief of this great nation, I cannot glory in a captivity which had for its cause an attack against a regular government. *When we see what evils follow even the most just revolutions, I can scarcely comprehend the audacity of having wished to take on myself the terrible responsibility of effecting a change.* I do not, therefore, complain of having expiated in this place, by an imprisonment of six years, my rashness against the laws of my country; and it is with happiness that, in the very place of my suffering, I propose to you a toast in honour of—‘*the men who are determined, in spite of their convictions, to respect the institutions of their country.*’”

On the 13th of November, 1851, he wrote to the national assembly, that “he considered as great criminals those who, by personal ambition, compromised the small amount of stability secured by the constitution; that such was his profound conviction, which had never been shaken; that the invariable rule of his political life would be, under all circumstances, to do his duty, and nothing but his duty; that every one, except himself, was at liberty to seek to hasten the revision of the fundamental law; that if the constitution contained defects and dangers, the assembly was competent to expose them to the eyes of the country; but that he alone, bound by his oath, restrained himself within the strict limits traced by that act; that whatever the future solution of affairs was to be, it was essential to provide against it, so that passion, surprise, and violence should never decide the fate of a great nation; that the first duty of authorities was to inspire the people with veneration for the law, by never deviating from it themselves; and that his anxiety was not, he assured the assembly, to know who would govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at his disposal so that the tran-

sition, whatever it might be, should be effected without agitation or disturbance; for, said he, "the noblest object, and that most worthy of an exalted mind, is not to seek, when in power, how to perpetuate it, but to labour incessantly to fortify, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality which defy the passions of mankind, and the instability of its laws."

At this very time he was meditating the *coup d'état*, which, being interpreted, means "perjury in the high'st degree, murder in the dir'st degree," pillage, confiscation, proscription, the overthrow of the constitution, destruction of liberty, and the establishment of military despotism.

At the last meeting of the assembly, the subject under discussion was the bill for defining the responsibility of the president. The most tremendous confusion prevailed. A restoration of the monarchy was openly moved and seconded. Amendments proposed by M. Berryer and others, attaching the penalty of high treason to the violation of the constitution by the president, were rejected, amidst the fiercest recrimination, and the sitting was suspended amidst the greatest excitement.

When the members awoke on the morning of the 2nd of December, they found the following proclamations on the walls:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"In the name of the French people, the president of the republic decrees:—

"Art 1. The national assembly is dissolved.

"Art. 2. Universal suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is abrogated.

"Art. 3. The French people is convoked in its electoral colleges from the 14th of December to the 21st of December following.

"Art. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the first military division.

"Art. 5 The council of state is dissolved.

"Art. 6. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed)

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"DE MORNAY, the Minister of the Interior.

"Palace of the Elysée, Dec. 2."

"APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

"Frenchmen,—The present situation cannot last much longer. Each day the situation of the country becomes worse. The assembly, which ought to be the firmest supporter of order, has become a theatre of plots. The patriotism of three hundred of its members could not arrest its fatal tendencies. In place of making laws for the general interest of the people, it was forging arms for civil war. It attacked the power I hold directly from the people; it encouraged every evil passion; it endangered the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the whole people judge between me and it. The constitution, as you know, had been made with the object of weakening beforehand the powers you intrusted to me. Six millions of votes are a striking protest against it, and yet I have faithfully observed it. Provocations, calumnies, outrages, found me passive. But now that the fundamental part is no longer respected by those who incessantly invoke it, and the men who have already destroyed

two monarchies wish to tie up my hands, in order to overthrow the republic, my duty is to baffle their perfidious projects, to maintain the republic, and to save the country, by appealing to the solemn judgments of the only sovereign I recognise in France—the people.

“I, then, make a loyal appeal to the entire nation; and I say to you, if you wish to continue this state of disquietude and *malaise* that degrades you and endangers the future—choose another person in my place, for I no longer wish for a place which is powerless for good, but which makes me responsible for acts that I cannot hinder, and chains me to the helm when I see the vessel rushing into the abyss! If, on the contrary, you have still confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the grand mission I hold from you. That mission consists in closing the era of revolution, in satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and in protecting them against subversive passions. It consists, especially, to create institutions which survive men, and which are the foundation on which something durable is based. Persuaded that the instability of power, that the preponderance of a single assembly, are the permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the fundamental bases of a constitution which the assemblies will develop hereafter.

(Signed)

“LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

“Palace of the Elysée, Dec. 2.”

“THE PREFECT OF POLICE TO THE INHABITANTS OF PARIS.

“Parisians,—The president of the republic, by a courageous initiative, has baffled the machinations of parties and put an end to the anguish of the country. It is in the name of the people, in its interest, and for the maintenance of the press, that the event is accomplished.

“It is to the judgment of the people that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte submits his conduct.

“The greatness of the act makes you understand with what imposing and solemn silence the free exercise of the popular sovereignty ought to be manifested. To-day, as yesterday, let order be our watchword; let all good citizens, animated as I am by the love of the country, aid me in my unalterable resolution.

“Have confidence in him whom six million of votes have raised to the first dignity of the country. When he summons the entire people to express their will, the factious alone would place obstacles in the way. Any attempt at disorder shall be promptly and inflexibly repressed.

“DE MAUPAS, Prefect of Police.

“Dec. 2, 1851.”

“PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE ARMY.

“Soldiers!—Be proud of your mission; you will save the country. I rely upon you not to violate the laws, but to command respect for the first law of the country—national sovereignty—of which I am the legitimate representative.

“You long suffered, like me, from the obstacles that prevented me doing you all the good I intended, and opposed the demonstrations of your sympathy in my favour. Those obstacles are removed. The assembly sought to impair the authority which I derive from the entire nation; has ceased to exist!

"I make a loyal appeal to the people and the army, and I tell them—either give me the means of insuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place.

"In 1830, as well as in 1848, you were treated as a vanquished army. After having branded your heroical disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and wishes, and nevertheless you are the *élite* of the nation. To day, at this solemn moment, I wish the voice of the army to be heard.

"Vote, then, freely as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare.

"As for you, maintain entire the rules of discipline and honour. By your imposing attitude assist the country in manifesting its will with calmness and reflection. Be ready to repress all attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

"Soldiers! I do not speak to you of the recollections attached to my name. They are engraved on your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There is between us in the past a community of glory and misfortunes. There shall be in the future a community of sentiments and resolutions for the repose and grandeur of France!

(Signed)

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"Palace of the Elysée, Dec. 2."

On going to the assembly, they found the doors guarded by soldiery, and were repulsed at the point of the bayonet. They then learnt for the first time, that during the night generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, Bedeau, M. Thiers, and a great number of representatives had been arrested during the night, and sent off to Vincennes; and that, in short the *coup d'état* had been accomplished. In may be well to relate, in the words of one of prince Louis' own adherents, how this was done:—

"The situation was intolerable, and it was necessary to come to some termination. A great number of conservative members, when departing for their departments at the recess, on taking leave of the president of the republic, conjured him to dissolve the assembly before their return. At the same period the party known by the name of the 'fusion' caused overtures to be made to the president, either to aid him in saving society, or to unite with him in endeavouring to preserve order, if it became indispensable to effect a *coup d'état*. A few days before the return of the assembly, certain representatives of the red and socialist party sent propositions to the president to lean on them, and to take a ministry from amongst their ranks. Finally, on the evening of December 1, a proposition of co-operation was made to Louis Napoleon in the name of the legitimist leaders. It is evident, therefore, that all parties, without exception, judged that the situation was no longer tenable, as all proposed to the president to get out of it; only, all these parties wanted him to depend exclusively on them, and Louis Napoleon would not consent to depend on anything but France. It was immediately after the act of hostility of the quæstors, that the president determined to take his measures for an eventuality evidently very near. Three men were his

confidants—M. de St. Arnaud, minister of war; M. de Morny, representative of the people; and M. de Maupas, prefect of police. Louis Napoleon explained to them the design which he had formed to conjure away the danger, and the three promised him their co-operation—M. de Morny for all political responsibility, as minister of the interior; general de St. Arnaud for the military operations; and M. de Maupas for the action of the police. For a fortnight, these three men fixed with the president all the details of this immense act, which the 18th Brumaire equalled neither in difficulty, nor in cleverness, nor in grandeur; and the slightest matters connected with it were concerted and provided for with such an extraordinary secrecy, that even the nearest friends of the parties had no suspicion of what was going on until the arrival of the final moment, just preceding carrying the plans into operation. The simultaneity of all the measures to be taken was the first condition of success, and the principal measures were four in number—the arrest of such persons as were considered culpable or dangerous; the publication of the official acts; the occupation of the palace of the assembly; and the distribution of troops on the various points judged necessary. A quarter-past six in the morning was fixed for the hour of execution. It was essential that the plan should not become known by any one of its parts, but that it should strike the public mind by its *ensemble*. Accordingly, at a quarter-past six the arrests were effected, at half-past six the troops were at their posts, and at seven the decree of dissolution and the proclamations left the prefecture of police to cover the walls of Paris. At half-past six precisely M. de Morny took possession of the Hotel of the Interior, accompanied by 250 chasseurs de Vincennes, and handed to M. de Thorigny a letter, in which the president thanked him for his good services, and informed him of the decisive act on which he had resolved. The persons who were to be arrested were of two sorts—representatives more or less engaged in a flagrant conspiracy, and the chiefs of secret societies and commanders of barricades always ready to obey the orders of the factions. Both of these classes were narrowly watched and almost guarded *à vue* for a fortnight before by invisible agents, and not one of these agents suspected the object of his mission, each having received a different motive for it. The number of persons to be arrested amounted to seventy-eight, of whom eighteen were representatives and sixty chiefs of secret societies and barricades. The 800 *sergens de ville* and the brigades of surety had been *consigné* at the prefecture of police the night before at eleven o'clock, under pretext of the presence in Paris of the refugees from London. At half-past three in the morning the commissaries of police and officers de paix were summoned from their own houses, and at four o'clock they all arrived at the prefecture, and were placed in small groups in separate rooms, in order to avoid questions among themselves. At five o'clock all the commissaries were called one by one into the prefect's cabinet, and were there informed by him of the intended plan of operations, receiving at the same time precise orders as to his own mode of proceeding. These men promised, every one, to execute at every risk the orders given to him, and not one failed in performing what he had promised. A great number of carriages, engaged beforehand, were stationed on the quays, in the neighbourhood of the prefecture, in such a manner as not to excite attention. The arrests had

been combined between the prefect of police and the minister of war, so as to precede, by a quarter of an hour, the arrival of the troops at their different posts. The arrests were to be effected at a quarter-past six, and the agents had orders to be at the doors of the persons designated at five minutes past six. Everything was to be carried into effect with a marvellous punctuality, and no arrest occupied more than twenty minutes."

The representatives, finding themselves unable to obtain admission to their room, adjourned in a body, to the number of 230, and assembled in the Mairie of the 10th arrondissement. They were presided over by two of their vice-presidents, and attended by their secretaries and shorthand writers, and having duly constituted themselves, the articles of the constitution were read which the president had broken, and he was then formally deprived of his authority, the public officers and functionaries were forbidden to obey him, and the high court of justice was commanded to meet forthwith for the trial of himself and his accomplices. Immediately afterwards soldiers entered the room, arrested them, shut them up in a cold barrack-room all night, and drove them off in the convict cellular vans to prison the next morning. The high court of justice met, as directed, and proceeded with the trial, but was dispersed at the point of the bayonet. Barricades were erected in various parts of Paris during the day, and some resistance attempted, but the insurgents were overwhelmed by the enormous military force, and all those taken with arms in their hands were dragged, in batches of fifty or one hundred, to the Champs de Mars, and there shot in cold blood. If a shot was fired from a window, the house was entered, and every one in it butchered; and in many places whole rows of houses, filled with inoffensive inhabitants, who were looking on in astonishment at what was passing before them, were riddled with volleys of musketry, and the inmates massacred. The struggle was soon over, and Paris was then pronounced to be "all serene."

Many of the departments were then placed under martial law, and every person suspected of holding opinions hostile to Louis Napoleon was seized, tried by a military commission, and transported to Cayenne or Algiers. More than 12,000 persons have been already transported in this way. In the midst of this reign of terror, "the French people were assembled in their electoral colleges," and it was put to the vote, "*oui ou non*," whether Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be president of the republic for ten years, frame a constitution, and do as he pleased. It must be remembered that in France there are nearly 250,000 state-paid functionaries, and that every one of these is devoted heart and soul to the party in power for the time being, and that on this occasion they made every effort to secure as many *ouis* as possible; it must be remembered, also, that at this time the press was gagged, and every one in hourly dread of being dragged from his family as a felon, merely for holding certain opinions; it will then excite no surprise that the *ouis* numbered upwards of seven millions, and the *nons* only a few hundred thousands. But there are two facts in connexion with these returns, to which we must call the reader's attention, and then leave him to draw his own conclusion. One is, that after deducting from the adult population of France, the women, the sick, the insane, and the criminals,

it has been shown to be almost impossible that 7,000,000 could have voted at all either way, even supposing every competent person went to the poll, which is by no means likely. The other is, that in those districts in which socialism was declared to be most rampant, in which proscriptions were most numerous, the military law harshest, and the military massacres most ruthless, the returns showed that the whole of the adult male inhabitants had voted in the affirmative!

Immediately after the *coup d'état* came what an able writer in the *Times* calls "the diarrhoea of decrees." They came pouring forth from the Elysée in dozens, every week, upon all possible subjects, altering everything, and restoring everything, and upsetting everything; confiscating the property of the Orleans family, and restoring the Panthéon to the Jesuits; throwing the schools and colleges into the hands of the priests, and lowering the interest of the public debt. There was hardly anything with which the dictator did not interfere. Questions which wise, able, and learned men could not decide after years of patient study and reflection were by him settled in five minutes, with a single stroke of his pen.

Then succeeded a period of "legislative costiveness;" in order to restore confidence to the bewildered public, and at last came the new constitution. It is, as might be expected, an almost exact copy of that promulgated by Napoleon during the empire.

"1. A responsible chief, named for ten years.

2. Ministers dependent on the executive power alone.

3. A council of state, formed of the most distinguished men, preparing the laws and maintaining the discussion on them in the legislative corps.

4. A legislative corps, discussing and voting the laws named by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election.

5. A second assembly, formed of all the distinguished men of the country, a balancing power, guardian of the fundamental pact, and of the public interests."

SECTION I.

Art. 1. The constitution recognises, confirms, and guarantees the great principles proclaimed in 1789, and which form the basis of the public rights of the French people.

SECTION II.—FORMS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Art. 2. The government of the French republic is intrusted to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, actual president of the republic, for ten years.

Art. 3. The president of the republic governs by means of the ministers, the council of state, the senate, and the legislative body.

Art. 4. The legislative power is exercised, collectively, by the president of the republic, the senate, and the legislative body.

SECTION III.—OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

Art. 5. The president of the republic is responsible to the French people, to whom he has always a right to appeal.

Art. 6. The president of the republic is chief of the state. He commands the land and sea forces, declares war, concludes treaties of peace, political and commercial alliance, and makes the rules and decrees for the execution of the laws.

Art. 7. Justice is rendered in his name.

Art. 8. He alone has the initiative of the laws.

Art. 9. He has the right to pardon.

Art. 10. He sanctions and promulgates the laws and the *Senatus-Consultes*.

Art. 11. He presents the state of affairs of the republic every year to the senate and legislative body by a message.

Art. 12. He has a right to declare the state of siege in one or several departments, on the condition of referring to the senate with the shortest delay. The consequences of the state of siege are regulated by the law.

Art. 13. The ministers depend solely on the chief of the state. Each is responsible only so far as the acts of the government regard him. There is no solidarity between them. They can only be impeached (*mis en accusation*) by the senate.

Art. 14. The ministers, members of the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state, the officers of the land and sea forces, the magistrates, and the public functionaries, take the following oath:—

“I swear obedience to the constitution and fidelity to the president.”

Art. 15. A *Senatus-Consulte* fixes the sum allowed annually to the president of the republic for the entire duration of his functions.

Art. 16. Should the president of the republic die before the expiration of his office (*mandat*), the senate convokes the nation to proceed to a new election.

Art. 17. The chief of the state has a right by a secret act, deposited in the archives of the state, to point out to the people the name of the citizen he recommends in the interest of France to the confidence of the people and to its suffrages.

Art. 18. Until the election of the new president of the republic, the president of the senate governs with the concurrence of the ministers in office, who form themselves into a government council, and deliberate by a majority of votes.

SECTION IV.—OF THE SENATE.

Art. 19. The numbers of senators cannot exceed 150. It is fixed at 80 for the first year.

Art. 20. The senate is composed, 1st, of the cardinals, marshals, admirals; 2nd, of the citizens whom the president of the republic deems fit to elevate to the dignity of senator.

Art. 21. The senators are not removable, and are for life.

Art. 22. The functions of senator are gratuitous; nevertheless the president of the republic may accord the senators, by reason of the services rendered and of their position as respects fortune, a personal dotation, which shall not exceed 30,000f. yearly.

Art. 23. The president and vice-presidents of the senate are named by the president of the republic, and chosen amongst the senators. They are named for one year. The salary of the president of the senate is fixed by a decree.

Art. 24. The president of the republic convokes and prorogues the senate. He fixes the duration of its session by a decree. The sittings of the senate are not public.

Art. 25. The senate is the guardian of the fundamental pact and of the public liberties. No law can be published before being submitted to it.

Art. 26. The senate opposes the publication—1st, of laws which may be contrary to or affect the constitution, religion, morals, the liberty of worship, the liberty of persons, equality of citizens before the laws, inviolability of property, and the principle of the *inamovibilité* of the magistracy; 2nd, of those who may endanger the safety of the territory.

Art. 27. The senate regulates by a *Senatus-Consulte*: 1. The constitution of the colonies and of Algeria; 2. All that has not been provided for the constitution, and which is necessary to its maintenance; 3. The signification of articles of the constitution which may give rise to various interpretations.

Art. 28. Those *Senatus-Consultes* shall be submitted to the sanction of the president of the republic, and promulgated by him.

Art. 29. The senate maintains or annuls all the acts which may be submitted to it as unconstitutional by the government, or denounced from the same cause in petitions from the citizens.

Art. 30. The senate can, in a report addressed to the president of the republic, fix the bases of projects of law of great national interest.

Art. 31. It can also propose modifications to the constitution. If the proposition is adopted by the executive power, it is stated so by a *Senatus-Consulte*.

Art. 32. Nevertheless, all modifications of the fundamental bases of the constitution shall be submitted to universal suffrage, such as they have been enunciated in the proclamation of the 2nd of December, and adopted by the French people.

Art. 33. In case of the dissolution of the legislative corps, and till another convocation, the senate, on the proposition of the president of the republic, provides by measures of urgency for all that is necessary for carrying on the government.

SECTION V.—OF THE LEGISLATIVE CORPS.

Art. 34. The election has the population for its basis.

Art. 35. There will be one deputy to the legislative corps for every 35,000 electors.

Art. 36. The deputies are elected by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste*.

Art. 37. They do not receive any salary.

Art. 38. They are named for six years.

Art. 39. The legislative corps discusses and votes the projects of law and the imposts.

Art. 40. Every amendment adopted by the commission charged with the examination of a project of law, shall be sent, without discussion, to the council of state by the president of the legislative corps. If the amendment be not adopted by the council of state it cannot be submitted to the deliberation of the legislative corps.

Art. 41. The ordinary sitting of the legislative corps lasts three months; its sittings are public, but the demand of five members is sufficient for its resolving itself into a secret committee.

Art. 42. The account of the proceedings of the sitting of the legislative corps given by the journals, or any other channel of publication, shall consist only of the reproduction of the minutes (*procès verbal*) drawn out at the close of each sitting by the care of the president of the legislative corps.

Art. 43. The president and vice-presidents of the legislative corps are named by the president of the republic for one year; they are chosen from amongst the deputies. The salary of the president of the legislative corps is fixed by a decree.

Art. 44. The ministers cannot be members of the legislative corps.

Art. 45. The right of petition is exercised as regards the senate. No petition can be addressed to the legislative corps.

Art. 46. The president of the republic convokes, adjourns, prorogues, and dissolves the legislative corps. In case of dissolution, the president of the republic is bound to convoke a new one within the term of six months.

SECTION VI.—OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Art. 47. The number of the councillors of state in ordinary service is from forty to fifty.

Art. 48. The councillors of state are named by the president of the republic, and are liable to removal by him.

Art. 49. The council of state is presided over by the president of the republic, and in his absence by the person whom he indicates as vice-president of the council of state.

Art. 50. The council of state is charged, under the direction of the president of the republic, to draw up projects of law and regulations of public administration, and to obviate the difficulties that may arise in matters of administration.

Art. 51. It maintains, in the name of the government, the discussion of the projects of law before the senate and legislative corps. The councillors of state charged to speak in the name of the government, are appointed by the president of the republic.

Art. 52. The salary of each councillor of state is 25,000f.

Art. 53. The ministers have rank, right of sitting, and a deliberative voice in the council of state.

SECTION VII.—OF THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

Art. 54. A high court of justice judges without appeal, or recourse to cassation, all persons who shall be sent before it as accused of crimes, attempts or plots against the president of the republic, and against the internal or external safety of the state. It cannot be convened but in virtue of a decree of the president of the republic.

Art. 55. A *senatus-consulte* shall determine the organisation of that high court.

SECTION VIII.—GENERAL AND TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.

Art. 56. The provisions of the codes, rules, and regulations now existing, which are not opposed to the present constitution, remain in vigour until they be legally abrogated.

Art. 57. A law shall determine the municipal organisation. The mayor shall be named by the executive power, and need not be a member of the municipal council.

Ar. 58. The present constitution shall be in vigour to date from the day when the great powers of the state organised by it shall be constituted. The decrees from the president of the republic, to commence

with the 2nd of December to the present period, shall have all the force of law.

Done at the Palace of the Tuileries, the 14th of January, 1852.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Seen and signed with the Great Seal,
The Keeper of the Seals,

E. ROUHER.

It will be seen at a glance that more efficient machinery for governing despotically, under cover of constitutional forms, could not be devised. The body which the dictator appoints, and whose subserviency he can stimulate by working upon their cupidity, votes the civil list. Those who pay the taxes, have no control over it. It has already shown its willingness to advance its master's interests by fixing his salary at 12,000,000 of francs, a sum just equal to that which was so grudgingly bestowed on Louis Philippe under the monarchy. The legislative corps is nominally elected by universal suffrage, but virtually by the government functionaries. Every means which power has at its disposal—bribery, corruption, and intimidation—has been brought into play to prevent the return of any candidate who did not openly avow himself the supporter of the president's policy. In case he refused to do so, the prefects in the various departments declared that he would be considered an enemy to order, and that all who voted for him would be looked upon by the police as legitimate objects for suspicion and surveillance. As an additional safeguard against the intrusion of interlopers belonging to the popular cause, every deputy is required to take an oath of unconditional fidelity to the president. No man of honour or rectitude of principle could pass an ordeal like this, and none therefore presented themselves for admission except creatures of Louis Napoleon. It is provided that no petition can be addressed to the legislative corps, but every one must see how needless such a regulation is, when this unfortunate body can initiate no law. No person would think of stating their grievances to those who have no power to remedy them. But what an humiliating position for an assembly professing to be a representation of the nation, and whose acts should be but the reflex of the people's wishes!

In short, the *senate* is chosen by the president, receives a salary to be fixed by the president, or no salary, as the president pleases, votes in secret on laws submitted to it by the president, and the amount of the president's civil list, and is, in short, completely dependent upon the president.

There is also a *council of state*, to assist the president of the republic in transacting the business of the state, somewhat like our privy council. This consists of fifty members.

The elections for the legislative corps were so conducted, that it is filled with none but facile instruments of the government. All the able, highminded, and gifted men of France have stood aloof from the whole transaction, but they have left the nation at the beck of a base and unprincipled adventurer.

On the 10th of May last (1852), the day on which Louis Napoleon's power was to have expired under the old constitution, a grand review of

sixty thousand troops was held in the Champs de Mars, and eagles were distributed by the president to deputations representing the various corps comprising the army. The colonels of the various regiments swore to uphold the constitution; the archbishop of Paris blessed the standards; the bands played airs of the empire; the troops shouted "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and admiring thousands from all parts of Europe gazed upon the spectacle. Many a time previously fêtes as gorgeous, held on the same spot under as auspicious omens, proved but the prelude to a series of terrible disasters. Instead of the inauguration of a new era, they but heralded the overthrow of another régime. Perhaps the last is the same. A grand ball and fireworks followed it, and the pleasure-loving Parisians thronged in crowds to the scene, as it was confidently expected the empire would have been proclaimed. But either the fears or the craft of the usurper have as yet prevented his taking this step, which will, however, without doubt, some day or other form the consummation of his triumphs. He has nothing to gain by it, but the name; his power can hardly be greater.

It is useless to speculate how long the present state of things may last; the future is in the hands of God, and France is the land of change. This much is certain, that if the approbation of the wise, and learned, and upright men of the nation be the only sure supports for any government to rest upon, that of Louis Napoleon does not possess them. Changarnier, Lamoricière, Cavaignac, Arago, Berryer, Thiers, and a host of others, whose names have shed lustre on science and literature, and renown upon France, have refused, with scorn and contempt, to take the oath of allegiance which he has required of them. If an enlightened public opinion and complete liberty of discussion be the only safeguard for liberty, and the only antidote against discontent and sedition, assuredly France is neither free nor contented: for the press is gagged and the parliament silenced, and even the sacred tribunals of justice are not safe from arbitrary coercion. The men who now hold the reins of government are soldiers of fortune who have lost their honour in the struggle for power, and needy hirelings, without principle or learning, whose only recommendation is their audacity towards the people and their servile and unscrupulous obedience to the behests of their master. In the ball at the Tuileries, after the Feast of Eagles, the dictator's initials appeared on the walls with a peasant on one side and a cuirassier on the other, symbolising his intention to lean for support upon the army and the peasantry,—in other words, on brute force and ignorance. But if the history of standing armies has taught us anything worthy our faithful remembrance, it is that soldiers are like tigers, which may for a while be caressed with impunity, and may protect for a while from the attacks of others, but it is only that at last they may themselves devour their too confiding prey. Janissaries, or prætorian guards, or *chasseurs de Vincennes*, call them by what name you will, if they are separated from the masses of the people, flattered and pampered, they will one day turn upon their master, as upon a creature of their own making, and prostrate him in the dust with as much *sang froid* as they raised him.

But, after all, we need not despair of France. Fifty years is but a small thing in the life of a nation; and fifty years are all that have elapsed since she emerged from bondage, and sought to work out her own hap-

piness and salvation. True, that period has been passed wandering in the desert, in blood and groans and tears, but assuredly she will reap the fruits of her sorrowing. Every step, whatever it may seem, is a step in advance, an addition to her experience, dearly bought it may be, but precious and everlasting. From this nettle danger she will pluck the flower safety. As she grows older, she will grow wiser, and we shall not cease to hope that, even in the lifetime of the present generation, she will be seen calmly reposing in the arms of liberty, safe in the wisdom and moderation of her people, alike against the assaults of anarchy, and the craft and blasphemy of priests* and despots. God will not for ever suffer the heel of successful baseness and villany to crush the neck of a gallant and chivalrous nation. "It is the nature of the devil of tyranny to turn and rend the body which he leaves; but who will affirm that the evils of continued possession are less terrible than the struggles of the tremendous exorcism?"

* The priests all adhere to Louis Napoleon. One of the hierarchy has declared in an address to his clergy, that "*God is grateful to him*"!!

THE END.



